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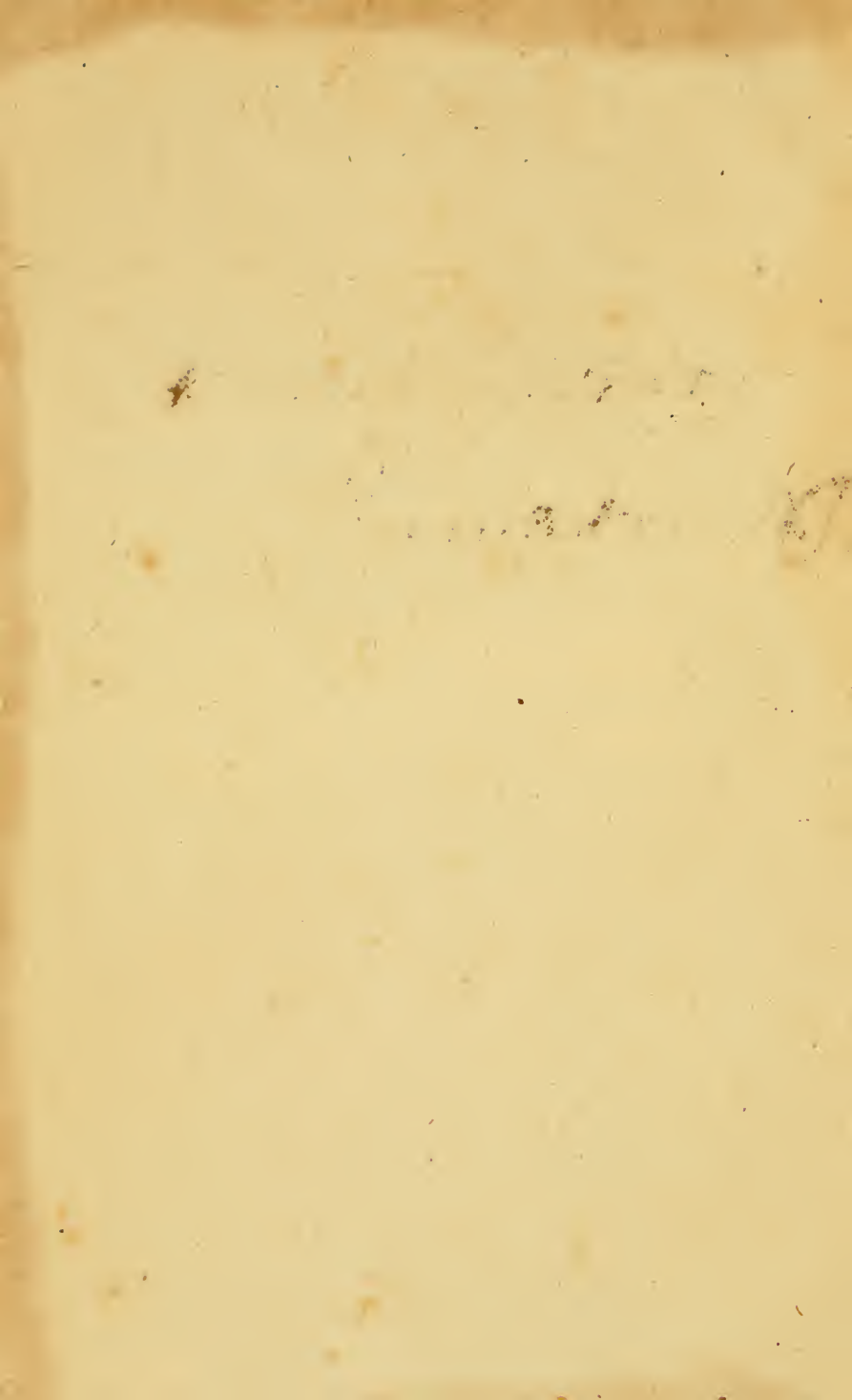
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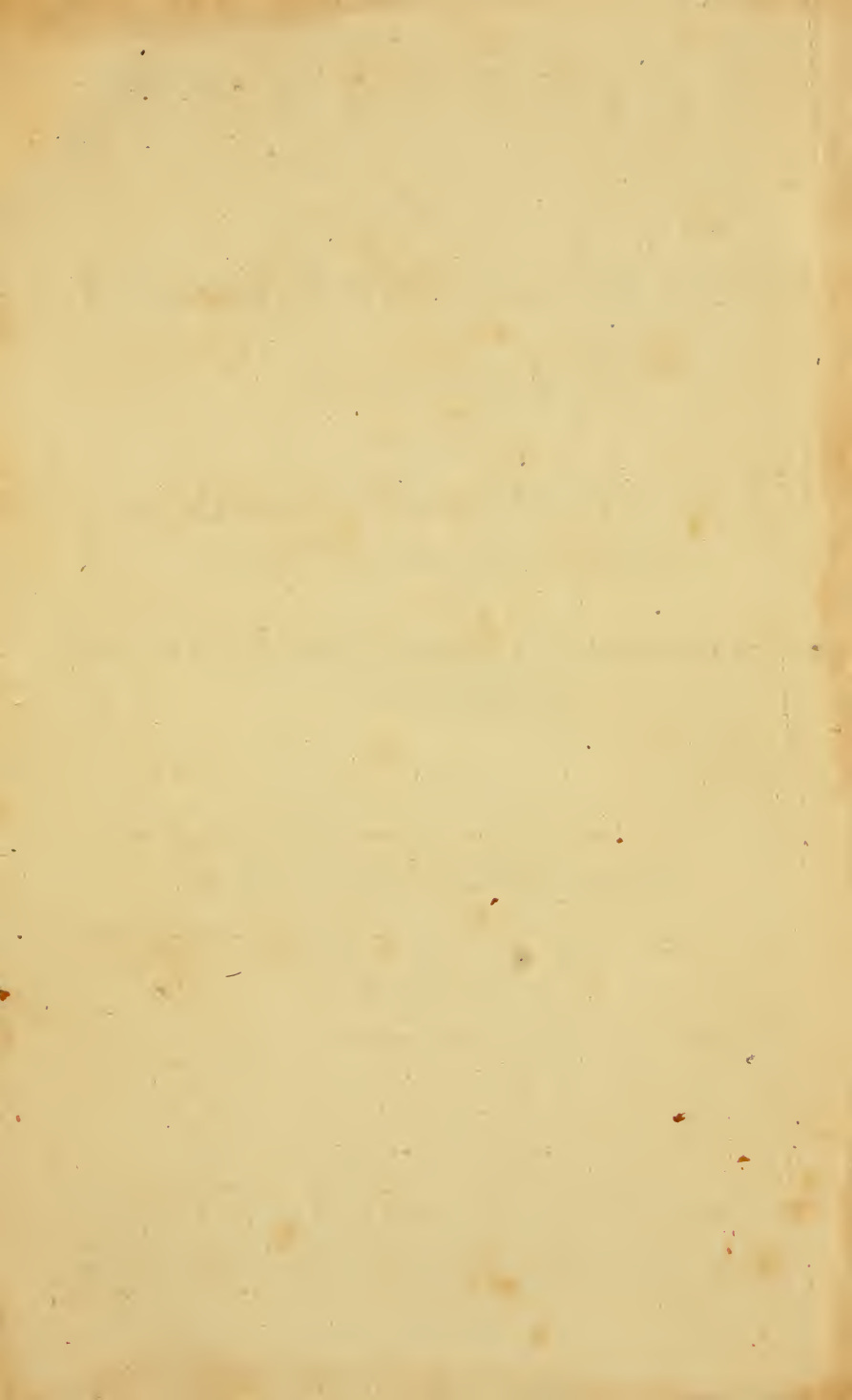
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COLLECTION

OF

THEOLOGICAL TRACTS,

IN SIX VOLUMES.

By RICHARD WATSON, D.D. F.R.S.

LORD BISHOP of LANDAFF,

AND

REGIUS PROFESSOR of DIVINITY in the UNIVERSITY of
CAMBRIDGE.

SECOND EDITION.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N :

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C O N T E N T S

THEOLOGICAL

SEMINARY
OF THE

S E C O N D V O L U M E.

A History of the Apostles and Evangelists, Writers of the New Testament. In three Volumes. Containing general Observations upon the Canon of the New Testament, and a History of the four Evangelists, with the Evidences of the Genuineness of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, the Times when they were writ, and Remarks upon them. By NATHANIEL LARDNER, D. D. Lond. 1760.

THIS book of Dr. Lardner, otherwise intitled the Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, was published in 1756-7. It is so full and judicious on the Subject of the Canon of the New Testament, that it may of itself be sufficient to give the Reader very satisfactory information on that Point. Du Pin published a complete History of the Canon and Writers of Books of the Old and New Testament, which was translated into English in 1699, 2 Vols. Fol. Bp. Cosin published a Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture, in 1672, 4to. In Carpzovius's Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, the Reader will find many learned Remarks on the Constitution of the Canon of Scripture. He may also, if he thinks fit, consult Jones's full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament; Mills' Prolegomena; Richardson's Defence of the Canon of the New Testament, against Toland; Dr. Clarke's Reflexions on Amyntor, &c. Dr. Owen published a sensible Tract in 1764, intitled, Observations on the four Gospels, tending chiefly to ascertain the Times of their Publication, and to illustrate the Form and the Manner of their Composition; his Scheme of the Times, &c. is printed at the End of this Volume. Much information on the same subject may be had in Macknight's Preliminary Dissertations; in Michaelis's Introductory Lectures; in Georgii Pritii Introductio in Lectionem Novi Testamenti, and in a variety of other Authors.

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

APOSTLES AND EVANGELISTS,

WRITERS OF THE

N E W T E S T A M E N T.

C H A P. I.

General Denominations of the Collection of sacred Books, received by Christians.

I. *Scripture.* II. *Bible.* III. *Canon.* IV. *Old and New Testament.*
V. *Instrument.* VI. *Digest.* VII. *Gospel.*

I. **O**NE of the general denominations of sacred books is *Scripture*, or *Scriptures*, literally, and primarily signifying writing. But by way of eminence and distinction the books in the highest esteem are called *Scripture*, or *the Scriptures*.

This word occurs often in the New Testament, in the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles. Whereby we perceive, that in the time of our Saviour and his Apostles this word was in common use, denoting the books received by the Jewish People, as the rule of their faith. To them have been since added by Christians the writings of Apostles and Evangelists, completing the collection of books, received by them as sacred and divine.

Some of the places, where the word *Scripture* is used in the singular number for the books of the Old Testament, are these. 2 Tim. iii. 16. *All scripture is given by the inspiration of God.* And Luke iv. 21. John ii. 22. Acts i. 16. viii. 32. 35. Rom. iv. 3. Gal. iii. 8. James ii. 18. 23. 1 Pet. ii. 6. 2 Pet. i. 20. *Scriptures*, in the plural number, in these following, and many other places. Matth. xxi. 42. xxii. 29. xxvi. 54. Luke xxiv. 27. 32. 45. John v. 39. Acts xvii. 2. 11. xviii. 24. 28. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 2 Pet. iii. 16.

St. *Peter* applies this word to the books of the New, as well as of the Old Testament, to St. *Paul's* Epistles, in particular. 2 Pet. iii. 16. . . as also in all his epistles . . . which they that are unlearned, wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction. Plainly denoting, that St. *Paul's* Epistles are *Scriptures* in the highest sense of the word.

Bible. II. *Bible* is another word, which has now been long in use among Christians, denoting the whole collection of writings received by them, as of divine Authority.

The word, primarily, denotes book. But now is given to the writings of Prophets and Apostles by way of eminence. This collection is *the Book*, or *Bible*, the book of books, as superior in excellence to all other books. The word seems to be used in this sense by *Chrysostom* in a passage already (a) cited. "I therefore exhort all of you to procure to yourselves *Bibles*, βιβλία. If you have nothing else, take care to have the "New Testament, particularly, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Gospels, for your constant instructors." And *Jerome* says, "That (b) the "Scriptures being all writ by one Spirit, are called one book." We likewise saw formerly a passage of *Augustin*, where he informs us, "That (c) "some called all the canonical scriptures one book, on account of their "wonderful harmonie, and unity of design throughout." And I then said: "It is likely, that this way of speaking gradually brought in the general use of the word *Bible*, for the whole collection of the scriptures, or the books of the Old and New Testament."

In short, the ancient Christians were continually speaking of *the Divine Oracles*, and *the Divine Books*, and were much employed in reading them, as *Chrysostom* directs in a passage, transcribed (d) below: where he recommends the reading the divine books daily, forenoon and afternoon. At length the whole collection was called *the book*, or *the bible*.

Dr. *Heumann* has an *Epistle*, or short Dissertation (e) concerning the origin of this name of our sacred collection of books. And for some while he was of opinion, that (f) it was so called, as being the most excellent of all books: in like manner as the Jews had before called their collection *the Scriptures*, by way of eminence. So Acts xviii. 24. and 28. But (g) afterwards he suspected, that the origin of this name was in those

* Hac parte (quod bene notandum est) Petrus canonizat, ut ita loquar, id est, in canonem sacrarum scripturarum ascribit, atque canonicas facit epistolas Pauli. Dicens enim, sicut & ceteras scripturas, utique significat, se etiam illas in scripturarum numero habere. De sacris autem scripturis eum loqui, in confesso est. *Ess. in loc.*

(a) Vol. X. p. 349.

(b) The same. p. 158.

(c) The same. p. 256.

(d) Ἀλλὰ δεῖ πάντα καὶ ἐν ἐπιθόδῳ ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν πνευματικῶν λόγων διαλέξιν. . . . Δυνασόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ οἰκίας διατρέχοντες, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐσπέρην, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐσπέρης μετὰ χειρὸς λάβοιτες τὰ θεῖα βιβλία τὴν ἐξ ἀγίων καρπεῖσθαι ὠφέλειαν. In i. Gen. hom. κ. T. 4. p. 81. C. Bened.

(e) De origine nominis Bibliorum. *Heum. Poecile. Tom. i. p. 412. . . 415.*

(f) Suspiciari deinde cœpi, ideo *Biblia* dictum esse sacrum codicem, quod tanquam liber omnium præstantissimus καὶ ἐξ ὧν dictus sit τὰ βιβλία. Suppetias conjecturæ huic ferre videbatur illa appellatio, qua idem divinum opus vocari solet καὶ γραφαί. c. gr. Act. xviii. 24. 28. *Id. ib. p. 413.*

(g) *Id. p. 414.*

those words of *Paul*, 2 Tim. iv. 13. *The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, καὶ τὰ βιβλία.* For he believed, that thereby the ancient Christians understood the sacred code. But he afterwards acknowledgeth, that he had not found any instance of that interpretation in ancient writers. It seems to me therefore, that this conjecture should be dropt, as destitute of foundation: and that it should be better for us to adhere to the forementioned origin of this name, which appears to have in it a good deal of probability.

III. *Canon* is originally a Greek word, signifying a rule or standard, by which other things are to be examined and judged. *Canon.*

As the writings of the Prophets and Apostles and Evangelists contain an authentic account of the revealed will of God, they are the rule of the belief and practice of those who receive them.

Sometimes *canon* seems equivalent to a list or catalogue, in which are inserted those books, which contain the rule of faith.

Du Pin says, “This (*b*) word signifies not only a law or rule, but “likewise a table, catalogue, list. Some have supposed, that the canonical books were so called, because they are the rule of the faith. But “though it be true, that they are the rule of our faith; yet the reason of “their being called canonical, is, because they are placed in the catalogue of sacred books.”

Perhaps, there is no need to dispute about this. For there is no great difference in those two senses. And there may be passages of ancient writers, where it would be difficult to determine, which of them is intended.

St. Paul has twice used the word *canon*, or rule. Gal. vi. 16. *As many as walk according to this rule.* Upon which verse *Theodoret's* comment is to this purpose: “He (*i*) calls the forementioned doctrine a rule, “as being strait, and having nothing wanting, nor superfluous.” Again, says *St. Paul*, Philip. iii. 16. *Whereunto we have already attained, let us walk according to the same rule.* Where he speaks of the doctrine of the gospel in general, or of some particular maxim of it: not of any books, containing the rule of faith. However, his use of the word may have been an occasion of affixing that denomination to the books of scripture. For it is of great antiquity among Christians.

Iræneus, speaking of the scriptures, as the words of God, calls (*k*) them the rule, or canon of truth. Here *canon* is not a catalogue, but the books, or the doctrine contained in the books of scripture.

Clement of Alexandria, referring to a quotation of the Gospel according to

(*b*) Le mot signifie non seulement une loi, une regle, mais aussi une table, un catalogue, une liste. . . . Quelques-uns ont cru, que les livres canoniques étoient ainsi appelez, parcequ'ils sont la regle de la foi. Mais quoique cela soit vrai, ce n'est pas ce qui leur a fait donner le nom de canoniques, qu'ils n'ont que parceque l'on a nommé canon le catalogue des livres sacrez. *Diff. Prelim. l. 1. ch. 1. § ii.*

(*i*) Κανὼν ἐκάλεσε τὴν προκειμένην διδασκαλίαν, ὡς εὐθέτηι κοσμημένην, καὶ μήτε ἑλλείπων τι μήτε περιττὸν ἔχουσαν. *Theod. in loc.*

(*k*) Nos autem unum et solum verum Deum doctorem sequentes, et regulam veritatis habentes ejus sermones, de iisdem semper eadem dicimus omnes. *Iræn. l. 4. c. 35. al. 69. f. p. 277.*

to the *Egyptians*, says with indignation: "But (*l*) they who choose to follow any thing, rather than the true Evangelical Canon [or the canon of the Gospel] insist upon what follows there as said to *Salome*." In another place he says: "The (*m*) ecclesiastical canon is the consent and agreement of the Law and the Prophets with the testament delivered by the Lord."

Eusebe, as (*n*) formerly quoted, says of *Origen*: "But in the first book of his Commentaries upon the Gospel of *Matthew*, observing (*o*) the ecclesiastical canon, he declares, that he knew of four Gospels only."

I shall add a few more passages from later writers, chiefly such as have been already quoted in the foregoing volumes: to which passages therefore the reader may easily have recourse.

Athanasius (*p*) in his Festal Epistles speaks of three sorts of books, the *canonical*, the same which are now received by us, such as were *allowed to be read*, and then of such as are *apocryphal*: by which he means books forged by heretics.

In the *Synopsis of Scripture*, ascribed to him, but probably not writ till above a hundred years after his time, near the end of the fifth centurie, is frequent mention (*q*) of canonical and uncanonical books.

The council of *Laodicea*, about 363, ordains, that (*q*) "no books, not canonical, should be read in the church, but only the canonical books of the Old and New Testament."

Rufin, enumerating the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, makes (*r*) three sorts of books, such (*s*) as are *included in the canon*, such as are *not canonical*, but *ecclesiastical*, allowed to be read, but not to be alleged for proof of any doctrine, and lastly, *apocryphal* books, which were not to be publicly read.

Jerome likewise often speaks of the canon of Scripture, as we saw in his chapter, where he says: "*Ecclesiasticus*, (*t*) *Judith*, *Tobit*, and the *Shepherd*, are not in the canon:" and "that (*u*) the Church reads, or allows to be read, *Judith*, *Tobit*, and the *Maccabees*, but does not receive them among the canonical scriptures: and that they, and the books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, may be read for the edification of the people, but not as of authority, for proving any doctrines." And for the Old Testament he recommends (*x*) the true *Jewish* canon, or *Hebrew*

(*l*) See Vol. ii. p. 529. or 527.

(*m*) Κανὼν δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἡ συνωδία καὶ ἡ συμφωνία νόμων τε καὶ προφητῶν τῇ κατὰ τὴν τῷ κυρίῳ παρρησίᾳ παραδιδόμενη διαθήκη. Cl. Strom. l. 6. p. 676. C.

(*n*) Ch. 38. Vol. iii. p. 235.

(*o*) . . . τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φυλάττων κανόνα. Ap. Euseb. l. 6. c. 25. p. 226. B.

(*p*) See Vol. iii. p. 228. 229.

(*q*) The same. p. 243. . . 245.

(*q*) The same. p. 291.

(*r*) See Vol. x. p. 187. 188.

(*s*) Hæc sunt, quæ patres intra canonem concluderunt, & ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt. . . . Sciendum tamen est, quod alii libri sunt, qui non sunt canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt. . . . Quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Ceteras vero scripturas apocryphas nominarunt, quas in ecclesiis legi noluerunt. *Rufin. citat. ubi supra* p. 185. not. (*g*)

(*t*) Vol. x. p. 41.

(*u*) . . . p. 43.

(*x*) . . . 52.

Hebrew verity. I refer below (y) to another place relating to the books of the New Testament.

The third Council of *Carthage*, about 397. ordains, "that (z) nothing beside the canonical scriptures be read in the Church under the name "Divine Scriptures."

Augustin, in 395. and afterwards, often (a) speaks of *canonical scriptures*, and the (b) *whole canon of scripture*, that is, all the sacred books of the Old and New Testament. We "(c) read of some, says he, that they "searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so. Acts xvii. 11. "What scriptures, I pray, except the canonical scriptures of the Law and "the Prophets? To them have been since added the Gospels, the Epistles "of Apostles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation of *John*." Of the superior authority of the canonical scriptures to all others, he speaks frequently in passages afterwards alledged (d) in the same chapter.

Chrysostom in a place already cited (e) says: "They (f) fall into "great absurdities, who will not follow the rule [or canon] of the divine "scripture, but trust entirely to their own reasoning." I refer to another place (g) to the like purpose.

Says *Isidore of Pelusium*, about 412. "That (i) these things are so, we "shall perceive, if we attend to the rule [canon] of truth, the divine "scriptures."

And *Leontius*, of *Constantinople*, about 610. having cited the whole catalogue of the books of scripture from Genesis to the Revelation (k) concludes: "These (l) are the ancient and new books, which are received in the Church as canonical."

By all which we discern, how much the use of these words, *canon* and *canonical*, has obtained among Christians, denoting those books, which are of the highest authority, and the rule of faith: as opposed to all other whatever, particularly to ecclesiastical, or the writings of orthodox and learned catholics, and to *apocryphal*, the productions, chiefly, of heretics, which by a specious name and title made a pretension to be accounted among sacred books.

IV. The most common and general division of the canonical books, is that of *ancient and new*, or the *Old and New Testament*. The Hebrew word, *berith*, from which

Old and New
Testament.

it

(y) *Vol.* x. p. 86. (z) . . . p. 193. (a) . . . p. 207.

(b) *Totus autem canon scripturarum . . his libris continetur. Ib. not. (r)*
p. 208.

(c) . . . p. 252. (d) See p. 253. 256. 259. . . 268.

(e) *Vol.* xii. p. 126.

(f) Ορᾶς, εἰς ὅσιν ἀτοπίαν ἐκπύψουσιν οἱ μὴ βεβλόμενοι τῷ τῆς θείας γραφῆς κα-
τακολουθεῖν κανόνι. κ. λ. In *Gen. cap. 33. hom. 58. T. 4. p. 566. B.*

(g) *Vid. hom. 33. in Act. Ap. sub fin.*

(i) Οτι δὲ ταῦτα ἔτις ἔχει, τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας, τὰς θείας φημι γραφάς,
καταπείσομεν. *Isid. ep. 114. l. 4.*

(k) See *Vol.* xi. p. 381.

(l) Ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κανονιζόμενα βιβλία ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ παλαιὰ καὶ νέα. *Ci-
tat. ibid. p. 380. not. (e)*

it is translated, properly signifies (*m*) covenant. *St. Paul*, 2 Cor. iii. 16. . . . 18. shewing the superior excellence of the gospel-covenant, or the dispensation by *Christ*, above the legal covenant, or the dispensation by *Moses*, useth the word *testament*, not only for the covenant itself, but likewise for the books, in which it is contained. At least he does so, in speaking of the legal covenant. For, representing the case of the unbelieving part of the Jewish People, he says, v. 14. *Until this day remaineth the same vail untaken away in reading the Old Testament.*

It is no wonder therefore, that this way of speaking has much prevailed among Christians. *Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis*, about the year 177. went into the East, to get an exact account of the books of the Law and the Prophets. In his letter to his friend *Onesimus*, giving an account of his journey, and reckoning up the books in their order, he calls them (*n*) *the ancient books*, and (*o*) *the books of the Old Testament*. *Eusebe* calls it (*p*) “a catalogue of the acknowledged scriptures of the Old Testament.” Our Ecclesiastical Historian elsewhere (*q*) speaks of the scriptures of the New Testament. I shall remind my readers of but one instance more. *Cyril of Jerusalem*, introducing his catalogue of scriptures received by the Christian Church, says: “These (*r*) things we are taught by the divinely inspired scriptures of the Old and New Testament.” Many other like examples occur in the preceding volumes of this work.

Instrument. V. Instead of *testament* Latin writers sometimes use the word *instrument*, denoting writing, charter, record. We find it several times in *Tertullian*, reckoned the most ancient Latin writer of the Church now remaining. In a passage already (*s*) cited he calls the Gospels, or the New Testament in general, the Evangelic Instrument. And says, “How (*t*) large chasms *Marcion* has made in the “epistle to the *Romans*, by leaving out what he pleases, may appear from “our entire Instrument:” or our unaltered copies of the New Testament, particularly of that epistle. Speaking of the Shepherd of *Hermas*, he says, it (*u*) was not reckoned a part of the Divine Instrument: thereby meaning, as it seems, the New Testament. Which passage was quoted (*x*)
by

(*m*) Notandum, quod *Britb*, verbum Hebraicum, Aquila συνθήκην, id est, pactum, interpretatur: LXX semper διαθήκην, id est, testamentum: et in plerisque scripturarum locis testamentum non voluntatem defunctorum sonare, sed pactum viventium. *Hieron. in Malach. cap. ii. T. 3. p. 1816.*

(*n*) Ετι δὲ καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἐκτελέουσαν ἀκριβείαν. κ. λ. *Ap. Euseb. l. 4. c. 27. p. 148. D.*

(*o*) . . . Καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία. *Ib. p. 149. A.*

(*p*) *Ibid. p. 148. D.*

(*q*) *See Vol. viii. p. 197.*

(*r*) *The same. p. 267.*

(*s*) *See Vol. ii. p. 577.*

(*t*) Quantas autem foveas in ista vel maxime epistola [ad Romanos] *Marcion* fecerit, auferendo quæ voluit, de nostri instrumenti integritate patebit. *Adv. Marcion. l. 5. cap. 13. p. 601.*

(*u*) Sed cederem tibi, si scriptura Pastoris—divino instrumento meruisset incidi. . . *De Pudicit. cap. 10. p. 727. A.*

(*x*) *See Vol. ii. p. 638.*

by us formerly. He calls (y) the Law and the Prophets the Jewish Instruments; that is, writings, or scriptures. He speaks of the antiquity (z) of the Jewish Instruments, or Scriptures. He (a) seems in one place to use the word *instrument*, as equivalent to scriptures, containing the doctrine of revelation, or the revealed will of God.

VI. *Digest* is another word used by *Tertullian* in speaking of the scriptures. "*Luke's* (b) *Digest*, he says, is often ascribed to *Paul*." He calls (c) the Gospels, or the whole New Testament, *our Digest*, in allusion, as it seems, to some collection of the Roman Laws digested into order. Those two passages were cited in the chapter of *Tertullian*. I now transcribe the latter below (d) more at large, it having also the word *instrument*, as equivalent to the New Testament. He likewise calls the Jewish Scriptures (e) *Sacred Digests*. He seems to use the word *digest* (f) elsewhere, as equivalent to writing, or work, in general.

I shall not take notice of any other general denominations of the sacred scriptures.

VII. My chief concern is with the New Testament, which, as is well known, consists of Gospels, the Acts, and Epistles. The only word, that needs explanation, is the first.

Gospel is a translation of the Greek word *εὐαγγέλιον*, the Latin word *evangelium*, which signifies any good message or tidings. In the New Testament the word denotes the doctrine of salvation, taught by Jesus Christ, and his Apostles. Which indeed is gospel by way of eminence, as it is the best tidings that ever were published in this world. Says *Theodoret* upon Rom. i. 1. "He (g) calls it *gospel*, as it contains as-
"surance

(y) Aut nunquid non iusti Judæi, & quibus poenitentia non opus esset, habentes gubernacula disciplinæ, & timoris instrumenta, Legem & Prophetas. *De Pudicitia. cap. 7. p. 722. B.*

(z) Primam instrumentis istis auctoritatem summa antiquitas vindicat. *Apol. cap. 19. p. 19. B.*

Sed quoniam edidimus, antiquissimis Judæorum instrumentis sectam istam esse suffultam. *Apol. cap. 21. in p. 20.*

(a) Sed quo plenius & impressius tam ipsum, quam dispositiones ejus & voluntates adiremus, instrumentum adjecit literaturæ, si quis velit de Deo inquirere. *Apol. cap. 18. p. 18. C.*

(b) See Vol. ii. p. 581. or 579. (c) The same. p. 629. or 630.

(d) Si vero Apostoli quidam integrum evangelium contulerunt, de sola convictus inæqualitate reprehensi, Pseudapostoli autem veritatem eorum interposularunt, et inde sunt nostra digesta: quod erit germanum illud Apostolorum instrumentum, quod adulteros passum est? *Adver. Marc. l. 4. cap. 3. p. 504. B.*

(e) Sed homines gloriæ, ut diximus, et eloquentiæ folius libidinosi, si quid in sanctis offenderunt digestis, exinde regestum pro instituto curiositatis ad propria verterunt. *Apol. cap. 47. p. 41. B.*

(f) Elegi ad compendium Varronis opera, qui rerum divinarum ex omnibus retro digestis commentatus, idoneum se nobis scopum exposuit. *Ad Nation. l. 2. cap. i. p. 64. C.*

(g) Ευαγγέλιον δὲ τὸ κήρυγμα προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπισχεῖν ἔχον χορηγίαν. Ευαγγελίζεται γὰρ τὰς τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀλλαγὰς, τὴν τῷ διαβόλῃ κατὰ λῦσιν, τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὴν ἀφεσιν, τὴν δαπάνην τὴν παύσασιν, τὴν νεκρῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν ἑσπερίων. *In ep. ad Rom. T. 3. p. 10. B.*

“surance of many good things. For it proclaims peace with God, the overthrow of Satan, the remission of sins, the abolishing of death, the resurrection of the dead, eternal life, and the kingdom of heaven.”

Says St. *Matthew* iv. 23. *And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom.* Καὶ κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας. *Mark* xiii. 10. *And the gospel [τὸ εὐαγγέλιον] must first be preached to all nations.* Ch. xvi. 15. *Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.* Κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. It is called *the word of truth, the gospel of our salvation.* *Epi.* i. 13. And in like manner, in other places.

But by *gospel*, when used by us concerning the writings of the Evangelists, we mean the *historie of Christ's preaching, and miracles.* The word seems also to be so used by St. *Mark*, i. 1. *The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ.* Which may be understood, and paraphrased thus: “Here (A) begins the Historie of the life and doctrine of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and Saviour of mankind.”

St. *Luke*, referring to the book of his Gospel, says: *Acts* i. 1. 2. *The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began to do and teach, until the day in the which he was taken up, after that he through the Holy Ghost had given commandments unto the Apostles, whom he had chosen.* But St. *Luke*, as it seems, there puts the principal part for the whole. For he has therein writ also the historie of our Lord's miraculous birth, and divers extraordinarie events attending it: and likewise the historie of the birth of *John* the Baptist, and divers circumstances of it, and his preaching and death.

In this sense the word Gospel is frequently understood by us. A Gospel is the historie of Jesus Christ, his doctrine, miracles, resurrection, and ascension: not excluding the historie of his fore-runner, who (B) also is said to have *preached the gospel*, that is, the doctrine of the gospel, or the kingdom of God.

The Gospel according to *Matthew, Mark, Luke, John*, is the historie of Jesus Christ, as writ by those several Evangelists.

(A) *That is Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase.* But I am sensible it will not be allowed by all. *Oecumenius* says, that by Gospel *Mark* does not intend his own writing, but Christ's preaching. Μάκεος, ἀρχή, φησὶ, τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ἀλλὰ ὃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συγγραφήν καλεῖ εὐαγγέλιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῷ χριστῷ κηρύγμα. *Oecum. in Añ. Ap.* He proceeds to say, that the faithful afterwards called the writings of the Evangelists *Gospels*, as truly containing the gospel, that is, the doctrine of Christ. See *Vol. xi. p. 413.*

(B) *Matt.* iii. 1. 2. *In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying: Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.* Compare *Mark* i. 4. *Luke* iii. 1. 2. And says St. *Luke* iii. 18. *And many other things in his exhortation preached he unto the people.* Πολλὰ μὲν ἔν κ' ἕτερα παραικαλῶν, ἐηγγελίζετο τὸν λαόν. Which may be literally rendered thus: *And exhorting many other like things, he evangelized [or preached the gospel to] the people.*

C H A P. II.

General Observations upon the Canon of the New Testament.

I. **T**HE canonical books of the New Testament received by Christians in this part of the world, are the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, Fourteen Epistles of St. *Paul*, Seven Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation.

II. There may be different canons of the New Testament among Christians.

Indeed, there have been in former times, and still are, different sentiments among Christians, concerning the number of books to be received as canonical. The (a) canon of the *Syrian* churches is not the same as ours. *Jerome* tells us, that (b) in his time some of the Latins rejected the epistle to the *Hebrews*, and some of the Greeks the book of the Revelation. From *Chrysostom*'s works we perceive, that (c) he did not receive the second epistle of St. *Peter*, nor the second and third of St. *John*, nor the epistle of St. *Jude*, nor the Revelation. And there is reason to think, that (d) *Theodoret*'s canon likewise was much the same with *Chrysostom*'s, and that of the churches in *Syria*. Nevertheless, we have observed in the course of this work, that about the same time the *Egyptians*, and the Christians in divers other parts of the world, had the same number of canonical books, that we have.

But to come nearer our own time. *Calvin* (e), *Grotius* (f), *Le Clerc* (g), *Philip Limborch* (h), and some other learned moderns, have not admitted the epistle to the *Hebrews* to have been writ by St. *Paul*: though (i) they were willing to allow it to be the work of an apostolical man, and a valuable part of sacred scripture. But I cannot say, that they were in the right in so doing. For it appears to me to have been a maxim of the ancient Christians, not to receive any doctrinal or preceptive writing, as of authority, unless it were known to be the work of an

(a) See Vol. ix. p. 221. Vol. xi. p. 270... 275.

(b) Vol. x. p. 122. 123. (c) The same. p. 341.

(d) Vol. xi. p. 88. 89. 91.

(e) Ego ut Paulum agnoscam auctorem, adduci nequeo. *Calvin. argum. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(f) Facillima refutatu est postrema hæc opinio, ideo quod Paulinæ epistolæ inter se sint germanæ, pari charactere ac dicendi modo: hæc vero manifeste ab iis discrepet, selectiores habens voces Græcas, leniusque fluens, non autem fracta brevibus incis, ac salebrofa *Grot. Prooem. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(g) *Hist. Ecc. Ann. 69. p. 455 . . . 461.*

(h) *Prolegom. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(i) Hisce argumentis utrinque attente expensis dicendum videtur, Paulum epistolæ hujus scriptorem non videri Quis vero illius scriptor sit, incertum est. Alii eam Lucæ, alii Barnabæ, alii Clementi adscribunt . . . Interim divinam hujus epistolæ auctoritatem agnoscimus, multisque aliis, quas ab Apostolis esse scriptas, constat, ob argumenti quod tractat præstantiam præferendam judicamus. *Limb. ibid. Vid. et Calvin. ubi supra.*

an Apostle. Consequently, the epistle to the *Hebrews*, if writ by an apostolical man only, should not be esteemed canonical.

Grotius (*k*) likewise supposed the second epistle ascribed to Peter, not to have been writ by the Apostle *Simon Peter*, but by *Simeon*, chosen Bishop of *Jerusalem* after the death of *James* the Just, whose epistle we have. Which *Simeon* lived to the time of *Trajan*, when he was crucified for the name of Christ. Upon which I only observe at present, that if this *Simeon* be the writer of this epistle, it should not be a part of canonical scripture.

The same learned man supposeth (*l*) the second and third epistles, called St. *John's*, not to have been writ by *John* the apostle, but by another *John*, an Elder or Presbyter who lived about the same time, and after him, at *Ephesus*.

And the epistle called St. *Jude's*, he thought (*m*) to have been written by one of that name, who was Bishop of *Jerusalem* in the time of the Emperour *Adrian*, and not till after there had been several other Bishops of that church, since the death of the forementioned *Simeon*. If so, I believe all men may be of opinion, that this epistle ought not to be placed in the canon of the New Testament.

It may not be thought right, if I should here entirely omit Mr. *Whiston*, whose canon consisted of the (*n*) Apostolical Constitutions, and divers other books, as sacred, beside those generally received: and (*o*) the Constitutions,

(*k*) Jam olim veterum multi credidère, non esse apostoli Petri, argumento tum dictionis ab epistola priore multum diversæ, quod agnoscunt Eusebius & Hieronymus, tum quod multæ olim ecclesiæ hanc non receperint. . . Scriptorem autem hujus epistolæ arbitror esse Simeonem, sive Simonem, episcopum post Jacobi mortem Hierosolymis, ejusdemque Jacobi, cujus epistolam habemus, successorem & imitorem. Unde etiam constat, vixisse hunc post excidium Hierosolymitanum ad Trajani tempora, & tunc pro nomine Christi crucifixum. *Annot. in Ep. Petri secund.*

(*l*) Hanc epistolam, & eam quæ sequitur, non esse Johannis Apostoli, veterum multi jam olim crediderunt, a quibus non dissentiant Eusebius & Hieronymus. Et magna sunt in id argumenta. Nam duos fuisse Johannes Ephesi, Apostolum, ac Presbyterum, ejus discipulum, semper constitit ex sepulchris, alio hujus, alio illius: quæ sepulchra vidit Hieronymus. *Grot. Annot. in ep. Joan. secund.*

(*m*) Quare omnino adducor, ut credam esse hanc epistolam Judæ Episcopi Hierosolymitani, qui fuit Adriani temporibus, paullo ante Barchochabam. *Id. in Annot. ad ep. Judæ.*

(*n*) "The sacred books of the New Testament still extant, both those in the 85. canon, and those written afterwards, are the same which we now receive: together with the eight books of Apostolical Constitutions, and their epitomé, the Doctrine of the Apostles, the two epistles of *Clement*, the epistle of *Barnabas*, the Shepherd of *Hermas*; and perhaps the second book of apocryphal *Esdra*s, with the epistles of *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*." *Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions. ch. i. p. 70. 71.*

(*o*) "If any one has a mind to sort the several books of the New Testament, he may in the first place set the Apostolical Constitutions, [with it's extract, or Doctrine of the Apostles, as derived from the body, or College of the Apostles, met in Councils. In the next place he may put the four Gospels, with their appendix, the Acts of the Apostles. The Apocalypse of *John*]

Constitutions, in particular, as the most sacred of all the canonical books of the New Testament.

Concerning which I beg leave to observe, *first*, that the receiving the Constitutions as a sacred book, and part of the rule of faith, would make a great alteration in the Christian scheme. Some might be induced to think it no great blessing to mankind, and scarcely deserving an apology. *Secondly*, Mr. *Whiston's* canon is not the canon of the Christian churches in former times: as is manifest from the large collections, made by us in the preceding volumes, from ecclesiastical writers of every age, to the beginning of the twelfth centurie. *Thirdly*, Mr. *Whiston*, notwithstanding all his labours, made few converts to this opinion. Which I impute to the knowledge and learning of our times. And as the Christian Religion is built upon facts, the studie of Ecclesiastical Antiquity will be always needful, and may be of use, to defeat various attempts of ingenious, but mistaken and prejudiced men.

III. A short canon of Scripture is most eligible.

Religion is the concern of all men. A few short histories and epistles are better fitted for general use, than numerous and prolix writings. Besides, if any writings are to be received as the rule of faith and manners, it is of the utmost importance, that they be justly entitled to that distinction. Otherwise men may be led into errors of very bad consequence. If any books pretend to deliver the doctrine of infallible and divinely inspired teachers, such as Jesus Christ and his Apostles are esteemed by Christians: great care should be taken to be well satisfied, that their accounts are authentic, and that they are the genuine writings of the men, whose names they bear. The pretensions of writings, placed in high authority, to which great credit is given, ought to be well attested.

Dr. *Jortin*, speaking of the work called Apostolical Constitutions, says: "The (p) authors of them are, it is pretended, the twelve Apostles and St. *Paul* gathered together, with *Clement* their amanuensis.

"If their authority should appear only ambiguous, it would be our duty to reject them, lest we should adopt as divine doctrines the commandments of men. For since each Gospel contains the main parts of Christianity, and might be sufficient to make men wise to salvation; there is less danger in diminishing, than in enlarging the number of canonical books: and less evil would have ensued from the loss of one of the four Gospels, than from the addition of a fifth and spurious one."

In

John also cannot be reckoned at all inferior to them, though it be quite of another nature from them. In the third rank may stand the Epistles of the Apostles, *Paul*, *Peter* and *John*. In the fourth rank may stand the Epistles of the brethren of our Lord, *James* and *Jude*. In the fifth and last rank may stand the epistles and writings of the companions and attendants of the Apostles, *Barnabas*, *Clement*, *Hermas*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*. All which, with the addition perhaps of apocryphal *Esdra*s, and of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and the *Acts of Paul*, were they now extant, I look upon, though in different degrees, as the sacred books of the New Testament." *Ibid.* p. 72. 73.

(p) Dr. *Jortin's* Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. Vol. i. p. 229.

In my opinion, that is a very fine and valuable observation.

And I shall transcribe again an observation of *Augustin*, formerly (p) taken notice of. "Our canonical books of scripture, which are of the "highest Authority with us, have been settled with great care. They "ought to be few, lest their value should be diminished. And "yet they are so many that their agreement throughout is wonderful."

IV. I have been sometimes apt to think, that the best canon of the New Testament would be that, which may be collected from (r) *Eusebe* of *Cæsarea*, and seems to have been the canon of some in his time.

The canon should consist of two classes. In the first should be those books, which he assures us were then *universally acknowledged*, and had been all along received by all catholic Christians. These are the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen epistles of St. Paul, one epistle of St. Peter, and one epistle of St. *John*. These only should be of the highest authority, from which doctrines of religion may be proved.

In the other class should be placed those books, of which *Eusebe* speaks, as contradicted in his time, though well known: concerning which there were doubts, whether they were writ by the persons, whose names they bear, or whether the writers were apostles of Christ. These are the epistle to the *Hebrews*, the epistle of *James*, the second of *Peter*, the second and third of *John*, the epistle of *Jude*, and the Revelation. These should be reckoned doubtful, and contradicted: though many might be of opinion, that there is a good deal of reason to believe them genuine. And they should be allowed to be publicly read in Christian assemblies for the edification of the people: but not be alleged, as affording, alone, sufficient proof of any doctrine.

That I may not be misunderstood, I must add, that there should be no third class of sacred books: forasmuch as there appears not any reason from Christian antiquity to allow of that character and denomination to any Christian writings, beside those above-mentioned.

In this canon the preceding rule is regarded. It is a short canon. And it seems to have been thought of by some (A) about the time of the Reformation.

V. Nevertheless that, which is now generally received, is a good canon.

For

(p) See Vol. x. p. 289.

(r) Vol viii. p. 90. 105.

(A) We learn from *Paul Sarpi's* History of the Council of *Trent*, that one of the doctrinal articles concerning sacred scripture, extracted, or pretended to be extracted out of *Luther's* works, was this; "that no books should be "reckoned a part of the Old Testament, beside those received by the Jews: "and that out of the New Testament should be excluded the epistle to the "Hebrews, the epistle of *James*, the second of *Peter*, the second and third of "John, the epistle of *Jude*, and the Revelation." And there were some Bishops in that Council, "who would have had the books of the New Testament divided into two classes: in one of which should be put those books "only which had been always received without contradiction: and in the "other those, which had been rejected by some, or about which at least "there had been doubts." And Dr. *Courayer*, in his notes, seems to favour this proposal. See his French translation of *The Historie of the Council of Trent*. Liv. 2. ch. 43. Tom. i. p. 235. and ch. 47. p. 240. and note (i).

For it contains only those books, which were acknowledged by all in the time of *Eusebe*, and from the beginning, and seven other, which were then well known, and were next in esteem to those before mentioned, as universally acknowledged; and were more generally received as of authority, than any other controverted writings. Nor is there in them any thing inconsistent with the facts, or principles, delivered in the universally acknowledged books. And moreover, there may be a great deal of reason to think, that they are the genuine writings of those, to whom they are ascribed, and that the writers were apostles. This evidence will be carefully examined, and distinctly considered, as we proceed.

In this canon likewise the above-mentioned rule is regarded. It is a short canon. For out of it are excluded many books, which might seem to make a claim to be ranked among sacred and canonical scriptures.

VI. There are not any books, beside those now generally received by us, that ought to be esteemed canonical, or books of authority.

I suppose this to be evident to all, who have carefully attended to the historie in the several volumes of this work; and that there is no reason to receive, as a part of sacred scripture, the epistle of *Barnabas*, the epistle of *Clement*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Recognitions*, the *Clementin Homilies*, the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, the *Apostolical Constitutions*, the *Gospel of Peter*, or *Matthias*, or *Thomas*, the *Preaching of Peter*, the *Acts of Peter and Paul*, of *Andrew and John and other Apostles*, the *Revelation of Peter, and Paul, their Travels or Circuits*. That these books were not received, as sacred scripture, or a part of the rule of faith, by Christians in former times, has been shewn. Nor can they therefore be reasonably received by us as such.

The only writing of all these, that seems to make a fair claim to be a part of sacred scripture, is the epistle of St. *Barnabas*, if genuine, as I (s) have supposed it to be. Nevertheless, I think, it ought not to be received as sacred scripture, or admitted into the canon, for these reasons.

1. It was not reckoned a book of authority, or a part of the rule of faith, by those ancient Christians, who have quoted it, and taken the greatest notice of it.

Clement of Alexandria has (t) quoted this epistle several times, but not as decisive, and by way of full proof, as we shewed. Nor is it so quoted by (u) *Origen*. Nor is the epistle of *Barnabas* in any of (x) *Origen's* catalogues of the books of Scripture, which we still find in his works, or are taken notice of by *Eusebe*. By that Ecclesiastical Historian, in one place it is reckoned (y) among *spurious* writings, that is, such as were generally rejected and supposed not to be part of the New Testament. At other times it is called by him (z) a *contradicted* book, that is, not received by all.

Nor

(s) See Ch. i. Vol. i. p. 23. . . . 30.

(u) See Vol. iii. p. 305. 306.

(y) Vol. viii. p. 97. 167.

(t) See Vol. ii. p. 521. . . . 523.

(x) The same. p. 234. . . . 243.

(z) P. 96. 97.

Nor is this epistle placed among sacred scriptures by following writers, who have given catalogues of the books of the New Testament. It is wanting, particularly, in the Festal Epistle (a) of *Athanasius*, in (b) the catalogue of *Cyril of Jerusalem*, of (c) the Council of *Laodicea*, of (d) *Epiphanius*, (e) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, (f) *Amphilochius*, and (g) *Jerome*, (h) *Rufin*, (i) the Council of *Carthage*, and (k) *Augustin*. Nor has it been reckoned a part of canonical scripture by later writers.

2. *Barnabas* was not an Apostle.

For he was not one of the twelve Apostles of Christ. Nor was he chosen in the room of *Judas*. Nor is there in the Acts any account of his being chosen into the number of Apostles, or appointed to be an Apostle by Christ, as *Paul* was. What *St. Luke* says of *Barnabas* is, *that he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith*. Acts xi. 24. And in ch. xiii. 1. he is mentioned among *Prophets and Teachers* in the church of *Antioch*. But *St. Luke* speaks in the like manner of *Stephen*, of whom he says, *he was a man full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost*. vi. 5. *full of faith and power*. v. 8. *full of the Holy Ghost*. vii. 55. And all the seven were full of the Holy Ghost, and wisdom. vi. 3.

That *Barnabas* was not an Apostle, I think, may be concluded from Gal. ii. 9. where *Paul* says: *And when James, and Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given to me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of Fellowship*. By grace I suppose *St. Paul* to mean the favour of the apostleship. So Rom. i. 5. *By whom we have received grace and apostleship*, that is, the favour of the apostleship. Ch. xii. 3. *For I say, through the grace given to me*, meaning the especial favour of the apostleship. And see ch. xv. 15. 1 Cor. xv. 10. Eph. iv. 7. compared with ver. 11.

If *Barnabas* had been an Apostle, in the fullest sense of the word, *St. Paul* would not have said in the above cited place from the second to the *Galatians*, *when they perceived the grace given to me*, but, *when they perceived the grace given to me, and Barnabas*. And in the preceding part of the context, particularly, in ver. 7. 8. he twice says *me*, where he would have said *us*, if *Barnabas* had been an apostle. For he had been mentioned before, in ver. 1.

Indeed, in the Acts, where *Paul* and *Barnabas* are mentioned together, *Barnabas* is sometimes first named, as Acts xi. 30. xii. 25. xiii. 1. 2. and 7. xiv. 14. xv. 12. 25. Which I think not at all strange, among persons, who were not intent upon precedence: when too *Barnabas* was the elder in years and discipleship. But in several other places *Paul* is first named, as in Acts xiii. 43. 46. xv. 2. 22. 35. of which no other reason can be well assigned, beside that of *Paul's* apostleship.

Moreover, wherever they travelled together, if there was an opportunity for discoursing, *Paul* spake. So at *Paphos*, in the island of *Cyprus*. Acts

(a) Vol viii. p. 227. . . . 229.

(c) P. 291. . . . 293.

(e) Vol. ix. p. 133.

(g) Vol. x. p. 76. 77.

(i) P. 193. 194.

(b) P. 269. 270.

(d) P. 303. 304.

(f) P. 147. 148.

(h) P. 177. 178.

(k) P. 210. 211.

Acts xiii. 6. . . 12. And at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*. ch. xiii. 15. 16. See also ch. xiv. 12.

And that *Paul* was the principal person, appears from that early account, after they had been in *Cyprus*. ch. xiii. 13. *Now when Paul and his companie loosed from Paphos, they came to Perga, in Pamphylia.*

However, there are some texts, which must be considered by us, as seeming to afford objections.

Acts xiv. 4. *But the multitude of the city was divided. Part held with the Jews, and part with the Apostles: that is, Paul and Barnabas, who were then at Iconium. And afterwards, at Lystra. ver. 14. Which when the Apostles, Barnabas and Paul, heard, ... Here Barnabas is stiled an Apostle, as well as Paul.*

To which I answer, *first*. Both being now together, and meeting with the like treatment, might be called *Apostles*: though only one of them was, properly, so. *Secondly*, it is not unlikely, that *Barnabas* and *Paul* are here stiled by St. *Luke*, *Apostles*, in regard to what had been done at *Antioch*, as related by him. ch. xii. i. . . 4. when by an express order from heaven, they were sent forth from the church at *Antioch*, upon a special commission, in which they were still employed. That designation, however solemn, did not make either of them Apostles of Christ, in the highest sense. It was not the apostolical, which is a general commission. But it was a particular commission, as appears from that whole historie, and from what is said at the conclusion of the journey, which they had taken. Acts xiv. 26. *And thence they sailed to Antioch, from whence they had been recommended to the grace of God, for the work, which they had fulfilled.* Nevertheless, they are not unfitly called Apostles upon account of it. So 2 Cor. viii. 13. *Whether any do enquire of Titus, he is my partner, and fellow-helper concerning you: or our brethren be enquired of, they (1) are the messengers of the churches*, literally, apostles of the churches, *and the glorie of Christ.* If those brethren, which had been appointed by the churches to go to *Jerusalem*, with the contributions, which had been made for the relief of the poor saints in *Judea*, might be called Apostles; there can be no doubt, but *Paul* and *Barnabas* might be called Apostles in regard to the work, to which they had been solemnly appointed by the church at *Antioch*.

Again 1 Cor. ix. 5. 6. *Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or I only, and Barnabas, have not we power to forbear working?*

Some may think, that *Barnabas* is here supposed to be an Apostle. I answer, that though *Barnabas* was not an Apostle properly, or equally with himself, yet *Paul*, out of an affectionate respect to his friend, companion, and fellow-laborer, might be disposed to mention him, upon this occasion, in the manner he has done. This is said, supposing all before-mentioned to have been Apostles of Christ, in the highest sense. But, *secondly*, it is not certain, that all, before-mentioned, were strictly Apostles. It seems to be more likely, that by *the brethren of the Lord* some are intended, who were not Apostles. If so, *Paul* might reasonably, and without offence, gratify his friendly disposition: and insert here the

name

name of *Barnabas*, who had shared with him many fatigues and difficulties in the service of the gospel, though he was not an Apostle.

I do not therefore discern any good reason from the New Testament, why *Barnabas* should be reckoned an Apostle. But quite otherwise.

The sense of the primitive Christians is agreeable hereto. Few or none of them have thought *Barnabas* an Apostle.

Clement of Alexandria has quoted *Barnabas* (m) five or six times. Twice he calls him *Apostle*. In another place he calls him the *apostolic Barnabas*, who was one of the seventy, and fellow-laborer of *Paul*. These are the highest characters, which he intended to give to *Barnabas*, and what he means, when he calls him *Apostle*, as is fully shewn in the place just referred to.

By *Tertullian*, as cited by us (n) formerly, *Barnabas* is plainly reckoned no more, than (o) a companion of Apostles.

Eusebe, in a chapter concerning those who were disciples of Christ, says: "The (p) names of our Saviour's Apostles are well known from the Gospels. But there is no where extant a catalogue of the seventy disciples. However, it is said, that *Barnabas* was one of them, who is expressly mentioned in the Acts, and in *Paul's* epistle to the *Galatians*." That learned writer therefore did not know, that *Barnabas* was an Apostle. In (q) another place of the same work, his Ecclesiastical Historie, he quotes a passage from the seventh book of *Clement's* Institutions or *Hypotoposes*, where *Barnabas* is stiled one of the seventy. In his Commentarie upon *Isaiah* (r) *Eusebe* computes fourteen Apostles, meaning the twelve, and *Paul* added to them, and equal to them, and *James* the Lord's brother, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, whom *Eusebe* did not think to be one of the twelve. Nor does he here say, that (s) he was equal to them, or *Paul*. However, from all these places, we can be fully assured, that our learned Ecclesiastical Historian did not so much as suspect *Barnabas* to have been an Apostle, in the highest sense of the word.

Jerome, in the article of *Barnabas*, in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, says, he (t) was ordained with *Paul* an Apostle of the Gentiles. But authors, who write in haste, as *Jerome* often did, do not always express themselves exactly and properly. *Jerome* did not think, that *Barnabas* was equally an Apostle with *Paul*. This may be concluded from what there follows: He wrote an epistle for the edification of the Church, which is read among the apocryphal scriptures. If *Barnabas* had been an Apostle, strictly speaking, *Jerome* would not have said, he wrote an epistle for the edification of the Church. Which any man might do. Nor would his epistle have been reckoned apocryphal, as *Jerome* here, and elsewhere calls

(m) Vol. ii. p. 521. . . . 523.

(n) . . . p. 606. . . . 608.

(o) Volo tamen ex redundantia alicujus etiam comitis Apostolorum testimonium superducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam Magistrorum. Exstat enim & Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos. *Tertull. de Pudicit. cap. 20. p. 741.*

(p) . . . Τῶν δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν κατάλογος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔδαμῃ φέρεται. Λίγισταί γε μὴν ἐκ αὐτῶν Βαρνάβας. κ. λ. *H. E. l. 1. cap. xii.*

(q) L. 2. cap. i. p. 38. D.

(r) Comm. in Es. p. 422.

(s) See Vol. viii. p. 154. 155.

(t) See Vol. x. p. 142. 143.

(u) calls it. When *Jerome* says, that *Barnabas* was ordained with *Paul* an Apostle of the Gentiles; it is likely, he refers to the historie in Acts xiii. 1. . . . 4. of which I have already said all that is needful.

Theodoret, as formerly quoted, says: "The (x) all-wise Deity committed the culture of a barren world to a few men, and those fishermen, and publicans, and one tent-maker." And to the like purpose often. Which shews, that he did not reckon *Barnabas* an Apostle in the fullest meaning of the word. If he had, he must have added, *and one Levite*. The same observation may be applied to *Chrysostom*, who (y) in his many passages shewing the wonderful progress of the gospel, often mentions the Apostles *Peter*, a fisherman, and *Paul* a tent-maker, but never *Barnabas* a Levite.

If then *Barnabas* was not an Apostle, an epistle writ by him cannot be received as canonical, or a part of the rule of faith: forasmuch as no men, beside Apostles, have the privilege of writing epistles, or other works, preceptive, and doctrinal, that shall be received by the churches, in that quality. This has been said several times in the course of this (z) work. And I still think it right.

Mark (a) and *Luke*, apostolical men, may write histories of our Lord's and his apostles preaching, and doctrine, and miracles, which shall be received as sacred, and of authority. But no epistles, or other writings, delivering doctrines and precepts, (except only in the way of historical narration,) can be of authority, but those writ by Apostles.

Says *Jerome* of St. *John*: "He (b) was at once Apostle, Evangelist, and Prophet: Apostle, in that he wrote letters to the churches as a master: Evangelist, as he wrote a book of the Gospel, which no other of the twelve Apostles did, except *Matthew*: Prophet, as he saw the Revelation in the island *Patmos*, where he was banished by *Domitian*."

Frederic Spanheim, in his Dissertation concerning the twelve Apostles, readily acknowledgeth this to be one prerogative of Apostles: "That (c) they may write epistles, which shall be received as canonical, and be of universal and perpetual authority in the Church."

3. *Barnabas* does not take upon himself the character of an Apostle, or a man of authority.

Near the beginning of the epistle he says: "I (d) therefore, not as a teacher,

(u) See again, as before, Vol. x. p. 143.

(x) Vol. xi. p. 96. See also p. 97. 99. 103.

(y) See Vol. x. p. 366. . . . 370.

(z) See Apostles in the alphabetical Table of principal Matters.

(a) See Vol. ii. p. 525.

(b) Vol. x. p. 101.

(c) Decimus nobis character apostolicæ *ἐπιστολῆς* est potestas scribendi ad ecclesias plures, vel ad omnes, τοῖς καθόλου πιστῶν, hujusmodi epistolas, quæ in canonem referri mererentur, id est, quæ forent canonicæ, universalis et perpetuæ in Ecclesia auctoritatis. *Diff. prima de Apostel. Duod. num. xi. Opp. T. 2. p. 310.*

(d) Ego autem non tanquam doctor, sed unus ex vobis, demonstrabo pauca, per quæ in plurimis letiores sitis. *Barn. ep. cap. i.*

“teacher, but as one of you, shall lay before you a few things, that you may be joyful.”

And somewhat lower: “Again, (e) I entreat you, as one of you.”

He writes as a man, who had gifts of the Spirit, but not that full measure which was a prerogative of Apostles. “He (f) who put the engrafted gift of his doctrine in us, knows, that no man has received [or learned] from me a truer word. But I know, that you are “worthie.”

I shall add a few more very modest expressions, not suitable to an Apostle.

“Thus (g) as much as in me lies, I have writ to you with great plainness. And I hope, that according to my ability, I have omitted nothing conducive to your salvation in the present circumstance.”

In the last chapter: “I (h) beseech you: I ask it as a favour of you, whilst you are in this beautiful vessel of the body, be wanting in none of these things.”

And still nearer the conclusion. “Wherefore (i) I have endeavoured to write to you, according to my ability, that you might rejoice.”

Upon the whole, this epistle well answers the character given of *Barnabas* in the Acts, particularly, ch. xi. 24. *He was full of the Holy Ghost.* The writer of this Epistle had the gift of the Spirit, though not that measure, which was peculiar to Apostles. *He was full of faith.* The writer of this epistle had an earnest zeal for the truth and simplicity of the gospel. He was also *a good man.* In this epistle we observe the mildness and gentleness, by which *Barnabas* seems to have been distinguished. But we do not discern here the dignity and authority of an Apostle.

Consequently, this epistle may afford edification, and may be read with that view. But it ought not to be esteemed by us, as it was not by the ancients, a part of the rule of faith.

(e) Adhuc & hoc rogo vos, tamquam unus ex vobis. *Ib. cap. 4.*

(f) Οἶδεν ὁ τὴν ἱμῶντον δωρεὰν τῆς διδαχῆς αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν ὑμεῖς γινώσκειτε, ὅτι ἄξιαι εἰς ὑμεῖς. *Cap. 9.*

(g) Εφ' ὅσον ἦν ἐν δυνατῷ καὶ ἀπλότῃ δηλῶσαι ὑμῖν ἐλπίζω μὴ ἡ ψυχὴ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μὴ παραχλεουπέναι μέ τι τῶν ἀνηκόων ὑμῖν εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἐκσωτων. *Cap. 17.*

(h) Εἰρωτῶ ὑμᾶς, χάριν αἰτούμενος. κ. λ. *Cap. 21.*

(i) Διὸ μᾶλλον ἐσπούδασα γράψαι, εἰς ὃν ἡδυνήθην, εἰς τὸ εὐφραίνειν ὑμᾶς. *Ib. 4.*

C H A P. III.

Of the Method, in which the Canon of the New Testament has been formed.

THE canon of the New Testament is a collection of books, writ by several persons, in several places, and at different times. It is therefore reasonable to think, that it was formed gradually. At the rise of the Christian Religion there were no written systems or records of it. It was first taught and confirmed by Christ himself in his most glorious ministrie: and was still farther confirmed by his willing death, and his resurrection from the dead, and ascension to heaven. Afterwards it was taught by word of mouth, and propagated by the preaching of his Apostles and their companions. Nor was it fit, that any books should be writ about it, till there were converts to receive and keep them, and deliver them to others.

If St. Paul's two epistles to the *Thessalonians* were the first written books of the New Testament, and not writ till the year 51. or 52. about twenty years after our Saviour's ascension, they would be for a while the only sacred books of the new dispensation.

As the Christians at *Thessalonica* had received the doctrine taught by Paul, not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God. 1 Thess. ii. 13. they would receive his epistles, as the written word of God. And himself taught them so to do, requiring, that they should be solemnly read unto all the holy brethren. 1 Thess. v. 27. He gives a like direction, but more extensive, at the end of his epistle to the *Colossians*. iv. 16. requiring them, after they had read it amongst themselves, to cause it to be read also in the church of the *Laodiceans*: and that they likewise read the epistle, that would come to them from *Laodicea*.

All the Apostle Paul's epistles, whether to churches or particular persons, would be received with the like respect by those to whom they were sent, even as the written word of God, or sacred scriptures. And in like manner the writings of all the Apostles and Evangelists.

They who first received them would, as there were opportunities, convey them to others. They who received them, were fully assured of their genuineness by those who delivered them. And before the end of the first centurie, yea not very long after the middle of it, it is likely, there were collections made of the four Gospels, and most of the other books of the New Testament, which were in the hands of a good number of churches and persons.

From the quotations of *Irenæus*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, and other writers of the second centurie, of *Origen* in the third, and of *Eusebius* in the fourth centurie, it appears, that the greatest part of the books, which are now received by us, and are called canonical, were universally acknowledged in their times, and had been so acknowledged by the elders and churches of former times. And the rest, now received by us, though they were then doubted of, or controverted by some, were (a) well known, and approved by many. And *Athanasius*, who lived not long after *Eusebius*, (having flourished from the year 326. and afterwards)

(a) See *Eusebius*, Vol. viii. p. 96. 97.

wards) received all the same books, which are now received by us, and no other. Which has also been the prevailing sentiment ever since.

This canon was not determined by the authority of Councils. But the books, of which it consists, were known to be the genuine writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, in the same way and manner that we know the works of *Cæsar*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Tacitus*, to be theirs. And the canon has been formed upon the ground of an unanimous, or generally concurring testimonie and tradition.

In the course of this long work we have had frequent occasion to observe, that the canon of the New Testament had not been settled by any authority universally acknowledged, particularly, not in the time of (b) *Eusebius*, nor of (c) *Augustin*, nor of (d) *Cassiodorius*: but that nevertheless there was a general agreement among Christians upon this head.

That the number of books to be received as sacred and canonical had not been determined by the authority of any Council, or Councils, universally acknowledged, is apparent from the different judgements among Christians, in several parts of the world, concerning divers books, particularly, the epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the *Revelation*: which were received by some, rejected, or doubted of by others. Not now to mention any of the Catholic Epistles. There was no catalogue of the books of scripture in any canon of the Council of *Nice*. *Augustin* (e) giving directions to inquisitive persons, how they might determine, what books are cononical, and what not, refers not to the decisions of any Councils. *Cassiodorius*, in the sixth centurie, has (f) three catalogues, one called *Jerome's*, another *Augustin's*, another that of the ancient version. But he refers not to the decree of any Council, as decisive. And it seems to me, that in all times Christian people and churches have had a liberty to judge for themselves, according to evidence. And the evidence of the genuinnesse of most of the books of the New Testament has been so clear and manifest, that they have been universally received.

The genuinnesse of these books, as before said, is known in the same way with others, by testimonie or tradition. The first testimonie is that of those who were contemporarie with the writers of them. Which testimonie has been handed down to others.

That in this way the primitive Christians formed their judgement concerning the books proposed to be received as sacred scriptures, appears from their remaining works. Says *Clement of Alexandria*: "This (g) we have not in the four Gospels, which have been delivered to us, but in that according to the *Egyptians*." *Tertullian* may be seen largely to this purpose. Vol. ii. 576. . . 581. I pass on to *Origen*, who says: "As (h) I have learned by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are received without dispute by the whole Church of God under heaven." So *Eusebe*, in his Ecclesiastical History, often observes, what books of the New Testament had been quoted by the ancients, and what not. And having rehearsed a catalogue of books uni-
versally

(b) Vol. viii. p. 105. (c) Vol. x. 207. . . 211. (d) Vol. xi. 279.

(e) Vol. x. p. 207. (f) Vol. xi. p. 303. . . 306.

(g) Vol. ii. p. 496. and 529. (h) Vol. iii. p. 235.

verfally received, and of others controverted, he fays: “It (*i*) was need-
ful to put down thefe alfo; diftinguifhing the fcriptures, which ac-
cording to ecclefiastical tradition are true, genuine, and univerfally ac-
knowledged, from thofe which are controverted, and yet appear to have
been known to many: that by this means we may know them from
fuch as have been published by heretics, under the names of Apoftles.
Which books none of the ecclefiastical writers in the fucceffion from
the times of the Apoftles have vouchsafed to mention in their writ-
ings.” I may not tranfcribe, but only refer to (*k*) *Athanasius* in his
Feftal Epiftle, to (*l*) *Cyril of Jerufalem*, (*m*) *Rufin*, and (*n*) *Auguftin*.

However, befide obferving the teftimonie of writers in former times,
they criticifed the books, which were propofed to them: examining their
ftile and contents, and comparing them with thofe books, which had
been already received as genuine upon the ground of an unanimous tefti-
monie, and undoubted tradition. Says honeft *Serapion*, Bifhop of *Antioch*,
in an epiftle to fome, who had too much refpect for a writing, entitled
the Goffel of Peter: “We (*o*) brethren, receive *Peter*, and the other
Apoftles, as Chrift: but as fkilful men, we reject thofe writings, which
are falfly afcribed to them: well knowing, that we have received no
fuch.” And he adds, that upon perufing that work, he had found
the main part of it agreeable to the right doctrine of our Saviour: but
there were fome other things of a different kind. And *Eufebe* adds in
the place tranfcribed above: “The (*p*) ftile alfo of thefe books is en-
tirely different from that of the Apoftles. Moreover the fentiments
and doctrine of thefe writings differ from the true orthodox Chriftianity.
All which things plainly fhew, that they are the forgeries of heretics.”

It has been fometimes faid, that the Council of *Laodicea* firft fettled the
canon of the New Testament. But it may be juftly faid to have been
fettled before. At leaft there had been long before a general agreement
among Chriftians, what books were canonical, and what not: what were
the genuine writings of Apoftles and Evangelifts, and what not. From
the decree of the Council itfelf it appears, that there were writings al-
ready known by the title of canonical. That Council does nothing in
their laft canon, but declare, “That (*q*) private pfalms ought not to be
read in the church, nor any books not canonical, but only the cano-
nical books of the Old and New Testament.” After which follows a
catalogue or enumeration of fuch books. The fame may be faid of the
third Council of *Carthage*, whole 47. canon is to this purpofe: “More-
over (*r*) it is ordained, that nothing befide the Canonical Scriptures be
read in the church, under the name of Divine Scriptures.”

I fhall now tranfcribe below a long and fine paffage of Mr. *Le Clerc*,
wherein he fays: “We (*s*) no where read of a Council of the Apoftles,
“or

(*i*) Vol. viii. p. 97. 98. See likewise p. 99. . . . 102.

(*k*) Vol. viii. p. 225.

(*l*) P. 268.

(*m*) Vol. x. p. 193.

(*n*) P. 207. 208.

(*o*) Vol. ii. p. 558.

(*p*) Vol. viii. p. 98.

(*q*) Vol. viii. p. 291. 292.

(*r*) Vol. x. p. 193.

(*s*) Nusquam quidem legimus, Collegium Apostolicum, aut cœtum ullum
Reftorum Ecclefiarum Chriftianarum coactum effe, qui pro auctoritate defi-
nuerint

“or of any assemblie of the Governours of Christian churches, convened, to determine by their authority, that such a number of Gospels, neither more nor fewer, should be received. Nor was there any need of it, since it is well known to all from the concurring testimonie of contemporaries, that these four Gospels are the genuine writings of those whose names they bear: and since it is also manifest, that there is in them nothing unworthie of those, to whom they are ascribed, nor any thing at all contrarie to the revelation of the Old Testament, nor to right reason. There was no need of a synod of Grammarians, to declare magisterially what are the works of *Cicero*, or *Virgil*. . . In like manner the authority of the Gospels has been established by general and perpetual consent, without any decree of the Governours of the Church. We may say the same of the Apostolical Epistles, which owe all their authority, not to the decisions of any ecclesiastical assemblie, but to the concurring testimonie of all Christians, and the things themselves, which are contained in them.”

Mr. *James Basnage* (t) has several chapters, shewing how the canon of the New Testament was formed, without the authoritative decisions of Councils. I likewise refer to (u) Mr. *Jones* upon this subject. I must also remind my readers of (x) *Augustin's* excellent observations, in his arguments with the *Manicheans*, concerning the genuinenesse and integrity of the books of the New Testament. I shall transcribe from him here a few lines only, which are very much to the present purpose. “We (y) know the writings of the Apostles, says he, as we know the works of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Varro*, and others. And as we know the writings of divers ecclesiastical authors: forasmuch as they have the testimonie of contemporaries, and of those who have lived in succeeding ages.”

Upon the whole, the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists are received, as the works of other eminent men of antiquity are, upon the ground

nierint hunc numerum Evangeliorum esse admittendum, non majorem, nec minorem. Sed nec opus fuit, cum omnibus constaret, ex testimonio et consensu æqualium, quatuor hæc Evangelia eorum vere fuisse, quorum nomina præferunt: cumque nihil in iis legatur quod scriptoribus dignum non sit, vel revelationi Veteris Testamenti, rectæ rationi, vel minimum adversetur: aut quod inferius ævum, recentiorumque manus ullo modo recipiat. Non opus fuit synodo Grammaticorum, qui, pro imperio, pronunciarent ea scripta, verbi causa, *Ciceronis* et *Virgilii*, quæ eorum esse non dubitamus, re verâ tantorum ingeniorum factus fuisse, et posteritati ea in re confulerent. Omnium consensus, non quæsitus, non rogatus, sed sponte significatus, prout occasio tulit, resque ipsæ omnibus, qui postea vixere, dubitationem omnem anteverterunt. . . Sic et Evangeliorum auctoritas merito constituta est, et invaluit, perpetuo consensu, sine ullo Rectorum Ecclesiæ decreto.

Idem dixerimus de Epistolis Apostolicis, quæ nullius ecclesiastici conventus judicio, sed constanti omnium christianorum testimonio, rebusque ipsis, quas complectuntur, auctoritatem omnem suam debent. *Cleric. H. E. ann. 100. num. iii. iv. Vul. et. ann. 29. num. xcii.*

(t) *Hist. de l'Eglise. l. 8. ch. v. vi. vii.*

(u) *New and full Method. Part. i. ch. v. vi. vii.*

(x) *See Vol. vi. p. 375. . . 381.*

(y) *P. 379.*

ground of general consent and testimonie. Nor does the canon of the scriptures of the New Testament owe it's establishment to the decisions of Councils: but it is the judgement of Christian people in general. And so far as we are able to perceive, after a long and careful examination, it is a right and reasonable judgement. And it may induce us to believe, that if men were encouraged to think freely, in other matters also, and to judge for themselves, according to evidence, and proper assistances were afforded them, it would not be at all detrimental to the interests either of truth or virtue.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Time of writing the Gospels, especially the first three.

S E C T. I.

That the Gospels are not mentioned, nor referred to, in the Epistles of the New Testament.

EUSEBE intimates, that (a) many before him supposed, that when Paul in his epistle speaks of *his own gospel*, he intended the Gospel according to Luke. We will therefore consider those texts, and some other of a like kind.

I. St. Paul says Rom. ii. 16. . . *in the day, when God shall judge the secrets of men, according to my gospel.* The same phrase occurs again ch. xvi. 25. and 2 Tim. ii. 8. *Remember, that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead, according to my gospel.*

In all which places, I apprehend, it must be reasonable to understand, not any written Gospel, or historie of Jesus Christ: but the doctrine of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which had been preached by Paul. Which is also the opinion of learned modern interpreters in general.

II. 2 Cor. viii. 18. *And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the gospel, throughout all the churches.*

Many have been of opinion, that St. Luke is the brother here intended, and that St. Paul refers to Luke's written Gospel. This (b) is said to be Origen's interpretation. But I do not clearly perceive it. Origen (c) speaking of the four Gospels, says: "The (d) third is that according to

(a) Φασὶ δὲ, ὡς ἀρχα τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίῳ μνημονεύειν ὁ παῦλος εἶναι, ὅτι νῦν ὡς περὶ ἰδίου τινοῦ εὐαγγελίῳ γράψω ἔλεγε, καὶ τὸ εὐαγγελίον μου. *Eus. H. E. l. 3. c. 4. p. 73. D.*

(b) "Who this brother was, is much contested. Antiquity has carried it "for St. Luke, worthy of praise in all the churches for the Gospel, which he wrote. "The authority of this assertion seems to rest upon the words of Origen, the "interpolated Ignatius, and St. Jerome." So *Whitby upon the Place.*

(c) Καὶ τρίτον τὸ κατὰ λακῶν, τὸ ὑπὸ παύλου ἐκινήμενον εὐαγγέλιον. *Apr. E. l. 6. cap. 25. p. 226. C.*

(d) See *Vol. iii. p. 235.*

to *Luke*, commended by *Paul*." I say, I do not perceive it to be clear, that *Origen* had an eye to 2 Cor. viii. 18. He might intend Rom. ii. 16. or xvi. 25. or 2 Tim. ii. 8. However, whether it be *Origen's* interpretation of that text, or not, it is *Jerome's*: who writing the historie of St. *Luke* in his book of illustrious Men, says: "He (*e*) wrote a Gospel, of which *Paul* makes mention, saying: *And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel*." To the same purpose (*f*) also in the prologue to his Commentarie upon St. *Matthew*: and likewise in (*g*) his Commentarie upon the epistle to *Philemon*.

Chrysostom upon the place speaks after this manner. "And (*h*) who is this brother? Some say, *Luke*: and think, that the Apostle refers to the historie, writ by him. Others say, *Barnabas*. For by gospel he intends unwritten preaching." *Theophylact* (*i*) speaks to the like purpose. *Theodoret* (*k*) by the brother understood *Barnabas*. And therefore could not think of any written Gospel, no such work having been ascribed to him by the ancients. *Oecumenius's* note is to this purpose. "Many (*l*) say, this brother is *Luke*, mentioned upon account of the Gospel composed by him. Many others suppose him to be *Barnabas*. For, as they say, unwritten preaching is here called gospel. Which is the more likely. For what follows is more suitable to *Barnabas*: *whose praise is in the gospel*. As much as to say: he not only preaches, but commendably." And afterwards. "The meaning is, he not only evangelizeth, and preacheth the gospel admirably, and commendably, but he has been chosen to travel with us, with this grace also." Such are the sentiments of the ancients upon this text.

Let us now observe the interpretations of some judicious moderns.

Grotius says: "he (*m*) does not dislike the opinion of those, who think *Luke* to be here intended. But he does not think, that St. *Paul* refers to his book of the Gospel, which was not then published: but to the office of an Evangelist, which *Luke* had discharged in several places, or to his preaching the gospel. And he says, that in the gospel, may be the same as by the gospel. So in ch. x. 14. of the same epistle."

Estius likewise says, that (*n*) by gospel is to be understood preaching: not St. *Luke's* Gospel, which we are not certain was then published.

Le.

(*e*) See Vol. x. p. 94.

(*f*) The same, p. 83.

(*g*) De quo [Luca] et in alio loco: *Missi*, inquit, cum illo fratrem, cujus laus est in evangelio per omnes ecclesias. . . &c. In *Philem*. T. 4. P. i. p. 454.

(*h*) Καὶ τίς ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀδελφεός; τινὲς μὲν τὸν λευκὸν. Καὶ φασὶ, διὰ τὴν ἰσογίαν ἥντιν ἐγχαΐσε. Τινὲς δὲ τὸν βαρναβάν. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀγχαΐσον κήρυγμα ἰσαγγέλιον κατ' ἡ. In 2. ep. ad Corinth. hom. 18. Tom. x.

(*i*) In loc. p. 389.

(*k*) Τὸν τρισμακάριον Βαρνάβαν τὰ εἰρημένα χαχαλίζει. *Theod.* in loc. T. 3. p. 243

(*l*) *Oecum.* in loc. Tom. i. p. 663.

(*m*) Mihi non displicet sententia illorum, qui hic Lucam designari putant: ita tamen ut per evangelium non intelligatur liber, qui tunc editus nondum erat, sed ipsum munus evangelistæ, quod Lucas Pauli vice multis in locis fideliter obierat, sive ipsa evangelii prædicatio, ut infra x. 14. *id est* in pro diὰ per. *Grot.* ad 2 Cor. viii. 18.

(*n*) Neque enim Paulus de Evangelio scripto loquitur, sed quo modo passim aūbi,

Le Clerc, in his French Testament, translates in this manner : *one of our brethren, who is praised on account of the gospel in all the churches.* And in his notes says, "that generally *St. Luke* is here supposed to be intended : though *St. Paul* refers rather to his preaching the gospel, than to "the book of his Gospel."

Beausobre translates after this manner : *one of the brethren, who has made himself famous in all the churches by preaching the gospel.* And says in his notes : "that though some of the ancients have hereby understood *St. Luke* and his Gospel ; he thinks, that by the *gospel* is here intended the preaching of the gospel. Besides, there is no proof, that " *St. Luke* had as yet writ his Gospel. It is rather reasonable to think " he had not."

Upon the whole, though we cannot certainly say who is *the brother, whose praise was in the gospel* : whether (o) *Luke*, or *Barnabas*, or *Silas*, or *Apollos* : I presume we are sufficiently warranted to say, that by *gospel* is here intended neither the gospel according to *Luke*, nor any other written Gospel whatever.

III. 1 Tim. vi. 20. *O Timothie, keep that which is committed to thy trust.*

Hereby some have been disposed to understand a written Gospel. But they are not favored by the best interpreters. *Grotius* says, that (p) this deposit, or thing committed to *Timothie's* trust, is the sacred doctrine of the gospel. *Estius* (q) says the same. I place below likewise (r) a part of *Beza's* note upon the text. *Le Clerc* in his notes explains it thus : "the doctrine of the gospel, which was a sacred deposit, committed by "the Apostles to their disciples." And *Beausobre* thus : "the doctrine, "which had been committed to, or entrusted with *Timothie.*" See also, says he, 1 Tim. i. 18. and 2 Tim. ii. 2. I say no more to this text.

IV. 2 Tim. i. 13. 14. *Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me . . . That good thing, which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost, which dwelleth in us.*

Hereby some may understand a written Gospel, or history of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, I think, I need not add much here to what has been already said of the preceding text, it being nearly parallel. The meaning of both is much the same. *Timothie* is here again exhorted, and required, to retain with all fidelity those *sound words*, that pure doctrine of the gospel, which he had been taught by the Apostle, and had often heard from him.

It

alibi, de evangelio prædicato. Deinde, nec satis constat, Evangelium Lucæ tum editum fuisse, quando Paulus hanc Epistolam scripsit. *Est. in loc.*

(q) *Vid. Est. in 2 Cor. viii. 18. et Beausobr. in ver. 18. et 23.*

(p) Vocat autem *depositum* sacram doctrinam evangelii, quia et res est alterius, nempe Christi, et pastoribus fida ejus custodia incumbit. *Grot. ad 1 Tim. vi. 20.*

(q) Iterum serio et graviter admonet, ut acceptam fidei doctrinam conservet, ne locum relinquat ulli peregrino dogmati. Nomine *depositi* metaphoricè significatur doctrina successorì credita, ac per manus tradita. *Est. in loc.*

(r) *Depositum* proculdubio vocat sanam evangelii doctrinam, et dona quæcunque ad Ecclesiæ ædificationem, veluti depositum, Deus commiserat Timotheo. *Bez. in loc.*

It does not appear, then, that there are in the apostolical epistles of the New Testament any references to written gospels, or histories of Jesus Christ. I do not say, this is a proof, that no such histories were then written. Nevertheless, I have thought it not improper to shew, that there is no notice taken of any such histories in these epistles : and therefore they cannot afford any evidence of their being then writ and published. I think likewise, that it was not amiss to embrace this occasion to shew the true meaning of some texts, which have been often misinterpreted,

S E C T. II.

Observations of ancient Christian Writers, leading to the true time, when the Gospels were writ.

1. **S**AYS *Irenaeus*, as formerly (*s*) quoted, “For (*t*) we have not “received the knowledge of the way of our salvation from “any others, than those, by whom the gospel has been brought “to us. Which gospel they first preached, and afterwards by the will of “God committed to writing, that for time to come it might be the “foundation and pillar of our faith. Nor may any say, that they preached, before they had a compleat knowledge of the doctrine of the gospel. For after that our Lord rose from the dead, and they [the Apostles] were endowed from above with the power of the Holy Ghost coming down upon them, they received a perfect knowledge of all things. They then went forth to all the ends of the earth, declaring to men the blessing of heavenly peace, having all of them, and every one alike, the gospel of God.”

He then proceeds to speak of the Gospels of the four Evangelists severally, and the times and occasions of writing them. All which will be taken down by us hereafter in proper places. Here is sufficient to induce us to think, that the written Gospels, or histories of Jesus Christ, were not published, till some good while after our Lord's ascension. For the Apostles first preached, he says, before they wrote.

2. Says *Eusebe* in a long passage formerly quoted : “Those (*u*) admirable and truly divine men, the Apostles of Christ,—neither knew, nor attempted, to deliver the doctrine of their master with the artifice “and

(*s*) See Vol. i. p. 353.

(*t*) Non enim per alios dispositionem salutis nostræ cognovimus, quam per eos, per quos evangelium pervenit ad nos : quod quidem tunc præconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum & columnam fidei nostræ futurum. Nec enim fas est dicere, quoniam ante prædicaverunt, quam perfectam haberent agnitionem, sicut quidam audent dicere, gloriantes, emendatores se esse Apostolorum. Postea enim quam surrexit Dominus noster a mortuis, & induti sunt supervenientis Spiritus Sancti virtutem ex alto, de omnibus adimpleti sunt, & habuerant perfectam agnitionem, exierunt in fines terræ, ea quæ a Deo nobis bona sunt evangelizantes, & cœlestem pacem hominibus annunciantes : qui quidem & omnes pariter & singuli eorum habentes evangelium Dei. *Iren. adv. Hæc. l. 3. cap. 1.*

(*u*) Vol. vii. p. 90...92.

“ and eloquence of words . . . Nor were they greatly concerned about
 “ the writing of books, being engaged in a more excellent ministrie,
 “ which is above all human power. Insomuch that *Paul*, the most able
 “ of all in the furniture both of words and thoughts, has left nothing in
 “ writing, beside a few epistles . . . Nor were the rest of our Saviour’s
 “ followers unacquainted with these things, as the seventy disciples, and
 “ many others, beside the twelve Apostles. Nevertheless of all the dis-
 “ ciples of our Lord, *Matthew* and *John* only have left us any memoirs :
 “ who too, as we have been informed, were compelled to write by a kind
 “ of necessity.” And what follows.

3. This passage should be compared with another of (x) *Origen*. And they who please may also consult our remarks (*) upon what has been now transcribed from *Eusebe*. Which may be of use to caution us, not to be too precipitate in giving a very early date to the Gospels, as if they were writ immediately after our Lord’s ascension : when there is reason to think, they were not writ, till after numerous converts had been made, who expressed their desires to have written histories of what they had heard, for refreshing their memories.

4. Says *Theodore*, Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, in the later part of the fourth centurie, about the year 394. “ After (y) the Lord’s ascension to hea-
 “ ven the disciples staid a good while at *Jerusalem*, visiting the cities in
 “ it’s neighbourhood, preaching chiefly to the Jews : until the great *Paul*,
 “ called by the divine grace, was appointed to preach the gospel to Gen-
 “ tiles openly. And in proceſſe of time Divine Providence, not allowing
 “ them to be confined to any one part of the earth, made way for con-
 “ ducting them to remote countreys. *Peter* went to *Rome*, the others
 “ elsewhere. *John*, in particular, took up his abode at *Ephesus*, visiting
 “ however at seasons the several parts of *Asia* About this time the
 “ other Evangelists, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, published their Gospels,
 “ which were soon spread all over the world, and were received by all the
 “ faithful in general with great regard.” He proceeds to say,
 “ that nevertheless, the Christians in *Asia*, having brought those Gospels
 “ to him, earnestly entreated him to write a farther account of such
 “ things as were needful to be known, and had been omitted by the rest.
 “ With which request he complied.”

This remarkable passage, upon which divers observations were made, when it was first quoted, may dispose us to think, that all the four Gospels were writ about the same time, and that none of them were published till after, or about the sixtieth year of our Lord’s Nativity.

5. By divers ancient Christian writers it is said, that (z) *Mark*, the disciple and interpreter of *Peter*, at the desire of the brethren of *Rome*, wrote a short Gospel, according to what he had heard related by *Peter*. So *Jerome* (a) beside others, as before quoted, in his book of Illustrious Men.

St.

(x) See Vol. p. 236.

(*) Vol. viii. p. 124 137.

(y) See Vol. ix. p. 403. 404.

(z) See Vol. i. p. 247 . . . 249. ii. 472 . . 489. viii. 305 . 306. xi. p. 31.

(a) Vol. x. p. 92.

St. *Peter*, I reckon, did not come to *Rome* before the reign of *Nero*, probably, not till the second time that *Paul* was in that city, in the year 63. or 64. And yet, at this time, the Christians at *Rome* desired *Mark* to give them in writing an account of *Peter's* preaching, for refreshing their memories concerning what the Apostle had said of Christ, and his doctrine. The consequence is manifest. They had not then any written Gospel in their hands. Nor did they know, that there was one. "The truth is, says Mr. *Jones* (b), if St. *Mark*, or any one else, had had "St. *Matthew's* Gospel, at *Rome*, there would have been no need of St. " *Mark's* writing."

These are general observations in the ancients, or deduced from them, which may be of no small use to lead us to the true time of writing the first three Gospels.

S E C T. III.

That the first three Gospels were published before the destruction of Jerusalem, which happened in the year of the Christian epoch LXX.

CONCERNING this I transcribe below (c) a very good argument of *Le Clerc* from his Dissertation upon the four Evangelists.

The Jewish war began, according (d) to *Josephus*, in the month of May in the 66. year of the Christian epoch, and ended in September, in the year 70. in the desolation of the city of *Jerusalem* and the temple. And I think, it may be shewn to be very probable, that the first three Gospels were writ before the year 66. when the final troubles and calamities of the Jewish People were coming on.

This must appear to have a great deal of probability from the predictions therein recorded concerning the destruction of the temple, the overthrow of the city of *Jerusalem*, the ruin of the Jewish State and People in *Judea*, together with divers circumstances of these events, and many troubles and calamities preceding them. These predictions are recorded in the histories of our Saviour's ministrie, which we call Gospels,

(b) *Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel*, p. 54. chap. vi.

(c) Quinetiam, si ex Veterum nonnullorum testimoniis antea adductis, de re judicemus, affirmabimus, Matthæum, Marcum, et Lucam, ante ultima Neronis tempora, quibus occisi sunt Petrus et Paulus, Evangelia scripsisse. Quod non levi argumento confirmari potest, ducto ex Matth. cap. xxiv. Marc. xiii. Luc. xxi. ubi narratur Jerosolymæ excidii prædictio, quasi rei etiamnum futuræ, eo tempore, quo Evangelia ab iis scribebantur. Si enim eam prædicationem post eventum scripsissent Evangelistæ memorati, verbulo saltem monuissent, prædictionem fuisse eventu confirmatam. Quod tantum abest ut faciant, ut Matthæus et Marcus hac admonitione, ὁ ἀναγγελλων, ὁ αἰτῶν, qui legit, intelligat, quàm subjiiciunt præfagiis Jerosolymitanæ cladis, admonere videantur Christianos in Judæa viventes, ut diligenter futura illa præfagia attendant, quæ possint vitæ suæ consulere. Vide Matth. xxiv. 15. Marc. xiii. 14. et ad ea loca interpretes. Cleric. Diff. iii. de quatuor Evangelistis. num. vii. p. 541.

(d) Vid. *Joseph. Antiq. Jud.* l. 20. cap. xi. n. c. Sc. B. I. l. 6. cap. x.

pels, without any the least hint, either express and designed, or accidentally dropping from the writers, that those predictions had been fulfilled and verified, or that the things spoken of had happened. Those prophecies are recorded in Matth. xxiii. 34. . . 39. and xxiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi. St. *Luke* has also elsewhere recorded the affectionate concern, which our Lord expressed in the view and prospect of those impending evils. ch. xiii. 34. 35. and xix. 41. . . 44. These things are also referred to, and spoken of, in divers other discourses, some plain, some parabolical, or otherwise figurative: as Matth. xxi. 33. . . 46. xxii. 1. . . 7. Mark xii. 1. . . 12. Luke xiii. 1. . . 9. xx. 9. . . 20. xxi. 5. . . 13. In none of all which places does there appear any intimation, that the things spoken of were come to pass. And in recording the presages of this final and total overthrow of the Jewish nation the historians have inserted warnings and admonitions, proper to excite the attention of readers, and induce those who lived in *Judea*, to take care of their own safety, without delay. Matt. xxiv. 15. . . 18. *When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand :) then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains. Let him which is on the house-top not come down to take any thing out of his house. Neither let him which is in the field, return back to take his clothes.* And what follows. And to the like purpose in Mark xiii. 14. . . 16. When these discourses were recorded, the things spoken of had not yet come to pass. There were men living, to whom these admonitions might be useful for securing their safety.

Moreover, though these predictions must have been recorded, before they were accomplished; I think, the fulfilment was then near at hand, and not far off. This seems to be implied in that expression: *Let him that readeth, understand.* And indeed it must have been difficult and hazardous to publish such things in writing. How offensive these sayings must have been to the Jewish People, and perhaps to some others likewise, is easie to conceive from the nature of the things spoken of. And it may be confirmed by divers instances. When our Lord had spoken the parable of the vineyard, let out to husbandmen, recorded in Luke xx. 9. . . 18. it is added by the Evangelist. ver. 19. 20. *And the Chief Priests, and the Scribes, the same hour sought to lay hands on him. But they feared the people. For they perceived, that he had spoken this parable against them. And they watched him, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words, that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the Governor.* And among the odious charges brought against our Saviour by false witnesses, this was one, that he said: *I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days.* Matth. xxvi. 61. With this he was reproached likewise, when hanging on the cross. xxvii. 40. The like offensive charges were brought against Stephen. Acts vi. 14. *We have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs, which Moses delivered to us.* And, possibly, he did say somewhat not very different. So likewise St. *Matthew*, and the other Apostles, might repeat in the hearing of many what Christ had said to them, and in part to others also, concerning the overthrow of the temple, and the Jewish state. Yea, very probably, they had often repeated these things to attentive hearers.

hearers. But speaking and writing are different. And I apprehend, it could not have been safe, nor prudent, to record these predictions, (many of which are very plain, and all intelligible,) soon after our Lord's ascension.

These prophecies therefore of our Lord, as recorded in the first three Gospels, afford at once an argument, that they were written and published before the destruction of *Jerusalem*: and that they were not published many years before it, or however, not many years before the commencement of the war at the time above mentioned.

S E C T. IV.

An Argument, shewing the true Time of writing the Gospels, taken from the Acts, and the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel.

NONE can suppose, that the book of the Acts of the Apostles was composed before the year 62. or 63. as the history is there brought down to the period of *St. Paul's* two years imprisonment at *Rome*.

And, very probably, the Gospel, to which *St. Luke* refers at the beginning of that book, had not been writ long before. This I suppose to be now the common opinion of learned men. And for giving the greatest satisfaction to all my readers, I shall transcribe below at large the sentiments of several to this purpose, such as that of the late (e) *Mr. Jones*, and (f) *Estius*, (g) *Mill*, (*) *Dodwell*, and (h) *Bafnage*: though the thing

(e) "Hence we see near to what time this history of the Acts was written: viz. either in the year 62. or not long after: it being altogether probable that *St. Luke* would not defer writing long after his departure from *St. Paul*. Which seems to have been now, when the Apostle was set at liberty from his confinement at *Rome*. . . . That he wrote both the Gospel and the Acts in the same year, seems very probable: as it is certain, that one of them is only to be looked upon as the second part, or continuation of the other." *Jones New and Full Method, &c. Part. 4. ch. xvi. Vol. 3. p. 158. See him also ch. xi. p. 115.*

(f) Deinde, nec satis constat, Evangelium Lucæ jam tum editum fuisse, quando Paulus hanc epistolam scripsit. Nam Acta quidem Apostolica scripsisse videtur statim post Evangelium, tanquam ejusdem voluminis libros primum et secundum. Scripsit autem Acta post biennium Pauli Romæ commorantis, id est, multis annis post hanc epistolam. Quare circa idem tempus Evangelium ab eo scriptum fuisse, credibile est. *Est. ad 2 Cor. viii. 18.*

(g) Voluminis hujus D. Lucæ patrem posteriorem, seu λόγον δεύτερον quod attinet, librum dico Actuum Apostolorum, haud dubium est. . . . quin is scriptus sit statim post λόγον πρώτον, sive Evangelium. *Mill. Prol. num. 121.*

(*) Sunt enim Acta δεύτερος ejusdem operis λόγος, cujus πρώτον λόγον ipse suum agnoscit Evangelium. *Act. i. 1. Dodw. Diff. Iren. i. num. xx*

(h) Non multum vero interjectum fuisse temporis inter Actorum Apostolicorum et Evangelii confectioem, conjectura ex præfatione ad Theophilum duci potest. *Primum quidem librum confeci* . . . Actuum ergo liber continuatio est, seriesque Evangelii, . . . Multum vero abiisse temporis antequam a priori libro omnibus numeris expleto ad posteriorem transire Lucas, nulla ratione cogimur ad credendum, &c. *Bafnage. Ann. 60. num. xxviii.*

thing appears to me very obvious. And if so, we have gained very nearly the date of one of the four Gospels.

Grotius supposeth, that (i) when *Paul* left *Rome*, he went into *Spain*: and that at the same time *Luke* went into *Greece*, and there wrote both his Gospel and the *Acts*. *Jerome* supposeth, that (k) the book of the *Acts* was writ at *Rome*. But that makes no difference in point of time: since he allows, that it reaches to the end of *St. Paul's* two years imprisonment at *Rome*.

This one consideration, so far as I am able to judge, overthrows the opinion, that *St. Luke's* Gospel was writ about fifteen years after our Lord's ascension. Yea, it evidently shews, that it was not writ till the year 60. or afterwards.

And the beginning of *St. Luke's* Gospel affords an argument, that the other two Gospels of *St. Matthew* and *St. Mark* were not writ sooner. For this Evangelist knew nothing of them. Consequently, they were not then writ, and published: or, but lately. Every word of his introduction shews this. Let us observe it.

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things, which are most surely believed among us It seemed good unto me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus: that thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed.

When *St. Luke* says, that many had undertaken to write histories of our Saviour, he cannot mean *Matthew* alone, nor *Matthew* and *Mark* only. For they are not many. He must intend them, and others, or some different from them. Which last will appear most likely, if we consider what there follows.

Of those many he says, they had taken in hand, undertaken, or attempted. *St. Luke* would not have spoken thus of *Matthew*, or *Mark*. Indeed, we may suppose, that (l) those narrations, to which *St. Luke* refers, were not false and fabulous, nor heretical. But they were defective.

Grotius says, the (m) word is of a middle meaning. And that it does not necessarily imply, that the writers, here intended, had failed to perform what they undertook.

Nevertheless

(i) *Librum autem et hunc, et qui de Actibus Apostolorum, scriptum arbitrator, non multo postquam Paulus Româ abiit in Hispaniam. Nam in id tempus definit Actuum liber, qui si serius scriptus esset, in ulteriora etiam tempora narrationem protenderet. Puto autem, Româ iisse Lucam in Achaïam, atque ibi ab eo conscriptos quos habemus libros. Grot. Pr. in Evang. Lucæ.*

(k) See Vol. x. p. 94. 95.

(l) Quod istos ait Lucas, non satis commoda præstitisse: minime tamen, opinor, fabulosas, immo etiam impias narrationes intelligens, tandem Ecclesiæ, sub Nicodemi, ... Thomæ, Ægyptiorum nominibus impudentissime obtrusas. Nec tamen hic recte colligunt, Lucam post Matthæum et Marcum hanc suam historiam edidisse. *Bez. in Luc. cap. i. ver. 1.*

(m) *Ἐπιπνεύον. aggregati sunt.* Bene notavit vir eruditissimus, vocem esse mediam: neque enim ex ea colligi posse, non præstitum ab illis scriptoribus quod aggregati sunt. *Grot. in loc.*

Nevertheless the ancient Christians, to several of whom the Greek language was natural, understood the word differently. And their judgements must be of value in this case. *Origen's* observations upon *St. Luke's* introduction may be seen. vol. iii. p. 316 . . . 319. where he says, " *St. Luke's* expression, *taken in hand*, implies a tacit accusation of those, who without the gift of the Holy Ghost took upon them to write Gospels. For *Matthew*, and *Mark*, and *Luke*, and *John*, did not *take in hand* to write : but being full of the Holy Ghost wrote Gospels." In which words, and afterwards, continually, he distinguisheth the four Evangelists from the writers, referred to by *St. Luke*. To the like purpose (*n*) *Ambrose*, who either copied, or closely imitated *Origen*. And says *Eusebe* : " *Luke* (*o*) at the beginning assigns the reason of his writing, declaring, that whereas many others had rashly undertaken to compose relations of the things, which were most firmly believed, he therefore thought himself obliged, in order to divert us from the uncertain relations of others, to deliver in his Gospel a certain account of those things of which he was fully assured." Which passage was transcribed by us (*p*) formerly. And *Epiphanius*, whom (*q*) I now place below, plainly affixed a disadvantageous meaning to this word.

Beausobre readily allows, that (*r*) we ought to follow the ancients in their interpretation of this word, and to suppose, that *St. Luke* here speaks of some attempts, and essays, that had not been well executed.

This may be sufficient to satisfy us, that *St. Luke* does not speak of any of our Evangelists. Mr. (*) *Dodwell* was of the same opinion.

But we may have yet farther assurance of it by observing what *St. Luke* says of himself, and his own design. Which is to this purpose: " That it had seemed good to him, to send to *Theophilus* in writing a distinct and particular historie of Jesus Christ: that he might better know, and be more fully confirmed in the truth of those things, in which he had been instructed by word of mouth."

In my opinion, this implies a supposition, that *Theophilus* had not yet in his hands any good written historie of the words and works of Jesus Christ.

Consequently *St. Luke* at the year 62. and possibly somewhat later, did not know of *St. Matthew's* and *St. Mark's* Gospels. And therefore we must

(*n*) See Vol. ix. p. 245.

(*o*) . . . δηλῶν ὡς ἄρα πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων προπετίεσθαι ἐπιτηδεύοντων διήγησιν ποιήσασθαι ὣν αὐτὸς πεπληροφόρητο λόγῳ, κ. λ. *Euseb. l. 3. c. 24. p. 96. C.*

(*p*) Vol. viii. p. 95.

(*q*) . . . φάσκων, ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἵνα τινὰς ἐπιχειρητὰς δέξῃ· φημὶ δὲ τὰς περὶ κήρυκτον, καὶ μύριτον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας. *H. 51. num. vii. p. 428.*

(*r*) Ce mot Grec, ἐπεχείρησαν, est certainement tres-équivoque, et peut fort bien signifier des tentatives malheureuses, des efforts qui ont mal réussi. *St. Epiphane* ne l'a pas entendu autrement. *Origene* de même, dans sa préface sur *S. Luc.* et après lui la plupart des Interprètes Grecs. Quand il s'agit de la signification des termes Grecs, et que les auteurs Grecs, qui les expliquent, n'ont aucun intérêt à leur donner des sens forcés, ces derniers semblent dignes de créance. *Beauf. Remarques sur Luc. ch. i. p. 100.*

(*) Ut plane alios fuisse necesse sit evangelicæ historiæ scriptores a Luca vivos, a nostris, quos habemus Evangelistis. *Diff. Iren. i. num. xxxix.*

must suppose, that they were not yet writ and published, or however, but lately. For if they had been published several years, St. *Luke*, who had accompanied *Paul* in *Greece*, *Asia*, *Palestine*, and *Rome*, could not have been unacquainted with them.

This argument appears to me valid. At least I cannot discern, where it fails. It has long seemed to me a clear and obvious argument, that the Gospels of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* were not writ till the year 60. or afterwards. For if they had been writ sooner, they would by this time have been in the hands of St. *Luke*, and *Theophilus*, and all the faithful in general. And St. *Luke* could not have expressed himself, as he does in this introduction: nor indeed would he have writ any Gospel at all,

C H A P. V.

ST. MATTHEW, APOSTLE, and EVANGELIST.

I. *His Historie.* II. *Testimonies of ancient Writers to his Gospel.* III. *Remarks upon them, for discerning the Time of this Gospel.* IV. *Characters of Time in the Gospel itself.* V. *The Language, in which it was writ.*

I. **M**ATTHEW (A) called also (B) *Levi*, son of (C) *Alpheus*, was a Publican, or (D) Toll-gatherer under the *Romans*. He was, undoubtedly, a native of *Galilee*, as the rest of Christ's Apostles were: but of what city in that countrey, or which tribe of the people of *Israhel*, is not known.

As

(A) The historie of our Lord's calling this disciple is in *Matth.* ix. 9. . . 13. *Mark* ii. 13. . . 16. *Luke* v. 27. . . 32.

(B) This Evangelist, in his account of his being called by Christ, names himself *Matthew*, ch. ix. 9. But St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* in their accounts of it call him *Levi*. *Mark* ii. 14. *Luke* v. 27. & 29. This has induced *Grotius* to argue, that *Matthew* and *Levi* are different persons: though he cannot deny, that the circumstances of the historie lead us to think, one and the same person to be intended. Video omnes hodie ita existimare, hunc eundem esse, quem *Marcus* & *Lucas* *Levi* nominant. Et sane congruunt circumstantiæ. *Grot. ad Matth.* ix. 9. It is observable, that *Heracleon*, the *Valentinian*, as cited by *Clement* of *A. Str.* l. 4. p. 502. reckons among Apostles, who had not suffered martyrdom, *Matthew*, *Philip*, *Thomas*, and *Levi*. By *Levi*, probably, *Heracleon* meant *Lebbeus*, otherwise called *Thaddeus*. *Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr.* l. 4. cap. 5. T. 3. p. 126. *Coteler. Annot. in Constitut.* l. 8. cap. 22. *Dodw. Diff. Iren.* i. n. 24. It is certain, that *Eusebe* and *Jerome* thought *Matthew* and *Levi* to be only two names of one and the same person. See in this work, vol. viii. p. 83. vol. x. p. 83. and 89. Moreover, in the catalogues of the Apostles, which are in *Mark* iii. 18. *Luke* vi. 15. *Acts* i. 13. is the name *Matthew*. It is likely, that *Levi* was the name, by which the Apostle was called in the former part of his life: and *Matthew* the name, by which he was best known afterwards.

(See notes (C) and (D) p. 34.)

As he sat at the *Receipt of Custom*, by the sea-side, in the city of *Caper-naum*, or near it, *Jesus* said unto him: *Follow me. And he arose and followed him.* Which needs not to be understood to imply, that *Matthew* did not make up his accounts with those, by whom he had been employed, and intrusted.

Afterwards (E) he made an entertainment, at his house, where *Jesus* was present, and likewise divers of his disciples. And there sat at table with them many Publicans, and others, of no very reputable character in the eye of the Pharisees, who were strict in external purifications, and other like observances. *Matthew*, it is likely, was willing to take leave of his former acquaintance in a civil manner. He was likewise desirous, that they should converse with *Jesus*, hoping, that they might be taken with his discourse. And *Jesus*, with a view of doing good, and to shew, that he did not disdain any man, made no exceptions to this design of his new disciple. Nor is it unlikely, that the ends aimed at were obtained, in part at least. *Matthew's* former friends did, probably, discern somewhat extraordinarie in *Jesus*, so far as to induce them to think, it was not unreasonable in him to leave his former employment, for the sake

(c) That is said by *St. Mark* only ch. ii. 14. But we do not perceive who *Alpheus* was. *Tillemont* observes to this purpose. "St *Mark* gives him the surname of *Alpheus*: τὸν τῷ ἀλφῆου. Which may have been the name of his father. This has given occasion to some of the ancients, and to all the modern Greeks, to say, that *James* the son of *Alpheus* was his brother: though it be entirely destitute of all probability. Quoiqu'il n'y ait eu de cela aucune apparence." *Tillem. S. Matt. init. Mem. T. i.*

Dr. Doddridge, Family Expositor. Sect. 44. Vol. i. p. 280. says roundly, "that *Matthew*, otherwise called *Levi*, was the son of *Alpheus*, and the brother of *James*. Comp. *Mark* iii. 18. *Luke* vi. 15. *Acts* i. 13." But I do not think those texts can afford sufficient proof, that *Matthew*, and *James* the son of *Alpheus*, had the same father, and were brothers. If that had been the case, their relation to each other would have been hinted, or plainly declared in the Gospels.

I do not love bold conjectures in others, and would not indulge myself in them. But I suspect, that these words in *Mark* ii. 14. son of *Alpheus*, τὸν τῷ ἀλφῆου, are an interpolation, some how or other, undesignedly, and accidentally inserted in that place. What is truly said of *James*, has been also applied to *Matthew*. The curious may do well to consider, whether this conjecture be not countenanced by the singularity of the thing, said no where else, and by the various readings of that text, which may be seen in *Beza*, *Mill*, and *Weststein*.

(D) "His office seems more particularly to have consisted in gathering the customs of commodities, that came by the sea of *Galilee*, and the tribute, which passengers were to pay, that went by water." *Cave's Lives of the Apostles*, p. 177.

(E) That this entertainment was not made by *Matthew* on the very day that *Christ* called him to attend on him, is argued by *Mr. Jones* in his Vindication of the former part of *St. Matthew's Gospel*, p. 129. . . 137. and by *Dr. Doddridge*, Family Expositor, Vol. i. sect. LXXI. note (a), who says: "It is certain, the feast was after the day of his calling, perhaps, some months after: when he had made up his accompts, and regularly passed his business into other hands: which, to be sure, from a principle of justice, as well as prudence, he would take care to do."

fake of the companie of Jesus, and the advantages, which in time he might receive from him. The Pharisees made reflections. But our Lord vindicated himself. And all the three Evangelists have recorded this instance of our Lord's amiable familiarity and condescension, which is one of the distinctions of his shining character. And it is a proof, that at the time of their writing, severally, their Gospels, they were molded into the temper and principles of him, whose historie they wrote.

Jesus now called *Matthew* to be with him, to be a witnesse of his words and works, and he put him into the number of his Apostles. Thenceforward he continued with the Lord Jesus. And after his ascension, he was at *Jerusalem*, and partook of the gift of the Holy Ghost, with the other Apostles. Together with them he bore testimonie to the resurrection of Jesus: and, as may be supposed, preached for some while at *Jerusalem*, and in the several parts of *Judea*, confirming his doctrine with miracles, which God enabled him to perform in the name of Jesus.

In his own catalogue of the twelve Apostles, ch. x. he is the eighth in order. In *St. Mark's* ch. iii. and *St. Luke's* ch. vi. he is the seventh. He is also named in the eighth place, *Acts* i. 13. Nor is there any particular account in the Gospels of the call of any of the Apostles, except his, and four other, *Andrew* and *Peter*, and the two sons of *Zebedee*, who were called before (†).

Clement of *Alexandria* says, that (a) the Apostle *Matthew* used a very sparing diet, eating no flesh, but only vegetables. But, perhaps, this is said upon the ground only of some uncertain tradition, not well attested.

Socrates, in the fifth centurie, says, that (b) when the Apostles went abroad to preach to the Gentiles, *Thomas* took *Parthia* for his lot, *Matthew* *Ethiopia*, and *Bartholomew* *India*. And it is now a common opinion, that *Matthew* (c) died a Martyr in *Ethiopia*, in a city called *Nadabbar*, or *Naddaver*: but by what kind of death, is altogether uncertain. However, some others speak of his preaching, and dying in *Parthia*, or *Persia*. And the diversity of those accounts seems to shew, that they all are without good foundation.

I think, it may be of use to take here at length a passage of *Eusebe*, at the beginning of the third book of his Ecclesiastical Historie, after having in the preceding book spoken of the many calamities in *Judea*, when the war was just breaking out. "This," says he, "was the state of things with the Jews. But the holy Apostles and Disciples of our Saviour being dispersed abroad, preached in the whole world. *Thomas*, as we learn
"by

(†) *St. John* says ch. i. 43. *The day following, Jesus would go forth into Galilee, and findeth Philip, and saith unto him: Follow me. If Philip was then called by our Lord to be an Apostle, he ought to be added to the others above named.*

(a) Ματθαῖος μὲν ἦν ὁ ἀπόστολος σπερμάτων, καὶ ἀκροθεύων, καὶ λαχάνων, αἵμα κρεῶν μετελάμβανεν. *Clem. Paed.* l. 2. p. 148. D.

(b) Ἦνικα οἱ ἀπόστολοι κλήρω τὴν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πόρεσιν ἐποιῶντο, Θωμᾶς μὲν τὸν παράδων ἀποστολὴν ἐπέδραχετο· Ματθαῖος δὲ αἰθιοπίαν. κ. λ. *Secr. H. E.* l. 1, c. 19.

(c) See *Cave's Lives of the Apostles, and his Hist. Lit.*

“ by tradition, had *Parthia* for his lot, *Andrew Scythia*, *John Asia*. Who
 “ having lived there a long time died at *Ephesus*. *Peter*, as it seems,
 “ preached to the dispersed Jews in *Pontus* and *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, *Cappa-*
 “ *docia*, and *Asia*. At length coming to *Rome*, he was crucified, with
 “ his head downward, as he had desired. What need I to speak of *Paul*,
 “ who fully preached the gospel of Christ from *Jerusalem* to *Illyricum*,
 “ and at last died a Martyr at *Rome*, in the time of *Nero*? So says *Origen*
 “ expressly in the third tome of his Expositions of the book of *Genesis*.”

Thus writes our Ecclesiastical Historian. But, as *Valesius* observes, it (*d*) is not easie to determine exactly, where the quotation from *Origen* begins.

However, from this passage, as it seems, we may conclude, that at the beginning of the fourth centurie, there were not any certain and well attested accounts of the places, out of *Judea*, in which many of the Apostles of Christ preached. For if there had, *Eusebe* must have been acquainted with them. In particular we may hence infer, as I apprehend, that there was no certain account, whither *Matthew* went, when he left *Judea*. For there is no notice taken of him in this passage. Nor does *Jerome* in his article of St. *Matthew*, in his book of Illustrious Men, formerly (*e*) transcribed at large, take any notice of the countreys, in which he preached. Nor do I recollect, that in any other of his genuine works he has said any thing of the travels of this Apostle.

Heracleon, a learned *Valentinian*, in the second centurie, as cited by *Clement* of *Alexandria*, reckons (*f*) *Matthew* among those Apostles, who did not dye by martyrdom. Nor does *Clement* contradict him.

It is also observable, that (*g*) *Chrysostom* has a commendation of *Matthew*, consisting of divers articles: his humility, mercifulnesse or liberality, piety, general benevolence, writing a Gospel, finally, fortitude, inas-much as he came from the presence of the Council rejoicing: referring, I suppose, to Acts v. 41. But says nothing of his martyrdom. Which may induce us to think, that there was not any tradition about it among Christians at that time, or that it was not much regarded.

II. Having thus given the historie of this Apostle, I proceed to the consideration of his Gospel, one of the universally acknowledged books of the New Testament. Two things principally are to be the subjects of our inquirie, the time of writing it, and the language in which it was writ. And I propose to recite here briefly all, or most of the authors, that have been largely quoted, in the former volumes, so far as relates to those two particulars.

Papias, Bp. of *Hierapolis*, about A. D. 116. by some supposed to have been acquainted with *John* the Apostle, by others with *John* the Elder only, in his five books, entitled Explications of the Oracles of the Lord, which

(*d*) Cum *Eusebius* hic dicat, superiora ex libro tertio Explanationum *Origenis* in *Genesim* esse desumta, dubitari merito potest, unde incipiant *Origenis* verba, &c. *Vales. Annot. 3. cap. 1.*

(*e*) Vol. x. p. 89. 90.

(*f*) Οὐ γὰρ πάντες οἱ σωζόμενοι ὁμολόγησαν τὴν διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ὁμολογίαν, καὶ ἐξῆλθον· ἐξ ὧν ματθαῖος, φίλιππος, θωμᾶς, λευὶς, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. *Clem. Str. l. 4. 502. B.*

(*g*) In *Matth. hœpi. 48. al. 49. T. 7. p. 491.*

which seem to have been collections of ancient stories and traditions, makes (b) express mention of *Matthew's Gospel*, and says, that he wrote the Divine Oracles in the *Hebrew* tongue.

Irenaeus, Bishop of *Lyons*, about the year 178, who was born in *Asia*, and in his youth was acquainted with *Polycarp*, disciple of *St. John*, says : “ *Matthew* (i) then among the Jews wrote a gospel in their own language, while *Peter* and *Paul* were preaching the gospel at *Rome*, and founding [or establishing] the church there. And after their exit, [that is, death, or departure] *Mark* also, the disciple and interpreter of *Peter*, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by *Peter*. And *Luke*, the companion of *Paul*, put down in a book the gospel preached by him. Afterwards *John*, the disciple of the Lord, who leaned upon his breast, likewise published a Gospel, whilst he dwelt at *Ephesus*, in *Asia*.” In another place he says, “ the (k) Gospel according to *Matthew* was delivered to the Jews.”

Origen, about 230. says, “ that (l) according to the tradition received by him, the first Gospel was written by *Matthew*, once a Publican, afterwards a Disciple of *Jesus Christ* : who delivered it to the Jewish believers, composed in the *Hebrew* language.” And in another place he says, “ that (m) *Matthew* wrote for the *Hebrews*.”

Says *Eusebe*, about 345, “ *Matthew* (n) having first preached to the *Hebrews*, when he was about to go to other people, delivered to them in their own language the Gospel according to him, by that writing supplying the want of his presence with those whom he was leaving.”

Athanasius, in his Festal Epistle (o) does not say, where, or in what language, *Matthew* wrote. But in the Synopsis, ascribed to him, it is said “ that (p) *Matthew* wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew*, and published it at *Jerusalem*.”

Cyril of Jerusalem says, “ that (q) *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*.”

Epiphanius likewise says, “ that (r) *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*.” And afterwards, “ *Matthew* (s) wrote first, and *Mark* soon after him, being a follower of *Peter* at *Rome*.” If *Mark* did not write till after *Peter* came to *Rome*, and *Matthew* but a little before him ; it follows, that *Matthew's* Gospel was not writ so soon, as many later writers have supposed.

Gregorie Nazianzen, in his catalogue, says, “ that (t) *Matthew* wrote for the *Hebrews*.”

And *Ebedjesu*, “ that (u) *Matthew*, the first Evangelist, published his Gospel in *Palestine*, writ in *Hebrew*.”

Theodore

(b) See of this work, Vol. i. p. 242. the second edition.

(i) Ὁ μὲν δὲ ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς ἑβραίοις τῇ αὐτῶν διλέκτῳ καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγέλιον, τῷ πέτρῳ, καὶ τῷ παύλῳ ἐν ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεολέοντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. κ. λ. Adv. Haer. l. 3. cap. i. Et ap. Euseb. l. 5. c. 8. And in this work Vol. i. p. 353.

(k) See Vol. i. p. 356.

(l) Vol. iii. p. 235.

(m) P. 278.

(n) Vol. viii. p. 92. See also p. 177.

(o) Vol. viii. p. 227.

(p) P. 249.

(q) P. 271.

(r) P. 304. and 305.

(s) Εὐθὺς δὲ μετὰ τὸν ματθαῖον ἀκόλουθος γενόμενος ὁ μάρκος, τῷ ἁγίῳ πέτρῳ ῥώμῃ. Citat. ib. p. 305.

(t) Vol. ix. p. 133. Comp. p. 134.

(u) P. 216.

Theodore of Mopsuestia says, "that (x) for a good while the Apostles "preached chiefly to Jews in Judea. Afterwards Providence made way "for conducting them to remote countreys. Peter went to Rome, the "rest elsewhere; John, in particular, took up his abode at Ephesus "About this time the other Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, published their Gospels, which were soon spread all over the world." This supposeth a late date of the Gospels, as was argued vol. ix. p. 405, that is, after the beginning of Nero's reign, when Peter went to Rome, and not long before the war in Judea which broke out in 66. about which time John left that countrey, and settled at Ephesus.

Says *Ferome* in the prologue to his Commentarie upon St. Matthew : "The (y) first Evangelist is Matthew, the Publican, surnamed Levi, who "wrote his Gospel in Judea in the Hebrew language, chiefly for the "sake of the Jews that believed in Jesus, and did not joyn the shadow of "the law with the truth of the gospel." To the like purpose in the article of St. Matthew, in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers: "Matthew " (z) called also Levi, of a Publican made an Apostle, first of all wrote a "Gospel in Judea in the Hebrew language, for the sake of those of the "circumcision, who believed." Who afterwards translated it into Greek is uncertain.

Chrysostom in the introduction to his homilies upon the Gospel: "Matthew (a) is said to have writ his Gospel at the request of the Jewish believers, who desired him to put down in writing what he had taught them by word of mouth. And he is said to have writ in Hebrew." He speaks with hesitation, and is not positive about the occasion of writing this Gospel, or the language, in which it was writ. Afterwards he says: "In (b) what place each one of the Evangelists wrote, cannot be said with "certainty."

Cosmas of Alexandria, about the year 535, says: "Matthew (c) is the "first Evangelist, that wrote a Gospel. There being a persecution, "when Stephen was stoned, and he also being about to go from that place, "the believers entreated him to leave with them a written instruction, "with which request he complied." And what follows.

The Author of the Imperfect Work upon St. Matthew, in the sixth centurie, about the year 560, observes to this purpose: "The (d) occasion of Matthew's writing is said to be this. There being a great Persecution in Palestine, so that there was danger, least all the faithful should be dispersed: that they might not be without teaching, though they should have no teachers, they requested Matthew to write for them a historie of all Christ's words and works, that wherever they should be, they might have with them the ground of their faith." This writer does not say, that this was the persecution, that arose about the time of the death of Stephen. He seems to speak of a later, and more general persecution and dispersion, such as may be well supposed to have been in Judea, near the war in 66. When most, or all the Apostles, and many of the Jewish believers, removed, and were dispersed into other countreys.

In

(x) P. 403.

(z) P. 89.

(b) P. 316.

(d) P. 327. 328.

(y) Vol. x. p. 83.

(a) P. 315.

(c) Vol. xi. p. 266.

In the Paschal Chronicle, a work composed in the seventh centurie, as formerly cited, it is intimated, that (e) St. *Matthew* published his Gospel in *Palestine*, about fifteen Years after our Lord's ascension, and soon after the council of *Jerusalem*, of which an account is given Acts xv.

And, to draw to a conclusion of this list of writers, *Theophylact*, in the eleventh centurie, says: "*Matthew then (f)* first wrote a Gospel in the "*Hebrew* language, for the sake of the *Hebrew* believers, eight years after "our Saviour's ascension."

Euthymius in the beginning of the twelfth centurie: "That (g) *Mat-thew's* Gospel was the first, and writ in *Judea*, in *Hebrew*, for the Jewish "believers, eight years after our Lord's ascension."

Nicephorus Callisti, in the fourteenth centurie, says: "*Matthew (h)* "having preached the saving word to the Jews, when he was about to go "abroad to the Gentils, thought it best to write in his native language an "account of his preaching, to supply the want of his presence. Which "he did at about fifteen years after our Saviour's ascension."

III. Who now of all these writers deserves the greatest re- *Remarks.*
gard? *Irenaeus*, I think, as being the most ancient. And with him agree *Epiphanius*, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, and the Author of the Imperfect Work, as it seems. Nor is he contradicted by *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, so far as I can (i) perceive. He says, "that when *Matthew* was about "to go to other people, he delivered his Gospel to the *Hebrews* in their "own language." But he does not say in his Ecclesiastical Historie, nor any where else, when this Apostle left *Judea*. Some (k) may have understood him to mean about eight years after our Saviour's ascension, and others about fifteen years after it, as *Nicephorus*, and perhaps the Paschal Chronicle. But himself has not expressly mentioned the time. And he may have been undetermined in his mind about the time, when *Matthew* left *Judea*. Moreover, he has inserted (l) in his Ecclesiastical Historie the passage of *Irenaeus* above quoted, upon which we insist. And a late date of the Gospels is agreeable to his own, and others observations, before taken notice of, that the Apostles of Christ did not write many books, and were not very forward to write, but as they were compelled by a kind of necessity.

There are divers learned moderns of good judgment in these matters, who pay a great regard to this testimonie of *Irenaeus*, particularly, (m) *Fabricius*, (n) *Mill*, (o) *S. Basnage*, and before them (p) *Martin Chemnitzius*.

Mill

(e) See Vol. viii. p. 178.

(g) P. 435.

(i) See Vol. viii. p. 177 . . . 179.

(k) See Vol. viii. p. 176. &c.

(m) De tempore, quando scripserit, cui potius fidem habeamus, quam S. Irenaeo, temporibus illis proximo, qui tradit eum edidisse Evangelium, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὰ πάλαι ἐν ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιώσαντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Bib. Gr. l. 4. c. 5. T. 3. p. 126.

(n) Prolegom. num. 61.

(p) Examen Concil. Trid. p. 16.

(f) Vol. xi. p. 419. 420.

(h) P. 442.

(l) L. 5. cap. 8. p. 172. C.

(o) A. 64. n. xii.

Mill supposed it to be highly probable, that (q) *Irenaeus* had this account from *Papias*. *Le Clerc* (r) likewise seems to have thought, that *Irenaeus* found this in the five books of *Papias*. But that is only conjecture. *Eusebe* quoting *Papias* observes, that he said, *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*. But he does not say, that *Papias* mentioned the time of writing his Gospel. However, it was the opinion of *Irenaeus*. And it may be reckoned not improbable, that he had a tradition to that purpose, which he relied upon as right. For he speaks of it without hesitation. It might be derived from several, one of whom was *Papias*.

Irenaeus says, that “*Matthew* published his Gospel, when *Peter* and “*Paul* were preaching at *Rome* :” that is, says (s) *Mill*, in the year 61: “For, adds he, I understand him of the first time, that *Paul* was at *Rome*.” But if *Irenaeus* says right, it must have been at the second time that *Paul* was at *Rome*. For we have no reason to believe, that *Peter* was at all in that city, when *Paul* was sent thither by *Festus*. But, very probably; *Peter* and *Paul* were there together afterwards, and suffered martyrdom there, about the same time. That is the season, to which we should be led for fixing the writing of St. *Matthew*’s Gospel, if *Irenaeus* may be relied upon. Accordingly *Basnage* (t) in his *Annals* speaks of St. *Matthew*’s Gospel at the year 64. And though, as he says, he does not know the year, nor the place, where St. *Matthew*’s Gospel was published, yet he expresseth himself, as if he was inclined to think, it was not writ, till *Nero*’s reign was somewhat advanced, in the year 64. or 65. the time of that Emperor’s persecution of the Christians.

Other learned men are for an earlier date. Whose opinions also, undoubtedly, ought to be taken notice of, and considered by us.

Cave thought, that (u) St. *Matthew*’s Gospel was writ about the fifteenth

(q) Tamen *Irenaeus* l. 3. c. i, expresse dicit, ex auctoritate *Papiae*, nullus dubito, qui παράδωκεν hanc a Joanne Presbytero, Apostolorum familiari, acceperat, *Mattheum* Evangelium suum edidisse, cum *Petrus et Paulus* evangelizarent *Romae*, et fundarent ecclesiam. *Prolog. num. 61.*

(r) *V. d. Diff. de iv. Evan. sub init.*

(s) Atque hoc ipso quidem anno Lxi. prodiisse videtur Evangelium *Matthaei*. . . Ego quidem de priori adventu intelligendum *Irenaeum* omnino arbitror. *ib. num. 61. 62.*

(t) Quo tempore *Petrus Paulusque* Romae operam dabant evangelio, *Matthaeus*, si creditur *Irenaeo*, Evangelium exaravit suum. . . Annum tamen perinde atque locum, ubi a *Matthaeo* conditum est, in incerto esse, facile patimur. . . Nos nonnisi *Nerone* rerum domino editum fuisse, persuasum habemus, etsi de anno locove divinare non possumus. Nulla tamen se magis veri specie commendat chronologia, quam illa *Irenaei*: quod nempe *Paulo et Petro* Romanos instituentibus, scribendo *Matthaeus* operam dederit: ut *Ecclesiae* aliquid monumenti esset, quo ob ortum ex persecutione *Neronis* dolorem leniret; sanctorumque Apostolorum eo fluctu oppressorum faciem in Evangelio videre sibi videtur *Ecclesia*. *Basu. Ann. 64. n. xii.*

(u) Scripsisse Evangelium suum viii. a Christi resurrectione anno vulgo dicitur. Quod tamen ad annum a Christi assumptione 15. referunt auctor Chr. A. et *Nicephorus*. Et sane eum ante annum a passione Christi 12. Apostolis *Judaeae* finibus egredi non liquit, vix ante ann. 15. Chr. 48. finita synodo *Hierosolymitana*, ad suam quisque sortem abierunt, adeo ut paullo ante *Matthaeus* Evangelium suum condidisse videtur. *H. L. in Matthaeo, p. 13.*

teenth year after our Saviour's ascension, in the year 48. a short time before the council of *Jerusalem*, or soon after it.

Baronius was of opinion, that (x) this Gospel was published in the year 41. soon after that *Peter* had begun to preach to Gentils at the house of *Cornelius* in *Cesarea*.

Grotius (y) and *G. I. Vossius* (z) were likewise of opinion, that *St. Matthew's* Gospel was writ about eight years after Christ's ascension.

Tillemont argues, "That (a) *St. Matthew* wrote his Gospel about three years after the crucifixion of Christ. For it must have been writ before the Apostles left *Judea*. The time of their going abroad, as he owns, is uncertain. But it must have been about the year 36: forasmuch as it appears, that in the year 37. when *Paul* came to *Jerusalem*, there were no other Apostles there, beside *Peter*, and *James* the Less." But that argument is of no value. For the Apostles might be all at *Jerusalem*, or in it's neighbourhood, though *Paul* saw none, beside the two just mentioned.

Mr. Jones earnestly contends, that (b) this Gospel was writ about eight years after our Lord's ascension, in the year 41. But I do not think it needful to take any farther notice of his arguments, than has been done (c) already.

Mr. Wetstein has lately declared in favour of the same opinion. "And (d) hence, says he, we discern the reason, why this Evangelist has inserted so many discourses about the Jewish superstitions: which could be of little or no use to other people, and among other nations, when the temple was once destroyed, or was near being destroyed." But I am not able to discern any force in that way of reasoning, because I perceive not any superfluities in this, or any of the Evangelists. Our Lord's reproofs of Jewish superstitions, his declarations of the superiority of moral virtue, or righteousness and true holiness, above the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, his censures of the pride and covetousness, false maxims, and hypocritical conduct

(x) *Baron. Ann.* 41. num. ix. xvi.

(y) *Grot. Pr. ad Matth.*

(z) Si quidem *Matthæus* in *Palestina* scribebat, idque intra proximum a passione Christi octennium. *Voss. de Gen. J. C. cap. 4. §. ii.*

(a) Il semble même nécessaire de dire, que *S. Matthieu* a écrit trois ans seulement après la mort de *J. C.* . . Le temps de cette division des Apôtres est incertain. Il semble néanmoins, que ç'a été vers l'an 36. puisqu'il paroît, qu'il n'y avoit aucun Apôtre à *Jerusalem*, lorsque *S. Paul* vint en 37. hors *S. Pierre*, & *S. Jacques* le mineur. *S. Matthieu. Mem. T. i.*

(b) *New and full Method. &c. Vol. iii. ch. v. p. 59. . . 64.*

(c) *See Vol. viii. p. 176. . . 179.*

(d) *Magno consensu* perhibent *Patres*, *Matthæum* in gratiam credentium ex *Judeis* in *Palestina* Evangelium suum exscripsisse, et quidem, ut multi addunt, *Hierosolymis*, octavo post ascensionem Christi anno, qui *Claudii Imperatoris* primus fuit. Cur illorum testimonium in dubium vocetur, causam non video: quin ista hypothesi admissa, plurima non infeliciter existimo explicari posse, quorum aliter ratio vix invenitur. Hinc enim intelligimus, cur *Matthæus* primum in ordine Evangelistarum occupet locum, quia nimirum primus omnium scripsit: cur item tam multas de *Judeorum* superstitionibus referat disputationes, quibus apud alias nationes, vel templo jam everso, vel paulo post evertendo, locus vix fuisset. *Wetst. N. T. Tom. i. p. 223.*

duct of the same men, will be useful to all people, so long as the world stands. As our Lord was a Jew, and his ministrie was employed among those people in *Judea*; it is no wonder, that in his discourses, recorded by St. *Matthew*, whenever he wrote, there should be frequent allusions to their laws, customs, and worship. The like (*e*) are in the other two first Evangelists. And in St. *John's* Gospel, the last of the four, are as long discourses with the cavilling Jews, as in any of the rest.

I therefore readily assent to those, who think, that this Gospel was writ in the time of the Emperour *Nero*, not till about thirty years after our Saviour's ascension. I am not able to assign the year, in which it was writ. But I am somewhat inclined to the year 63. 64. or 65. of the vulgar epoch. This is agreeable not only to the testimonie of *Irenaeus*, and some other ancients, but to the circumstances of things. At the year 64. or thereabout, the gospel had been propagated in many Gentil countreys, the times were troublesome in *Judea*, and the war was coming on: several of the Apostles were dead, others of them, who survived, were gone, or going abroad, and many of the Jewish believers were about to seek shelter elsewhere. Now was a proper time, to write a historie of Christ and his miracles. Moreover in this Gospel are recorded divers plain predictions of the miseries and desolations of *Jerusalem*, and the overthrow of the temple, and the Jewish state, beside many other figurative intimations of the same things in many of our Lord's discourses and parables. Which could not be well published to all the world in writing, till about this time. The suitableness of St. *Matthew's* Gospel to the state of the Christian Religion, and of the Jewish people, about the year 64. or 65. leads to that time. And however unwillingly, from private apprehensions and prejudices, we may admit the thought of protracting so long the writing the historie of our Lord's ministrie; the circumstances of things will constrain us to acquiesce in this season, as the most likely.

*Marks of
Time in
this Gospel.*

IV. This leads me now to observe some characters of time in the Gospel itself.

It is well known, and allowed by all, that (*f*) for a while our Lord's disciples labored under Jewish prejudices: and that they did not fully understand all his discourses, at the time when they were spoken. They did not, they could not, clearly discern the comprehensive design of the evangelical dispensation, till after *Peter* had been at the house of *Cornelius*, and there received into the church Gentil converts, without circumcision: nor till after the Gospel had been preached abroad in foreign countreys by *Paul*, and other Apostles, and ministers. Let
us

(*e*) When Mr. *Wetstein* speaks of the many discourses about Jewish superstitions, which are in St. *Matthew's* Gospel: I imagine, he may particularly refer to Matt. xxiii. 1. . . 30. Nevertheless divers of those things occur also in the Gospels of St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*. See Mark xii. 38. . . 40. Luke xi. 42. . . 52. and xx. 46. 47. And both Mark viii. 14. . . 21. and Luke xii. 1. 2. have recorded our Lord's injunctions, to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and Sadducees, or Herodians, as well as Matthew xvi. 6. . . 12. Not now to mention any other like things.

(*f*) There are many proofs of this in the Gospels. See particularly John xvi. 7. . . 14. and likewise the historie in the Acts, ch. x.

us therefore now observe the book itself of *St. Matthew*, and see what knowledge he appears to have had of the scheme of the gospel.

1. His account of the commission, which our Lord gave to the twelve Apostles is in ch. xxviii. 19. *Go ye therefore into all the world, and teach all nations.* *Matthew* did not then think, that the Apostles of Jesus were to teach Jews only, but that they were required to teach all people, and all nations in general.

2. I suppose, that he fully understood our Lord's doctrine, when he recorded that summarie account of it, which is in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of his Gospel. The beatitudes, at the beginning, are a proof of it. And at the conclusion, they who *heard and did those sayings*, are compared to *a man that built his house upon a rock*: though there had been nothing said to enforce the rituals of the Mosaic law.

3. And that he well understood the spirituality, and the freedom of the gospel, appears from what he has recorded ch. xv. 10. . . 20.

4. His clear discernment of the design of the gospel-dispensation appears even in his account of our Saviour's nativity, particularly, in what he says, ch. i. 21, of the message of the angel to *Joseph*. *And thou shalt call his name Jesus. For he shall save his people from their sins.*

5. If he had not known, that our Saviour was designed to be, or was already become a blessing to Gentils, he would scarcely have thought of inserting the historie of the Magians coming from the East to *Jerusalem*, to inquire after the birth of the King of the Jews. chap. ii.

6. It is also very likely, that he understood those words of *John the Baptist*, recorded by him, ch. iii. 9. *God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham.*

7. *St. Matthew's* knowledge of the calling of the Gentils, and the rejection of the Jews, may be concluded from many things recorded by him. In the historie of our Lord's healing the Centurion's servant at *Capernaum* he inserts our Lord's commendation of his faith, and that declaration: *Many shall come from the East and the West, and sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven: but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out.* ch. viii. 10. . . 12.

8. The admission of the Gentils to equal privileges with the Jews must be intimated in the parable of the laborers hired into the vineyard at several hours of the day. ch. xx. 1. . . 16.

9. The calling and acceptance of the Gentils, and the rejection of the Jewish People, and even their overthrow, are plainly declared in the parable of the vineyard, let out to husbandmen, and the discourse, which follows. xxi. 33. . . 46. The same things are intimated in the parable of the King that made a wedding-feast for his son, which is at the beginning of the next chapter. xxii. 1. . . 14.

10. I might likewise take notice of the historie of our Lord's curing the daughter of the woman of *Canaan*. ch. xv. 21. . . 28.

11. It is also very likely, that *St. Matthew* had some good knowledge, and a distinct apprehension of the extent of our Lord's kingdom, and the progresse of his doctrine, when he recorded those parables in the thirteenth chapter of his Gospel: where our Lord has compared the kingdom of heaven, or the preaching his gospel, to a grain of mustard-seed, the least of all seeds, but becomes a tree: to leaven, by which a large lump

lump is leavened : to a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind. And, explaining the parable of the tares, our Lord says, ver. 37. 38. *He that soweth the good seed is the Son of Man. The field is the world. And what follows.*

12. It is probable, that this Evangelist had some knowledge of the gospel having been preached out of Judea, when he put down that declaration of our Lord concerning the woman, that poured the rich ointment upon his head : *Wheresoever the gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall this also, that this woman has done, be told for a memorial of her.* ch. xxvi. 13.

13. In his account of the institution of the eucharist. ch. xxvi. 28. our Lord says : *This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many, that is, for all men, for the remission of their sins.* And in ch. xx. 28. our Lord says : *The Son of Man came . . . to give his life a ransom for many.*

14. There is also an expression used by him once or twice, intimating, that it was some considerable space, since the time of the event and his writing about it. ch. xxviii. 8. *Wherefore that field was called the field of blood to this day.* Having related the affair of the soldiers, and the directions given to them by the Jewish Council to say, that his disciples came by night, and stole him away, he adds : *And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day.* ver. 15. Such an expression does not denote any certain period. But one would think, that, in this case, thereby must be intended a considerable space of time, more than eight, or ten, or fifteen years.

15. I formerly (g) shewed divers advantages of the late publication of the Gospels. The life of Jesus could not be forgotten in thirty, or forty years. His life and death were very public, as well as very extraordinary. His resurrection and ascension were most publicly attested by his Apostles, and others, as we know from the book of the Acts. And from that time forward there were many, who were continually speaking of the things said and done by him, and of the evidences of his resurrection and exaltation. They were soon known to multitudes of people, small and great, and men of all ranks and characters. As St. Paul says to Festus, in a very great assembly. Acts xxvi. 36. *For the King knoweth of these things, before whom also I speak freely. For I am persuaded, that none of these things are hidden from him. For this thing was not done in a corner.* And was it not the cry at Thessalonica? Acts xvii. 6. *These that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also.* The account of St. Paul's manner of living at Rome, about the years 61. and 62. is, that he dwelled two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, . . . teaching those things, which concern the Lord Jesus Christ. Acts xxviii. 30. 31. Whilst there were men, who at the hazard of their lives taught, and others that embraced, the things concerning the Lord Jesus, they could not be forgotten. And if about thirty years after our Lord's ascension, his historie was writ by eye-witnesses, or their companions, it was soon enough. Yea, it was the fittest time of all. At the year sixty of our Lord's nativity, according to the vulgar æra,

and later, there certainly were enough of such persons, as those just mentioned, still living, to record his words and works, and more, who were willing, and desirous to read written histories of him, than before: and also more to transcribe and copy out those histories for their own use, and for the use and benefit of others, than in any preceding time.

V. It remains, that we consider, in what language this Gospel was writ: because many of the ancients, whose testimonies have been lately recited, though they allow the other Gospels to have been writ in *Greek*, have delivered it as their opinion, that this Gospel was writ in *Hebrew*. *It's Original Language.*

Of this I have already spoke several times, particularly, in the chapter of (*b*) *Papias*, and in the chapter of (*i*) *Origen*, and (*k*) of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*: where also the opinion of divers learned moderns were alleged, who think, it was writ in *Greek*. To them I now add (*l*) *Le Clerc*, who has an argument upon this head, proper to be consulted by those who have leisure, but too long to be inserted here: and his learned successor Mr. *Wetstein*, who says: “Here (*m*) we are of opinion, that the Fathers “do not so properly bear testimonie, as deliver their own conjecture; “which needs not to be admitted, if it be not supported by good reasons, “or may be refuted by probable arguments. Supposing, and taking it “for granted, that *Matthew* wrote for the Jews in *Judea*, they concluded, that he wrote in *Hebrew*. But there is no weight in that reason. “The *Greek* language was at that time much used throughout the whole “Roman Empire, and particularly in *Judea*. *Papias*, who first advanced this opinion, was a weak and credulous man. Nor are there “in our *Greek* Gospel any marks of it's being a translation from another “language.”

Mr. *Jones* (*n*) has a long argument, well deserving to be read, shewing that this Gospel was originally writ in *Greek*.

Mr. *Bashage* (*o*) is of the same side, and has argued exceeding well for it. I should transcribe him, if I had room. As I have not, I refer to him.

Says

(*b*) *Vol. i. p. 243. 244.*

(*i*) *Vol. iii. p. 403. . . . 408.*

(*k*) *Vol. viii. p. 184. . . 189.*

(*l*) *Diff. iii. de iv. Evangeliiis.*

(*m*) Neque tam facile assentimur sententiæ eorundem Patrum statuentium, Matthæum scripsisse Hebraice, hoc est, Syriace, sive Chaldaice, quâ linguâ tunc temporis Judæi in Palæstina utebantur. . . Existimamus enim Patres hic jam non testimonium dicere, sed conjecturam suam in medium proferre, non admittendam, si aut idoneis rationibus non sit fulta, aut verosimilibus argumentis refutari possit. Quod enim putant necesse fuisse ut Hebræis scribens Hebraice scriberet, verum non est: cum constet eo tempore linguam Græcam per totum Imperium Romanum, et in Judæa præsertim, in usu fuisse. . . . Videntur ergo vetustissimi Patres, et inter eos Papias, homo simplex et credulus, re non explorata, inani Nazaræorum jactantiæ fidem habuisse. . . Nul- lum sane in nostro Matthæo reperitur indicium, unde colligi possit, ex alia in aliam linguam fuisse conversam. Plurima vero aliud suadent. *Wetstein. N. T. Tom. i. p. 224.*

(*n*) See his *Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel. ch. 17. . . . 19. p. 180. . . 186.*

(*o*) *Ann. 64. n. xiii.*

Says (*) Dr. *Fortin*: "In the time of Christ and his Apostles the Greek was really the universal language. The New Testament is a proof of it, if proof were wanting. And this is one reason amongst many others, why St. *Matthew* probably wrote his Gospel in Greek. See *Wetstein's* N. T. p. 224. St. *Matthew* ch. v. 47. 48. says: Ὅτι τελῶναι οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν. Εἰσεθε ἔν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι . . that is, be not τελῶναι, but τέλειοι. Videtur autem Matthaeus vocem τέλειος hic habuisse, ut τελῶναις opponeret. *Wetstein*. Add to this, that τελῶνης and τέλειος are both derived from the same word τέλος. See again, ch. vi. 16. we find an antithesis in the words ἀφανίζουσι τὰ πρόσωπα, ὅπως φάνωσι. Eleganter dicitur: Tegunt faciem, ut appareant, &c. *Wetstein*.

And many others of the same sentiment might be mentioned, who are men of great learning and good judgment.

I shall now propose some observations relating to this point.

1. If St. *Matthew* did not write till about thirty years after our Lord's ascension, we must be led to think, he would use the *Greek* language. That he did not write sooner, I suppose to have been shewn to be very probable. If indeed there were good reasons to think, his Gospel was writ within the space of eight years after Christ's ascension, we might well conclude, that he wrote in *Hebrew*. But, to me it seems, that we may be fully satisfied, that *Matthew* did not write within that space, nor so soon as fifteen years after our Lord's ascension, nor till some good while afterwards. St. *James*, residing at *Jerusalem*, writes an epistle about the year of Christ 60. as is supposed. It is addressed to the twelve tribes scattered abroad. And he writes in *Greek*, as is allowed. Why, then, should not St. *Matthew* use the same language?

2. There was very early a *Greek* Gospel of St. *Matthew*. It is quoted, or referred to, by *Clement of Rome*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, *Justin Martyr*, not now to mention any others: none of whom intimate, that they made use of a translation.

3. Though many of the ancients say, that St. *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*, they seem not to have fully believed it. For they have shewn very little regard to the *Hebrew* edition of it. This has been particularly shewn in the chapters of (p) *Origen*, (q) *Eusebius of Cesarea*, and (r) *Jerome*, the most likely of any of the ancients to make use of that edition, if they had been persuaded, that it was authentic and original.

4. There are not in our *Greek* Gospel of St. *Matthew* any marks of a translation. So said Mr. *Wetstein* in the passage just transcribed. And this observation was before made by us in the chapter of (s) *Papias*.

5. There is no where any probable account, who translated this Gospel into *Greek*. No particular translator was mentioned by *Papias*, as may be concluded from the accounts given of his books by *Eusebe*. Nor is any translator of this Gospel named by *Irenaeus*, *Eusebe*, or any of the writers

(*) See his *Discourses concerning the Christian Religion*. p. 176. note (o), the third edition.

(p) Vol. iii. p. 403. . . 408.

(q) Vol. viii. p. 185. . . 189.

(r) Vol. x. p. 170. . . 172.

(s) Vol. i. p. 244.

writers of the first three centuries, that are come down to us. Nor is there any reason to think, that he was named in any other: forasmuch as no notice is taken of him by *Eusebe*, or *Jerome*, who saw many writings of ancients now lost, both catholics and heretics. *Jerome* having said, that *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*, presently adds: "Who (t) afterwards translated him into *Greek*, is uncertain." And all the accounts of a translator, since given, are too late to be credited, and are likewise very improbable. In the Synopsis ascribed to *Athanasius*, but not writ till long after his time, it is said, "That (u) *Matthew's* Gospel was translated into *Greek* by *James*, the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*." Which is very improbable. It would be more reasonable to imagine, that he translated it out of *Greek* into *Hebrew*. But as that is not said by the ancients, so neither have we reason to say it. Moreover, the same reasons, as one may think, which would induce *James* to make a *Greek* translation, should have induced *Matthew* to write in *Greek*. Nevertheless, Dr. *Mill* (x) has pitched upon that person for the translator, and formed an argument thereupon. Which only serves to shew, that there is nothing, for which something may not be said by those, who indulge themselves with suppositions, without ground. *Theophylact* informs us, that (y) in his time it was said, that *John* translated this Gospel into *Greek*. But it was only a common report. And indeed it could be no more. However, out of a regard to such reports and testimonies, Mr. *Lampe* (z) has very properly reckoned a translation of this Gospel among the works falsely ascribed to St. *John*.

6. Once more, I apprehend, we may discern the origin of this opinion, that St. *Matthew's* Gospel was writ in *Hebrew*. There was soon made a translation of his *Greek* Gospel into *Hebrew*. We have seen proofs, that (a) in very early days of Christianity there was a *Hebrew* Gospel. And many, not examining it particularly, nor indeed being able to do it, for want of understanding the language, imagined, that it was first writ in *Hebrew*. *Jerome* expressly tells us, that (b) by many in his time the Gospel

(t) Vol. x. p. 89.

(u) Vol. vii. p. 249.

(x) Quis in Græcum transfuderit, incertum est. Papius de hoc nihil ab Aristione aut Joanne presbytero accepit, aut tradidit. Auctor Synopsæ S. Scripturæ Jacobo fratri Domini diserte adscribit hanc versionem. Theophylactus, ex fama duntaxat, Joanni Evangelistæ. Ego ad priorem illam sententiam, seu magis verisimilem, accedo. Satis enim probabile est, Evangelium in Hebræorum usum linguâ ipsorum patriâ primum exaratum, ab ipsorum Episcopo primario Jacobo, Episcopo Hierosolymitano, in sermonem Græcum, per provincias, in quas dispersi erant ex gente ista plurimi, Judæis pariter ac aliis in usu familiari, translatum fuisse, &c. Proleg. num. 66.

(y) Μετέφρασε δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἰωάννου ἀπὸ τῆς ἑβραϊκῆς γλώττης εἰς τὴν ἐλληνίδα, ὡς λέγουσι. Theoph. Pr. in Matth. p. 2. D.

(z) Matthæi Evangelium Græce a Joanne Evangelistâ versum esse, refert Eutychius Tom. i. Annalium, p. 328. et Nicetas præfatione ad Catenam in Matthæum. Lampe Prolegom. in Joan. l. i. cap. 7. num. 31.

(a) See ch. xiv. Vol. i. p. 320. 321.

(b) In Evangelio, quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ, quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo sermone transfulimus, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum. Hist. in Matth. cap. xiii. T. 4. P. i. p. 47.

Gospel according to the *Hebrews* was reckoned the true and authentic Gospel of *Matthew*.

To this *Hebrew* translation of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, possibly, are owing divers things said by the ancients: as that *Matthew* published his Gospel at *Jerusalem*, or in *Judea*, for the Jewish believers, and at their request, before he went abroad to other people. I say, I do suspect the truth of these, and some other like things, said of St. *Matthew*, and his Gospel. All which may have had their rise from the *Hebrew* edition of his Gospel, which they imagined to be the original. For I think, that St. *Matthew's*, and all the other Gospels were writ, and intended, for believers of all nations. His Gospel was writ for the Jews, but not for them only, but for Gentils also: as manifestly appears from the Gospel itself, or the things contained in it.

I am also ready to say, with (c) Mr. *Basnage*, that I do not know where it was published, whether in *Judea*, or somewhere else. But as I think, the Nazaren Gospel to be St. *Matthew's* Gospel translated from *Greek*, with (d) the addition of some other things, taken from the other Gospels, and from tradition: so I reckon, that the Gospel of *Matthew*, writ in *Greek*, was the Gospel, which first came into their hands, and which they gladly received, and made use of. I say again, the notion of St. *Matthew's* writing in *Hebrew*, probably, had it's rise from the *Hebrew* edition of his Gospel. For allowing that date of his Gospel, which to me appears most probable, I cannot conceive the reason, why *Matthew* should write in *Hebrew* any more than any of the other Evangelists. For it may be reckoned highly probable, or even certain, that he understood *Greek*, before he was called by Christ to be an Apostle. Whilst a Publican, he would have frequent occasions both to write and speak *Greek*. And could not discharge his office, without understanding that language.

This *Hebrew* Gospel may likewise have been the cause, why so many ancient Christian writers say, that *Matthew* wrote first. This may be true. But I do not think it was said upon the ground of any certain knowledge, or good information. I apprehend it not to be easie to say, which Gospel was first writ. For all the first three Gospels were writ about the same time. And St. *Luke's*, for any thing that I know, may have been writ first. Which (e) was the opinion of Mr. *Basnage*.

In Evangelio, juxta Hebræos. . . quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum Apostolos, sive ut plerique juxta Matthæum. *Adv. Pelag. l. 3. sub in T. 4. p. 533.*

(c) Annum tamen perinde atque locum, ubi a Matthæo conditum est, in incerto esse, faciles patimur. *Ann. 64. num. xii.*

(d) Distinguendum enim inter hoc Evangelium, quale initio fuit, & illud, quale paullatim fiebat, Nazaræis varia addentibus. . . Primitus nihil habuit, nisi quod in Græco nunc legimus. . . Porro Nazaræi pluscula suis locis interferuerunt, quæ ab Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris, fando acceperant. *G. J. Voss. De Genesal. J. C. cap. ii. num. i.*

(e) *Ann. 60. num. 31.*

C H A P. VI.

Of the Time, when the Apostles left Judea, to go and preach the Gospel in other Countreys.

AS many ancient Christian writers, whom we have lately quoted, say, that St. *Matthew*, having preached some while in *Judea*, was desired by the believers there, to leave with them in writing, before he went away, a historie of what he had taught by word of mouth: this may not be an improper place to enquire, how long it was after the ascension of *Jesus*, before *Matthew*, and the other Apostles, left *Judea*, to go abroad into foreign countreys.

And *first* of all, we will observe some remarkable passages of ancient writers, relating to this matter. And then, *secondly*, we will consider what light the book of the *Acts* may afford upon this subject.

Clement of *Alexandria*, about 194. quotes from a work, entitled the *Preaching of Peter*, this passage: "Therefore (a) *Peter* says, that the Lord said to the Apostles: If any *Israelite* will repent, and believe in God through my name, his sins shall be forgiven. After twelve years go ye out into the world, that none may say: We have not heard."

The next passage is that of *Apollonius*, undoubtedly, in part contemporarie with *Clement*, and placed by *Cave* at the year 192. by me at 211. as near the time of his writing against the *Montanists*. Moreover, says (b) *Eusebe*, he relates as from tradition, that our Saviour commanded his Apostles, not to depart from *Jerusalem* for the space of twelve years." Which passage has been already cited in this (c) work.

By these two passages *Cave* was induced to think, that (d) for twelve years after Christ's ascension the Apostles did not depart from the neighborhood of *Jerusalem*. Supposing our Saviour to have been crucified, and to have ascended to heaven in the year 29. of the vulgar æra; which was a common opinion of the ancients, these twelve years ended in the year 41. Supposing those great events to have happened in the year 33. which is a common opinion of learned moderns, those twelve years would reach to the year 45.

Beside those two passages alleged by *Cave*, and other learned men, I shall take notice of some others also.

Origen says in general, "That (e) when the Jews did not receive the word, the Apostles went to the Gentils."

Chrysostom

(a) Διὰ τὸ τό φησιν ὁ πῆτρος, ἐξηκέναι τὸν κύριον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· Ἐὰν μὲν ὁ τις θελήσῃ τὴν ἰσραὴλ μετανοῆσαι [forte μετανοήσας] διὰ τὸ ὀνόματός μου πιστεῦν εἰς τὸν θεόν, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ ἁμαρτίαι. Μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλθετε εἰς κόσμον, μὴ τις ἔπη· Οὐκ ἤκουσαμεν. *Clem. Str.* l. 6. p. 636. *Conf. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 5. et Grabe Spic. T. i. p. 67.*

(b) *H. E. l. 5. cap. 18. p. 136.*

(c) *Ch. xxxi. Vol. iii. p. 16.*

(d) *Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 5. et 13.*

(e) . . . μὴ παραδεξαμένων ἰουδαίων τὸν λόγον, ἀπελλύθησαν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη. *In Matth. T. i. p. 225. E. Huet.*

Chrysoſtom in a homilie upon *Acts xi. 19.* and what follows, ſpeaks to this purpoſe. “ They heard, that *Samaria* had received the word, and “ they ſent *Peter* and *John*. They heard what had happened at *Antioch*, and they ſent *Barnabas*. For (f) that was a great diſtance. And “ it was not fit, that the Apoſtles ſhould go ſo far as yet, leſt they “ ſhould have been eſteemed deſerters, and thought to have fled from “ their own people. But it then became neceſſarie for them to ſeparate, [or go from thence] when the Jews ſhewed themſelves to be “ incurable.”

In the *Pafchal Chronicle* are the expreſſions, ſpeaking of *Paul*. “ Afterwards (g) he coming to *Jeruſalem* with *Barnabas*, and finding there “ *Peter*, and the reſt of the Apoſtles, with *James* the Lord’s brother, the “ Apoſtles ſend an epiſtle to *Antioch* in *Syria*, eſtabliſhing their church. “ And *Paul* and *Barnabas* carry the epiſtle to *Antioch*, as the *Acts* ſhew. “ By this it appears, that the Apoſtles then wrote their catholic epiſtles, “ before their diſperſion.”

Such are the paſſages of ancient writers, which muſt be reckoned to be of ſome weight.

Let us now obſerve the hitoriſe in the *Acts*. And it ſeems to me, there is reaſon to conclude, that the Apoſtles ſtaid in *Judea*, till after the Council at *Jeruſalem*, of which an account is given in the xv. chapter of that book. For *St. Luke* does continually ſpeak of the Apoſtles, as being at *Jeruſalem*, or near it. *Acts viii. 1.* And at that time, there was a great perſecution againſt the church which was at *Jeruſalem*. And they were all ſcattered abroad throughout the regions of *Judea* and *Samaria*, except the Apoſtles. One of thoſe perſons, who then left *Jeruſalem*, was *Philip*, the Deacon and Evangeliſt: who went to *Samaria*, and preached Chriſt unto them, and with good effect. Whereupon at ver. 14. Now when the Apoſtles, which were at *Jeruſalem*, heard that *Samaria* had received the word of God, they ſent unto them *Peter* and *John*. This needs no Comment. Here is proof, that when the reſt of the diſciples were ſcattered abroad, *Peter* and *John*, and the other Apoſtles, were ſtill at *Jeruſalem*.

In *Acts ix. 26 . . . 30.* is *St. Luke*’s account of *Paul*’s coming to *Jeruſalem*, after his converſion. Where he ſays, that the diſciples were afraid of him. . . . But *Barnabas* took him and brought him to the Apoſtles. *St. Paul* ſpeaking of the ſame journey, *Gal. i. 18. 19.* ſays: Then after three years I went up to *Jeruſalem*, to ſee *Peter*, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the Apoſtles ſaw I none, ſave *James* the Lord’s brother. Here we find, that at this time, three years after his converſion,

(f) Πολύ γὰρ τὸ διάστημα, καὶ ἐκ ἔδει τῆς ἀποſόλης τέως χωριſθῆναι ἐκείνους, ἵνα μὴ νομιſθῶσιν εἶναι φυγάδες, καὶ πῶς αὐτῶν πεφνεύεσθαι· τότε ἀναγκάως χωρίζονται, ὅτε λοιπὸν ἀνάτα ἔχειν ἔδοκει τὰ κατ’ αὐτούς. In *Act. hom. 25. Tom. 9. p. 202. 203.*

(g) Μετέπειτα ἐλθὼν εἰς ἱεροſόλυμα μετὰ βαρνάβα, καὶ ἐννὸν πῆτρον καὶ τὸς λοιποὺς ἀποſόλης ἅμα ἱακάσθω τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ κυρίῳ, γράφουσιν ἐπιſολὴν οἱ ἀποſόλοι εἰς ἀντιόχειαν τῆς ſυρίας, ſεμελιῶντες τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκκληſίαν, καὶ διακονῶσι τὴν ἐπιſολὴν εἰς ἀντιόχειαν αὐτοὺς πᾶυλος καὶ βαρνάβας, ὡς δηλῶσι αἱ περὶ αὐτοὺς. Εὐκ ταῦτα δῆκενται, ὅτι καὶ τὰς καθολικὰς αὐτῶν οἱ ἀποſόλοι τότε γράφουσιν πρὸς τῆς διαſπορᾶς αὐτῶν. *Chr. Paſch. p. 233. B. C.*

sion, *Paul* saw two Apostles only, *Peter* and *James*. But *St. Luke's* words, as seems to me, imply, that all the Apostles were then at *Jerusalem*, though *Paul* saw two only, the rest for some reasons declining to shew themselves in person to him. *Dr. Doddridge* has this note upon ch. ix. 27. "*Paul* himself tells us, that upon his going up to *Jerusalem*, he saw no other Apostles, but *Peter* and *James*. Gal. i. 19. *Beza* well observes, we are quite uncertain, on what occasion, the rest were then absent from *Jerusalem*. Had they been there, though *Paul* staid but about a fortnight, he would no doubt have seen them." Nevertheless the solution of this difficulty appears to me very easy. The Apostles were now all at *Jerusalem*, or near it. But they lived privately, because it was a time of persecution. The great persecution against the church, which began with the death of *Stephen*, was not yet over. The Apostles therefore could not appear abroad without danger. And it was sufficient, that they spoke to *Paul*, and received him, by *Peter* and *James*. Which I take to be the true import of *St. Luke's* expression. But *Barnabas* took him, and brought him to the Apostles.

After *Peter* had been at the house of *Cornelius*, it is said, Acts xi. 1. "And the Apostles and brethren that were in *Judea*, heard, that the Gentils also had received the word." Another proof, that all the Apostles, or most of them, were still at *Jerusalem*. But I do not suppose, that the Apostles, like many other of the Jewish believers, were offended at what *Peter* had done. Or, if they were at first somewhat offended, they were soon, and easily satisfied, and were very willing to testify their approbation of *Peter's* conduct.

From the 12. chapter of the Acts we know, that *James* son of *Zebedee*, and brother of *John*, and *Peter*, were at *Jerusalem*, in the year 44. or thereabout, near the end of the reign of *Herod Agrippa*: the former of whom was beheaded, and the other imprisoned. And at ver. 17. is mention made of another *James*, supposed to be the Lord's brother, and always resident at *Jerusalem*.

From the account of the Council of *Jerusalem*, and of the occasion of it, all the apostles appear to have been then in *Judea*, and at *Jerusalem*, or in its neighborhood. Acts xv. When therefore *Paul* and *Barnabas* had no small dissension and disputation with them, they determined, that *Paul*, and *Barnabas*, and certain other of them, should go up to *Jerusalem*, unto the Apostles and Elders about this question. ver. 4. And when they were come to *Jerusalem*, they were received of the church, and or even the Apostles and Elders. . . . ver. 6. And the Apostles and Elders came together, that is, met in Council, for to consider of this matter. . . ver. 22. Then pleased it the Apostles, and Elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own companie, to *Antioch*. . . ver. 23. And they wrote letters by them after this manner: The Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren send greeting. . . ver. 33. And after they had tarried there a space, that is, at *Antioch*, they were let go in peace from the brethren unto the Apostles.

In all these places the Apostles must intend all the Apostles, or the Apostles in general. For how can the expression be understood otherwise?

If it should be said, that the Apostles might be at the Council at *Jerusalem*, though several of them had been before in other countreys: I think,

think, that would be said without ground and reason. It does not appear, that the Apostles were sent to, invited, or called in from abroad, to attend this Council. But the Christians at *Antioch* supposed, or rather knew, that the Apostles were at *Jerusalem*, and therefore directly sent thither to them.

Indeed none of the Apostles are expressly named as speakers in the debates of the Council, beside *Peter* and *James*. But all the rest may have been there. So upon divers other occasions in the Gospels, and at the beginning of the Acts, *Peter* only spake, though all the rest were present. In Gal. ii. 8. 9. 10. St. *Paul* giving an account of a journey to *Jerusalem*, supposed to be the same with this to the Council, speaks of conferences, which he had with three, namely *James*, *Cephas*, and *John*, who seemed to be pillars. Here * is one more mentioned as present at *Jerusalem*, beside the two before taken notice of. And there must have been others beside these three, who seemed to be pillars, or were the most eminent.

The first time, that we meet with the mention of any one of the twelve, as being out of *Judea*, is that in Gal. ii. 11. after this Council, as is generally allowed, when *Peter* was at *Antioch*. It is very observable, Acts xi. 19. . . 22. when tidings came to the ears of the Church at *Jerusalem*, that many Gentils had been converted at *Antioch* by some of those who were scattered abroad by the persecution, they sent forth *Barnabas*, that he should go as far as *Antioch*. None of the Apostles went, not so much as one, to accompany him. And afterwards ch. xiii. 1. . . 3. in the account of the extraordinary mission of *Paul* and *Barnabas* from *Antioch* to *Cyprus*, and other parts, there is no mention made of any Apostle, as present at *Antioch*. And it is plain, there was not one there.

All these considerations induce me to think, that none of the twelve Apostles left *Judea* to teach either Jews or Gentils in other Countreys, until after this Council.

Having now, as I apprehend, shewn this to be very probable, I shall mention some remarks. Whereby there may be an opportunity for answering objections, though several have been already obviated.

1. There was a fitness in it. It was very proper, and even expedient, that the Apostles should stay a good while in *Judea*, to assert and confirm the truth of Christ's resurrection by teaching, and by miraculous works, and do their utmost to bring the Jewish People to faith in Jesus as the Christ.

2. As this was fit, it is likely, that they had received some command from Christ himself, or some direction from the Holy Ghost, to stay thus long in *Judea*.

3. There were considerations, that would incline them to it, and induce them to do what was fit to be done, and was agreeable to the mind of Christ. One was the difficulty of preaching the gospel in foreign countreys. This would induce them to stay in *Judea*, till the circumstances of things facilitated their farther progress, or called them to it.

Another

* *Theodoret* has a like argument: Εξ ἧν χάριον καταδεῖν, ὡς ὑδέπω καταλείπει τὴν ἰουδαίαν ὁ θεὸς ἀποστόλος ἰωάννης. *Theod. Pr. in ep. ad Eph. Tom. 3. p. 290.*

Another thing was their affection for the Jewish people, their countrymen, especially those of *Judea*, with whom they had been brought up, and among whom they dwelt, together with a persuasion of the great value of the blessing of the gospel. This last consideration, I apprehend, would induce them to labor in *Judea*, with earnest desires, and some hopes, of bringing all, or however, many, to faith in Jesus. This influenced *Paul* also to a great degree, and for a good while. Nor was he without hopes of persuading his brethren and countrey-men to what appeared to himself very certain and evident. So he says in his speech to the people at *Jerusalem*. Acts xxii. 17. . . 20. He assures them, that whilst he was worshipping at *Jerusalem*, in the temple, he had a transe or extasie: that he there saw Christ, who said to him: *Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem. For they will not receive thy testimonie concerning me.* *Paul* pleaded, that they must needs pay a regard to his testimonie, who was well known to have been for some while very zealous in opposing his followers, and was now convinced and persuaded. But the Lord said unto him: *Depart. For I will send thee far hence unto the Gentils.* This transe, or vision, seems to have happened in the year 44. after that *Paul* had preached at *Antioch* with great succeſſe among Gentils. Nevertheless he had an earnest desire to make one attempt more among the Jews of *Judea*, where was the body of that people. And if they could have been persuaded, many abroad would follow their example. And it required an expreſs and repeated order from Jesus Christ, in vision, to induce him to lay aside that design, and to proceed to preach to Gentils in remote parts.

It is a most affectionate concern, which he expreſſes for the Jewish people in divers places of the epistle to the *Romans*, writ so late as the year 58. ch. ix. 1. . . 5. x. 1. 2. xi. 4. *if by any means, says he, I may provoke them to emulation which are my flesh, and might save some of them.* Nor can it be questioned, that the like sentiments prevailed in the other Apostles. If it needs any proof, let St. *Peter's* discourses at the beginning of the book of the Acts be consulted, particularly ch. ii. 38. . 40. iii. 22. . . 26. not to refer to any other.

4. There were many advantages attending the stay of the Apostles in *Judea*. Many more Jews were by this means converted, than otherwise there would have been. St. *Luke* says, Acts iv. 4. that the number of the men was five thousand. But when *Paul* came to *Jerusalem* some years afterwards, *James* says to him, *Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe.* xxi. 20. And it is very likely, that the Jewish believers had better, and freer principles, than otherwise they would have had. They were, it is true, for observing the law themselves: ver. 20. but they agreed, that the Gentils were under no such obligations. ver. 25. Farther, by this means every step taken in planting the Christian Religion, and spreading the gospel in the world, had the sanction of all the Apostles, and of the whole church of *Jerusalem*.

Upon occasion of the persecution at *Jerusalem*, many were scattered abroad, who went every where preaching the word. Then *Philip* went down to the city of *Samaria*, and preached Christ unto them, Acts viii. 45. Now when the Apostles, which were at *Jerusalem*, heard, that *Samaria* had re-

ceived the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John. This was the first step taken in carrying the gospel to any, beside native Jews, and profelytes to their religion. And what had been done by Philip at Samaria, was approved and ratified by all the Apostles.

The next step was preaching to Gentils, which work was solemnly allotted to Peter. And the Apostles and Elders that were in Judea, heard that the Gentils had also received the word of God. ch. xi. 1, Upon Peter's rehearsing to them the whole affair, and what had happened at the house of Cornelius at Cesarea, all were satisfied. They glorified God, saying: Then hath God also to the Gentils granted repentance unto life. ver. 18.

Soon after this, some of those who were scattered abroad upon the persecution, went to Antioch, and there spake to the Greeks or Gentils, preaching the Lord Jesus. And a great number believed, and turned to the Lord. Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church, which was at Jerusalem. And they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch. ver. 19. . . 22. This step therefore was also approved and ratified by the whole church of Jerusalem, including the Apostles.

And henceforward no objections could be made by wise men against preaching to Gentils, and receiving them, but what arose from the difficulty of the work. Nevertheless some good while after this, there was a dispute raised at Antioch by some bigotted Jews, who asserted it to be necessarie, that the Gentil believers should be circumcised after the manner of Moses. This occasioned the Council of Jerusalem. Where the controverſie was fully determined by the Apostles and Elders. Which was a great advantage. By this means the manner of receiving Gentils was fixed and settled beyond dispute, and beyond opposition. Or, if any should be made afterwards, it could not be successful, nor very troublesome. And we may be assured, that all the Apostles, and their disciples, would be harmonious, and preach the same doctrine to Jews and Gentils, wheresoever they went.

5. There was a necessity of the Apostles staying in Judea, till about this time. Otherwise, they could not have sufficiently testified the doctrine concerning Jesus in Judea, nor have fully taught the Jewish people, so as to render them inexcusable, if they did not believe, and repent.

If we consider the state of things in Judea, we may discern, that in the year 44. the Apostles had not had an opportunity to fulfill their ministrie in that country. It must be evident to all from the historie in the Acts, that for some while, soon after our Lord's ascension, the Apostles were grievously harrassed, and hardly used by the Jewish Council or Rulers. Which was the more so, because of the weaknesse of Pilate's government, for some time before he was dismissed from the province. And afterwards, about the time of his removal, Stephen was stoned, and a great persecution began. Which, as I apprehend, continued from the beginning of the year 36. to the beginning of the year 40. When the churches had rest. Of which rest undoubtedly the Apostles made good use. St. Luke's words are: Then had the churches rest throughout Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied. ch. xi. 31.

After which follows an account of *Peter's* passing throughout all quarters, his going to *Lydda*, and there healing *Eneas*, then to *Joppa*, where he raised *Tabitha* : and from thence to *Cesarea*, and there preaching to *Cornelius*, and his companie : and of some other matters, reaching to ch. xi. 26. How long that rest, or peace and tranquillity continued, in all its fulnesse, we cannot say exactly. Perhaps it lasted a year, or more. And it is not unlikely, that in that space of time other Apostles, beside *Peter*, travelled in *Judea*, and the several parts of it, preaching the gospel, and confirming the disciples. But upon *Herod Agrippa* being made King of all *Judea* by *Claudius* in the year 41. that peace would be abated, if not interrupted. From the begining of his reign, especially from his arrival in *Judea*, and during the remainder of it, the disciples must have been under many difficulties and discouragements, Prince and People being of one mind. And toward the end of his reign he became an open and violent persecutor, till Divine Providence smote him, that he died. After his death *Judea* came to be in the hands of Roman Procurators, *Cuspius Fadus*, *Tiberius Alexander*, *Cumanus*, *Felix*, *Festus* : When probably, the disciples of Jesus had for several years together more liberty, than they had at any time, since the resurrection of Jesus, excepting the interval of rest and tranquillity, before taken notice of. For those Governours, or Procurators, had no orders from the Roman Emperour to persecute or disturb any Jews. And that those Governours were not disposed to disturb the Christians, may be argued from the treatment given to *Paul* by *Felix*, and *Festus*, and the officers under them. Now therefore from the year 44. to the time of the Council in 49. or 50. and afterwards, the Apostles went on fulfilling their ministrie. All of them, as I apprehend, staid in *Judea* till the time of the Council. Soon after which some did, probably, go abroad. However, several of them might stay there a good while longer, and not remove, till a little before the commencement of the Jewish war in 66.

6. We may now perceive, the benefit of the early choice and call of *Paul* to be an Apostle. Who having been several years employed and exercised in preaching to Jews in *Judea*, and out of it, was ready to preach to Gentils likewise, as soon as a door was opened for applying to them at *Antioch*, and other places : as there was, after *Peter* had received *Cornelius* at *Cesarea* : whilst it was not as yet fit for any of the twelve Apostles to leave the land of *Israel*.

7. We now obtain some assistance for interpreting those expressions of *Paul* : Gal. ii. 7. 8. 9. *When they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was committed unto Peter. For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentils. And they gave unto me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the Heathen, and they unto the circumcision. And Rom. xi. 13. inasmuch as I am the Apostle of the Gentils, I magnify my office.* Those expressions cannot be intended to signify, that *Paul* was Apostle of the Gentils only, and exclusive of the Jews : or that *Peter* and the other of the twelve, were Apostles of the circumcision only, exclusive of the Gentils. For an Apostle is a teacher or master of the whole world. They were appointed to be so by Christ himself. Nor could their commission be li-

mitted by any compact among themselves. Our Lord's commission given to his twelve Apostles, is, in *Matthew*, to this purpose: *Go ye therefore, and teach all nations*, xxviii. 19. and in *Luke*, xxiv. 46. 47. *he said to them, that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.* And *Acts* i. 8. And *Ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.* And *Mark* xvi. 15. *And he said unto them: Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.* And ver. 20. *And they went forth and preached every where.* Of *Paul* the Lord says in a vision to *Ananias* at *Damascus*: *He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentils, and Kings, and the children of Israel.* *Acts* ix. 5. And *Paul* says to *King Agrippa*: *I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision: but shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coast of Judea, and then to the Gentils, that they should repent, and turn to God.* ch. xxvi. 19. 20. Moreover we know from the historie of *Paul's* preaching recorded in the *Acts*, that he always first addressed himself to Jews, in all the places where he came, if there were any, and if they had there a synagogue.

It should be observed likewise, that *Peter* had actually preached to Gentils, in *Judea*, and was the first disciple of *Jesus*, that did so. There is a particular account of it in the book of the *Acts*, ch. x. and xi. And himself takes notice of it in his speech at the Council of *Jerusalem*. ch. xv. 7.

The reason therefore, why the gospel of circumcision is said to have been committed unto *Peter*, and the other Apostles with him, is, that for a good while, their ministry was sely, or however very much, and chiefly, employed among Jews in *Judea*: though afterwards they preached very freely to Gentils, in several parts of the world. And *Paul* is called the Apostle of the Gentils, and the gospel of the uncircumcision is said to have been committed unto him, because he got the start of all the rest in preaching to Gentils, and had laboured among them for a good while in divers countreys, with great successe, and had formed many churches in divers places: whilst they were still in *Judea*, teaching Jews, and had made no addressees to Gentils abroad in other countreys.

It may be also implied in what *St. Paul* says in the epistle to the *Galatians*, that (b) several of the first twelve Apostles intended to stay still somewhat longer in *Judea*. This they were the more willing to do, being fully satisfied with the preaching of *Paul* in foreign countreys: inso-much that they encouraged him to proceed, as he had begun.

8. Once more, we may now be reconciled to the supposition of the late date of the Gospels. For they were not to be published, till the doctrine concerning

(b) Alterum, quod ex dicto Pauli ad Galatas colligimus, illud est, Joannem etiam post discessum Pauli cum duobus collegis per aliquod temporis intervallum Hierosolymis, et in Judæa substituisse. Gentium enim conversione Paulo et Barnabæ demandata, ipsi inter Judæos se operam porro locuturos declarant. Quæ etiam causa est, cur Joannis et sociorum in Actis Apostolicis vix mentio occurrat, quia postquam primordia Ecclesiæ Christianæ inter Judæos memorata erant, nihil amplius videbatur addendum, nisi ut narretur, quomodo primitiæ Gentium essent introductæ. *Lamp. Proleg. in Jo. l. 1, cap. 3. §. vii.*

concerning Jesus had been preached in divers parts, and many converts had been made, to whom they would be useful, for whom they would be needful, by whom they would be received with joy, be highly valued, frequently read, and often copied. Written histories of Jesus could be little wanted by the Jewish believers in *Judea*, whilst all the Apostles were still in that country, and there were also still living among them many sincere followers of Jesus, and eye-witnesses of his person and ministry. Very probably, therefore, there was no written gospel, till after the Council at *Jerusalem*.

Still there may be objections, which should be stated and considered.

Obj. 1. It may be said: Was not the progress of the gospel by this means much retarded? I answer: No. And this objection, methinks, should be of little moment now, after all that has been said of the many advantages of the Apostles stay in *Judea*.

However, some considerations shall be here added to what has been already said. Though the Apostles did not leave *Judea* themselves, they encouraged those who did, who preached the gospel abroad, whether to Jews or Gentils. Of this there is an instance with regard to the church of *Antioch*, related Acts xi. 19. . . 22. And there may have been some other like instances. Moreover the Apostles were very useful by their stay in *Judea*, as has been already shewn. They made many converts among the Jews. During their stay in that country, if there was any measure of public liberty for the believers, the Apostles would all, or most of them, be at *Jerusalem*, at the great feasts, to which there was a general resort of Jews from all countreys. Here the inquisitive of that People would have an opportunity of conversing with the Apostles. And if they were convinced, and persuaded by them, they would carry the doctrine of the gospel into the places of their usual residence, and propagate it there.

Obj. 2. But, if the Apostles had attempted to make a long stay in *Judea*, it seems, that they must have been all destroyed. I answer, that doubtless they met with many and great difficulties. What they were from the time of our Lord's ascension to the year 44. was briefly rehearsed just now. After that for several years, as I apprehend, their difficulties would not be so great, as they had been. Yea, during that space would be the best opportunity that ever they had, to promote the interests of the gospel, as I said before. For (i) the Jewish people had not the power of life and death in their own hands. And the Roman Procurators

(i) Contra persuasum habeo, hoc emblemata supponere, Ecclesiam jam longo admodum tempore fuisse afflictam. . . Ne jam dicam, non constare ex historia Ecclesiæ, quinam illi sint *Martyres*, quorum sanguis, præter eum *Stephani*, et utriusque *Jacobi*, de quorum altero ex Luca, altero ex Josepho liquet et Hegesippo, a Judæis fusus fuerit. Judæi enim, excepto brevi intervallo regni Agrippæ, rerum suarum non erant domini: et licet in Christianos pessime affecti fuerint, a Præsidibus tamen Romanis prohibebantur, pro lubitu in innocuos Jesu Christi discipulos sævire. Quæ enim junior Ananus tentavit in Jacobum fratrem Domini, et τινὰς ἑτέρας, quosdam alios, Christianæ professionis homines, ut constat ex Josepho Festo mortuo, et Albino adhuc in itinere agente, peracta sunt. *Campeg. Viring. in Apoc. cap. vi. ver. 12. § xxx.*
p. 303.

curators were not disposed to give any men disturbance upon account of difference of opinion in religious matters. Finally, the Apostles of Jesus Christ, we have reason to think, had an especial direction, and an especial protection. They, who were employed in teaching so important a doctrine, and were enabled to work miracles upon others for confirming it, may be reasonably supposed to have been the subjects of some wonderful interpositions of Providence. And it must be reckoned very probable, that affairs would be so over-ruled and influenced, as that these chosen men should be upheld, and enabled to fulfill their ministrie, and bear such a testimonie to Jesus, as should be sufficient to lay a good foundation for the establishment of his Church in the world, and leave all those of the Jewish People, who did not receive him as the Messiah, absolutely inexcusable.

C H A P. VII.

ST. MARK, EVANGELIST.

- I. *That the Evangelist is the same as John Mark, and nephew to Barnabas.*
 II. *His Historie from the New Testament.* III. *From other Writers.*
 IV. *Testimonies to his Gospel, in ancient Writers.* V. *Remarks upon them.* VI. *The Time of writing his Gospel, according to these ancient Writers, and the Sentiments of learned Moderns.* VII. *Characters of Time in the Gospel itself.* VIII. *Observations upon this Gospel.*

The Evangelist the same as John Mark. I. **I**T is generally, or even universally, allowed, that Mark, mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13. is the Evangelist. But it has been doubted, whether he be the same as John Mark mentioned in the Acts, and some of St. Paul's epistles. And it appears from our collections out of ancient authors, that there were doubts about this in the minds of some in former times.

Divers learned moderns are persuaded, that they are different persons. Of this number are (a) *Cave*, [who nevertheless thinks him (b) the same Mark, that is mentioned by St. Paul in his second epistle to *Timothie*] (c) *Grotius*, (d) *Du Pin*, and (e) *Tillemont*. Which last, in his Ecclesiastical Memoirs, makes two different articles for this name: one entitled, *St. Mark the Evangelist, Apostle of Egypt, and Martyr*: the other, *St. John Mark, disciple and cousin of St. Barnabas*. On the other hand they

(a) S. Marcus Evangelista, quem cum Joanne Marco, de quo Act. xii. 12, male nonnulli confundunt. *H. L. T. i. p. 24.*

(b) Cum enim illum epistola secunda ad Timotheum—Romam accersiverat Paulus —*Id. ib.*

(c) *Gr. Pr. in Marc.*

(d) *Diff. Prelim. l. 2. ch. ii. § iv.*

(e) *Mém. Ec. Tom. 2.*

they are reckoned one and the same by (f) *Jer. Jones*, (g) *Lightfoot*, and (h) *Wetstein*.

I shall now without delay consider the reasons of those, who think there are two *Marks* mentioned in the New Testament.

1. They say, that *Mark* the Evangelist was converted and baptised by *Peter*, because he calls him *his son*. 1 Pet. v. 13. But there is no reason to suppose this of *John Mark*.

To which I answer. That needs not to be reckoned the constant meaning of the expression. It may denote only great affection and tenderness, and a respect to faithful services: in like manner as *Paul* says of *Timothie*, Philip. ii. 22. that *as a son with the father he had served with him in the gospel*. *Grotius* (i) and *Du Pin* (k) who mention this reason, seem not to have judged it conclusive. Moreover, if *Mark* was a convert of *Peter*, it does not follow, that he was not an early believer. For he might be one of that Apostle's converts at his first preaching the gospel at *Jerusalem*. *Mark* the Evangelist, upon that supposition, could not be one of the seventy: but he might be among the first believers, and the son of *Marie*. However, I choose not to insist upon this, but chiefly upon what was before mentioned: that the appellation, *my son*, needs not to be understood rigorously, as meaning a convert begotten to the faith of the gospel.

2. It is said that (l) *Mark*, the companion of *Paul*, was called *John*: but the Evangelist is never so called by the ancients, who mention him.

To which I answer. It is true, that *Paul's* companion is sometimes called *John*, as Acts xiii. 5. and 13. But we are also informed that he was

(f) *New and full Method. vol. 3. ch. vi. p. 65. . . . 70.*

(g) *Lightfoot* is making observations upon the first epistle of *St. Peter*. "He sends this epistle, says he, by *Sylvanus*, *Paul's* old attendant; but now with *Peter*. . . His naming of *Mark* with him calls our thoughts back to what has been mentioned of *Mark* heretofore: his being with *Paul* at *Rome*, and his coming from him into the East. To suppose two *Marks*, one with *Peter*, and another with *Paul*, is to breed confusion, where there needeth not. . . . It is easily seen, how *John Mark* came into familiarity with *Paul* and *Peter*. And other *Mark* we can find none in the New Testament, unless of our own invention. . . He it was, that wrote the Gospel. *Lightfoot Harm. of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 336.*

(h) *Nihil vetat, quo minus simpliciter cum Victore et Theophylacto hunc eundem Marcum intelligamus, quoties illius nomen in Actis et Epistolis reperimus. Wetst. Pr. in Marc. Tom. i. p. 551.*

(i) Adde, quod Joannes Marcus inter primos Christianos: Marcus hic, ut videtur, Petri opera conversus. 1 Pet. v. 13. Nam tales peculiariter filios Apostoli vocabant. 1 Cor. iv. 15. Gal. iv. 19. *Gr. Pr. in Marc.*

(k) Il y a plus d'apparence, qu'il a reçu l'évangile de *S. Pierre*, qui l'appelle fils, peut-être parcequ'il l'avoit engendré en *J. C. Diff. Prel. l. 2. ch. 2. § iv.*

(l) Joannes quoque ille Mariæ filius, Barnabæ consanguineus, . . Marcus vocabatur: quem multi hunc nostrum scriptorem putant. Quibus quo minus assentiar, moveor veterum auctoritate, qui hunc scriptorem Joannem nunquam, Marcum semper vocant. . . *Grot. Pr. in Marc.*

L'Evangeliste n'est appelé nulle part du nom de Jean, qui étoit le nom propre de celui-ci, *Du Pin, ubi supra.*

was surnamed *Mark*. So Acts xii. 12. *And when he had considered the thing, he came to the house of Marie; the mother of John, whose surname was Mark.* And ver. 25. . . and took with them *John, whose surname was Mark.* And he is several times mentioned by the surname, *Mark*, only. Acts xv. 39. 2 Tim. iv. 11. Col. iv. 10. Philem. ver. 24. Secondly, such of the ancients, as supposed *Mark*, the Evangelist, to have been the same with him mentioned in the Acts, must also have supposed, that he was called *John*, as well as *Mark*, though they have generally mentioned him by his surname.

3. It is said, that (*m*) *John Mark* was much with *Paul*, *Mark*, the Evangelist, with *Peter*. So say the ancients in general.

I answer: It is not at all impossible, but that *Mark* might be sometimes with *Paul*, at other times with *Peter*. As may appear by and by.

As these reasons therefore do not appear to me conclusive, I rather think, that there is but one *Mark* in the New Testament, *John Mark*, the Evangelist, and fellow-laborer of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and *Peter*.

His historie II. I now proceed to write the historie of *John Mark*, from the N. T. from the New Testament, mentioning, as they offer, some observations, shewing his acquaintance with *Peter*, as well as with *Paul*. After which I shall take notice of some other things said of him by the ancients.

He was the son of *Marie*, a pious woman at *Jerusalem*, and an early believer, at whose house the disciples used to meet, and that in troublesome and difficult times, as well as at other seasons. *Peter* having been delivered out of prison by an angel, came to the house of *Marie*, mother of *John*, whose surname was *Mark*, where many were gathered together praying. Acts xii. 12. So that the very first mention of *John Mark* assures us of *Peter*'s intimacie in that familie.

That deliverance of St. *Peter* happened in the year 44. about the same time that *Paul* and *Barnabas* came to *Jerusalem* from *Antioch* with contributions for the relief of the brethren in *Judea* in the time of a famine, or scarcity. And it is said at the end of that chapter. *And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministry, and took with them John, whose surname was Mark.* This, with some other things to be hereafter mentioned, may dispose us to think, that this *John Mark* is the same, who in Col. iv. 10. is called *sister's son to Barnabas*.

Mark therefore went now from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, with *Paul* and *Barnabas*. And, when some short time afterwards, they went abroad to other countreys, *Mark* accompanied them, as *their minister*. Acts xiii. 5. They went to *Cyprus*, and preached the word in that countrey. But when they returned to the continent, and came on shore at *Perga in Pamphylia*, he departed from them, and returned to *Jerusalem*. ver. 13. He therefore did not attend them in their farther progresse to *Antioch in Pisidia*, *Iconium*, and other places, but went to *Jerusalem*.

And

(*m*) Et ita Petro addunt [Veteres] comitem, ac discipulum, ut non tantum de Barnaba, sed et de Paulo, quem Joannes Marcus post illud frigusculum sectatus est . . . nihil meminerint. *Grot. ibid.*

Il étoit disciple de S. Pierre, et attaché à lui, dans le tems que l'autre étoit avec S. Paul, et S. Barnabe. *Du Pin, ibid.*

And now, very probably, he conversed again with *Peter*, and the other Apostles, and was present with them at their discourses, and their devotions. For, as I apprehend, all the Apostles were still in *Judea* except *James* the son of *Zebedee*, who had been beheaded by *Herod Agrippa*, in the beginning of the year 44.

Paul and *Barnabas* having finished their progress, returned to *Antioch*, and there abode. Whilst they were there, debates arose about circumcising Gentil converts. Which determined *Paul* and *Barnabas* to go to *Jerusalem*. That controverſie being decided, they returned to *Antioch*.

Some time afterwards *Paul* said unto *Barnabas*: *Let us go again, and viſit our brethren, in every city, where we have preached the word, and ſee how they do. And Barnabas determined to take with them John, whoſe ſurname was Mark. But Paul thought it not good to take him with them, who had departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. Barnabas, however, perſiſted in his reſolution, and went with Mark to Cyprus. And Paul choſe Silas to accompany him. Acts xv. 36 41.*

Hereby we perceive the good temper of *Mark*. He was now at *Antioch*, and was willing to attend *Paul* and *Barnabas* in their journeys, and actually went with *Barnabas* to *Cyprus*. And though *Paul* would not now accept of his attendance, he was afterwards fully reconciled to him. *Mark* is mentioned in ſeveral of his epiſtles ſent from *Rome*, during his confinement there. I ſuppoſe, I ſhall hereafter ſhew, that *St. Paul's* ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie* was writ in the ſummer of the year 61. not long after *Paul's* arrival at *Rome*. In that epiſtle he writes to *Timothie*, to come to him. And he deſires him to bring *Mark* with him. 2 Tim. iv. 11. *Take Mark, and bring him with thee: for he is profitable to me for the miniſtrie.* Where *Mark* then was, does not clearly appear. It is probable, that he was either at *Ephesus*, or at ſome other place, where *Timothie* would find him in his journey from *Ephesus* to *Rome*. And, unqueſtionably, *Mark* did come with *Timothie*. He is mentioned in two of the epiſtles writ by the Apoſtle at *Rome*. Philem. ver. 24. and Col. iv. 10. *Ariſtarchus ſalutes you, and Mark, ſiſter's ſon to Barnabas, touching whom ye received commandments. If he come unto you, receive him. Mark* is not mentioned in the epiſtle to the *Philippians*. Perhaps he was not acquainted there, or upon ſome occaſion was abſent from the Apoſtle, when that epiſtle was writ. Or rather, he is comprehended in thoſe general expreſſions. ch. iv. 21. *The brethren that are with me, greet you.* For in the epiſtle to the *Philippians* *St. Paul* does not mention his fellow-laborers by name, as he does in the epiſtles to the *Coloſſians*, and to *Philemon*. Nor is he mentioned in the epiſtle to the *Ephesians*. To thoſe who admit the true date of that epiſtle the reaſon will be obvious. It was writ, and ſent away, before *Mark* came to be with *St. Paul* at *Rome*.

This is all we can ſay concerning *St. Mark* from the New Teſtament. But from that we can collect his excellent character, and may conclude, that after this time he no longer attended on *Paul*. It is not improbable, that going now into *Asia*, he there met with *St. Peter*, and accompanied him, till that Apoſtle came to *Rome*, where he ſuffered mar-

tyrdom. Where likewise *Mark* wrote, and published the Gospel that goes by his name.

From other writers. III. We will now inquire, whether there is any thing in other writers to illustrate the historie of this Evangelist.

Cave says, without hesitation, that (*n*) *Mark* was a *Levite*. But he does not say, upon what authority. I do not remember, that it is in any of the writers, of which I have given a particular account, excepting (*o*) *Bede*. It is also in a commentarie upon St. *Mark's* Gospel, usually joyned with *Jerome's* works, though (*p*) allowed not to be his. That writer says, that (*q*) *Mark* was a *Levite*, and a Priest. It is not unlikely, that this was inferred from *Mark's* relation to *Barnabas*, who was a *Levite of Cyprus*. Comp. Acts. iv. 36. and Col. iv. 10. But then *Cave* should not have denied, as he does in the same place, that *Mark* the Evangelist is the same as *John Mark*, mentioned in the Acts. For that, as I apprehend, is to remove out of the way the sole ground of this opinion.

By *Eusebe* we are informed, it (*r*) was said, that *Mark* going into *Egypt*, first preached there the Gospel, which he had writ, and planted there many churches. And afterwards, in another chapter, he says, that (*s*) in the eighth year of *Nero*, *Anianus*, the first Bishop of *Alexandria* after *Mark*, the Apostle and Evangelist, took upon him the care of that church. Of which *Anianus* he gives a great character, as beloved of God, and a wonderful man.

Epiphanius says, that soon after *Matthew*, *Mark*, companion of *Peter*, composed his Gospel at *Rome*. And having (*t*) writ it, he was sent by *Peter* into the countrey of the *Egyptians*.

Jerome, in his article of St. *Mark*, as (*u*) before quoted, after other things, says: "Taking (*x*) the Gospel, which himself had composed, he
"went

(*n*) S. Marcus, Evangelista, quem cum Johanne Marco, de quo Act. xii. 12. male nonnulli confundunt, erat Levites. *H. L. T. i. p. 24.*

(*o*) Tradunt autem hunc, natione Israelitica, et sacerdotali ortum profapia, ac post passionem ac resurrectionem Domini Salvatoris, ad prædicationem Apostolorum Evangelica fide a sacramentis imbutum, atque ex eorum fuisse numero, de quibus scribit Lucas, quia multa etiam turba sacerdotum obediebat fidei. *Bed. Prol. in. Marc.*

(*p*) *Vid. Benedictin. Monitum, et Petav. Animadv. ad Epiph. H. 21. num. vi. p. 88.*

(*q*) Marcus Evangelista Dei, Petri discipulus, Leviticus genere, et sacerdos, in Italia hoc scripsit Evangelium. *Pref. in Marc. ap. Hierom. T. v. p. 886.*

(*r*) Τῶτον δὲ μάρκον πρῶτον φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς αἰγυπτίας στείλαμενον· τὸ εὐαγγέλιον δ' οὐ καὶ συνεγράψατο κηρύξαι, ἐκκλησίας τε πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀλεξανδρείας συστήσασθαι. κ. λ. *H. E. l. 2. cap. 16.*

(*s*) . . . πρῶτος μετὰ μάρκον τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν, τῆς ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παραικίας ἀνικνὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται αὐτῆς θεόφιλος καὶ πάντα θαυμάσιος. *Id. cap. 24.*

(*t*) . . . καὶ γράψας ἀποστέλλεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰς τὴν τῶν αἰγυπτίων χώραν. *H. 51. num. vi.*

(*u*) *Vol. x. p. 92. 93.*

(*x*) Assumpto itaque Evangelio, quod ipse confecerat, perrexit ad Ægyptum, et primus Alexandriæ Christum annuntians constituit ecclesiam . . . Denique Philo . . . videns Alexandriæ primam ecclesiam adhuc judaizantem, quasi in laudem

“went to *Egypt*, and at *Alexandria* founded a church of great note. . .
 “He died in the eighth year of *Nero*, and was buried at *Alexandria*,
 “where he was succeeded, as Bishop, by *Anianus*.”

From all these accounts, I think, it must appear to be probable, that if indeed *Mark* preached at all in *Egypt*, and founded a church at *Alexandria*; it must have been after he had writ his Gospel, and after the death of *Peter* and *Paul* at *Rome*. Nevertheless, when presently afterwards *Eusebe*, and *Jerome* likewise, speak of *Mark*'s converts, and *Philo*'s Therapeuts, as all one, they seem to have imagined, that *Mark* had very early preached in *Egypt*. But what they say upon that head is exceeding strange and unaccountable. For they both suppose, that *Mark* had writ his gospel at *Rome*, before he went into *Egypt*: and that his Gospel was not writ before the reign of *Nero*. If therefore *Mark* went at all to *Alexandria*, it was later, in the same reign: and *Philo*'s Therapeuts could not be Christians, nor *Mark*'s converts: but were a sort of people, who had a being, and had formed their institution, before the gospel could be published in *Egypt*, and before the rise of the Christian Religion.

By *Baronius* (y) and many others, it is said, that St. *Mark* died a Martyr. This is admitted by (z) *Cave*, and the (a) late Mr. *Wetstein*. But it is disputed by (b) *S. Basnage*: and, as seems to me, with good reason. For St. *Mark* is not spoken of as a Martyr by *Eusebe*, or other more ancient writers. And *Jerome*, as before quoted, says, St. *Mark* died in the eighth year of *Nero*, and was buried at *Alexandria*. He does not say, that he was crowned with martyrdom: as he would have done, if he had known of it. And his expressions seem to imply a natural death. *Fabricius* (c) in his account of St. *Mark*, says nothing of his having been a Martyr.

IV. Having thus writ the historie of St. *Mark*, I shall now recollect the testimonies to his Gospel, which we have seen in ancient writers, particularly, with a view of ascertaining the time of it: observing likewise whatever may farther lead us into the knowledge of his station and character, and whether he was one of Christ's seventy disciples, or not.

The first writer to be here taken notice of is *Papias*, about A. D. 116. He says, “That (d) the Elder, from whom he had divers informations, said: *Mark*, being the interpreter of *Peter*, wrote what he remembered: but not in the order, in which things were spoken and done
 “ by

laudem gentis suæ, librum super eorum conversatione conscripsit. *De V. L. cap. 8.*

(y) *An. 64. § i. ii.*

(z) *Alexandriæ primus Episcopus factus Martyrium ibi subiit: quo vero anno, mihi hæcenus incompertum. H. L. p. 24.*

(a) Tandem vero in *Ægyptum* concessisse, atque *Alexandriæ* sanguine suo doctrinam Christi confirmasse, historia ecclesiastica testatur. *J. J. Wetstein. N. T. Tom. i. p. 551.*

(b) *Ann. 66. num. xix. xx.*

(c) *Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. n. iii. Tom. 3. p. 130. . . : 132.*

(d) *Vol. i. p. 241.*

*Testimonies to
his Gospel.*

“by Christ. For he was not a hearer of the Lord, but afterwards followed *Peter*.”

Irenæus, as before (e) cited, about 178. says: “After the death of *Peter* and *Paul*, *Mark*, the disciple and interpreter of *Peter*, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by *Peter*.” In another place (f) he calls *Mark* “the interpreter and follower of *Peter*.”

Clement, of *Alexandria*, about the year of Christ 194. says: “That (g) *Peter*’s hearers at *Rome*, not content with a single hearing, nor with an unwritten instruction in the divine doctrine, entreated *Mark*, the follower of *Peter*, that he would leave with them in writing a memorial of the doctrine, which had been delivered to them by word of mouth. Nor did they desist, untill they had prevailed with him. Thus they were the means of writing the Gospel, which is called according to *Mark*. It is said, that when the Apostle knew what had been done, he was pleased with the zeal of the men, and authorised that scripture to be read in the churches.” That passage is cited from *Eusebe*’s *Ecclesiastical Historie*.

Again, *Eusebe* says: “*Clement* (h) informs us, that the occasion of writing the Gospel according to *Mark* was this. *Peter*, having publicly preached the word at *Rome*, and having spoken the Gospel by the Spirit, many who were there, entreated *Mark* to write the things that had been spoken, he having long accompanied *Peter*, and retaining what he had said: and that when he had composed the Gospel, he delivered it to them, who had asked it of him. Which when *Peter* knew, he neither forbid it, nor encouraged it.”

Many remarks were (i) formerly made upon these accounts of *Clement*, which cannot now be repeated. But it may be needful to say something here for reconciling *Irenæus* and him. *Irenæus* said, that *Mark* published his Gospel after the death of *Peter* and *Paul*: whereas *Clement* supposes *Peter* to have been still living, and that this Gospel was shewn to *Peter*, who did not disapprove of it. But the difference is not great. *Clement* says, that *Mark*’s Gospel was writ at *Rome* at the request of the Christians there, who were hearers of *Peter*. If so, it could not be composed long before *Peter*’s death. For I take it to be certain, that *Peter* did not come to *Rome*, untill the reign of *Nero* was far advanced, nor very long before his own death. So that it may be reckoned not improbable, that *Mark*’s Gospel was not published, or did not become generally known, till after the death of *Peter* and *Paul*, as *Irenæus* says.

Tertullian, about the year 200. speaks of *Mark* as (k) an apostolical man, or companion of Apostles: and says, “That (l) the Gospel, published by *Mark*, may be reckoned *Peter*’s, whose interpreter he was.”

Says *Origen*, about 230. “The (m) second Gospel is that according to *Mark*, who wrote it as *Peter* dictated it to him. Who therefore calls him his son in his catholic epistle.” See 1 *Peter* v. 13.

Eusebe,

(e) Vol. i. p. 354.

(f) P. 357.

(g) Vol. ii. 472.

(h) P. 475.

(i) Vol. i. p. 245. . . 249. Vol. ii. p. 476. . . 493.

(k) See Vol. ii. p. 576. . . 588.

(l) P. 581.

(m) Vol. viii. p. 235.

Eusebe, about 315. may be supposed to agree in the main with *Clement* and *Irenaeus*, whose passages he has transcribed, and inserted in his Ecclesiastical Historie. And in a long passage of his Evangelical Demonstration, formerly (n) transcribed by us, he says: "*Peter* out of abundance of modestie thought not himself worthie to write a Gospel. But *Mark*, who was his friend and disciple, is said to have recorded *Peter's* relations of the acts of *Jesus*." At the end of which passage he says: "And (o) *Peter* testifies these things of himself. For all things in *Mark* are said to be memoirs of *Peter's* discourses." He likewise says, "that (p) *Mark* was not present to hear what *Jesus* said." Nor (q) does it appear, that he thought the writer of the Gospel to be *John*, surnamed *Mark*, nephew to *Barnabas*. But unquestionably he supposed him to be the same that is mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13.

Mark is mentioned among the other Evangelists by (r) *Athanasius*, without other particularities. But in the Synopsis, ascribed to him, and by many supposed to be writ by another *Athanasius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, near the end of the fifth centurie, it is said, "That (s) the Gospel according to *Mark* was dictated by *Peter* at *Rome*, and published by *Mark*, and preached by him in *Alexandria*, and *Egypt*, and *Pentapolis*, and *Lybia*."

The author of the Dialogue against the *Marcionites*, about 330. says, that (t) *Mark* was one of *Christ's* seventy disciples.

Epiphanius, about 368. says: "*Matthew* (u) wrote first, and *Mark* soon after him, being a companion of *Peter* at *Rome*." Afterwards he says, "That (x) *Mark* was one of *Christ's* seventy disciples, and likewise one of those who were offended at the words of *Christ*, recorded *John* vi. 44. and then forsook him: but he was afterwards recovered by *Peter*, and being filled with the Spirit wrote a Gospel."

Upon the last passage of *Epiphanius* *Petavius* says: "*Mark* (y) might, possibly, have seen *Christ*, and have been one of the seventy: but it is said by very few ancient writers of the Church."

In the Constitutions *Mark* (z) is reckoned with *Luke* a fellow-laborer of *Paul*. Which may induce us to think, that the author supposed *Mark*, the Evangelist, to be *John Mark*, mentioned in the Acts, and some of *St. Paul's* epistles.

Gregorie Nazianzen says, "That (a) *Mark* wrote his Gospel for the *Italians*," or in *Italie*.

Ebedjesu says, "The (b) second Evangelist is *Mark*, who preached [or wrote] in *Latin*, in the famous city of *Rome*."

Jerome's

(n) Vol. viii. 86 ... 88.

(g) P. 143.

(s) Vol. viii. p. 250.

(u) P. 305.

(y) Dissentit Papias apud Eusebium. ... Quod autem asserunt nonnulli, Marcum non vidisse Dominum, viderit necne non affirmo. Videre quidem potuisse, temporum ipsa ratio persuadet. Neque vero damnanda est Epiphanius sententia, dum illum e LXXII discipulorum numero fuisse tradat, etiam contrarium alii patres tradant. Petav. ad loc. Animadv. p. 88.

(z) Vol. viii. p. 393.

(a) Vol. ix. p. 133.

(o) P. 88.

(r) Vol. viii. p. 227.

(t) P. 255.

(x) P. 306.

(p) P. 86.

(b) P. 216.

Jerome's article of this Evangelist, in his book of illustrious Men, is to this purpose: "*Mark* (c) the disciple and interpreter of *Peter*, at the desire of the brethren at *Rome*, wrote a short Gospel, according to what he had heard related by *Peter*. Which when *Peter* knew, he approved of it, and authorised it to be read in the churches: as *Clement* writes in the sixth book of his Institutions, and also *Papias*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*. *Peter* also makes mention of this *Mark* in his epistle writ at *Rome*, which he figuratively calls *Babylon* . . . Taking the Gospel, which himself had composed, he went to *Egypt*, and at *Alexandria* founded a church of great note . . . He died in the eighth year of *Nero*, and was buried at *Alexandria*: where he was succeeded, as Bishop, by *Anianus*."

In the prologue to his Commentarie upon St. *Matthew*, *Jerome* says: "The (c) second Evangelist is *Mark*, interpreter of the Apostle *Peter*, and the first Bishop of *Alexandria*: who never saw the Lord himself, but related things as he had them from his master, very truly, but not exactly in the order, in which they were done."

In his Commentarie upon *Philem.* ver. 24. he says: "He (d) thinks, that *Mark* there mentioned is the writer of the Gospel." That *Mark* may be well supposed to be *John Mark*, mentioned in the Acts, and in Col. iv. 10. where he is stiled nephew to *Barnabas*. Whether that *Mark* was the Evangelist, was doubted of by some. Nor was *Jerome* positive. But he was inclined to think him the same.

Augustin (e) calls *Mark* and *Luke* disciples of Apostles: and says, that (f) *Mark* follows *Matthew*, as his abridger. Upon which some remarks were (g) made.

By *Chrysostom* (h) *Mark* is said to have writ his gospel in *Egypt*, at the request of the believers there. However, at the end of that passage he says: "In (i) what place each one of the Evangelists wrote, cannot be said with certainty." He likewise (k) calls *Mark* disciple of *Peter*, and *Peter* his master. He must have supposed him the same, that is mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13. But I do not recollect him to have any where said, that he was the same as *John Mark*.

Victor, writer of a Commentarie upon St. *Mark's* Gospel, about the year 401. says: "He (l) was also called *John*: that he wrote a Gospel after *Matthew*, and was the son of *Marie*, mentioned Acts xii. For a while he accompanied *Paul*, and his relation *Barnabas*. But when he came to *Rome*, he joyned *Peter*, and accompanied him. For which reason he is mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13. *Mark* is also mentioned by *Paul*, Col. iv. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 11 . . . When he was obliged to go from *Rome*, and was earnestly desired by the believers there to write a historie of the preaching of the heavenly doctrine, he readily complied. This, as he adds, is said to have been the occasion of writing the Gospel according to *Mark*."

Cosmas,

(c) Vol. x. p. 92. 93.

(e) P. 228.

(g) P. 233 . . . 236.

(i) P. 316. . . . 318.

(l) Vol. xi. p. 30. 31.

(c) P. 83.

(f) P. 229.

(h) P. 315.

(k) P. 318. 319. 322.

(d) P. 93.

Cosmas, of *Alexandria*, about 535. says: "*Mark* (m), the second Evangelist, wrote a Gospel at *Rome*, by the direction of *Peter*."

By *Isidore*, of *Seville*, about 596. *Mark* (n) is said to have writ his Gospel in *Italic*. Afterwards, he seems to say, it (o) was writ at *Alexandria*. But perhaps no more is meant, than that *Mark* preached at *Alexandria* the Gospel, which he had writ.

Oecumenius, about 950. upon Acts xiii. 13. says: "This (p) *John*, who is also called *Mark*, nephew to *Barnabas*, wrote the Gospel according to him, and was also disciple of *Peter*, of whom he says in his first epistle: *Mark*, my son, saluteth you."

Theophylact flourished about 1070. His preface to St. *Mark* is to this purpose: "The (q) Gospel according to *Mark* was writ at *Rome* ten years after Christ's ascension, at the request of the believers there. For this *Mark* was a disciple of *Peter*, whom he calls his son spiritually. His name was *John*. He was nephew to *Barnabas*, and was also a companion of *Paul*."

Euthymius, about 1110. says: "The (r) Gospel of *Mark* was writ about ten years after our Lord's ascension, at *Rome*, as some say, or in *Egypt*, according to others. He says, that at first *Mark* was much with his uncle *Barnabas* and *Paul*. Afterwards he was with *Peter* at *Rome*, as the first epistle of the Apostle shews, whom he there calls his son. From whom also he received the whole historie of the Gospel."

Nicephorus Callisti, about 1325. says: "Two (s) only of the twelve, *Matthew* and *John*, have left memoirs of our Lord's life on earth: and two of the seventy, *Mark* and *Luke*." And somewhat lower: "After this *Mark* and *Luke* published their Gospels by the direction of *Peter* and *Paul*."

I add here one author more, not particularly mentioned in the preceding part of this work, *Eutychius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in the tenth centurie: who says, "that (t) in the time of the Emperor *Nero*, *Peter* the prince of the Apostles, making use of the pen of *Mark*, wrote a Gospel at *Rome*, in the *Roman* language. And he published it under *Mark's* name." By the *Roman*, probably, meaning the *Greek* language, which then very much prevailed in the Roman Empire, as (u) *Selden* has observed.

V. Let us now briefly recollect what has passed before us, Remarks upon them.
in several articles.

1. All the ancient writers in general suppose the Evangelist *Mark* to have been a companion of *Peter* in the later part of his life, and to have had great advantages from that Apostle's preaching for composing a Gospel.

2. Though

(m) P. 267.

(n) P. 367.

(o) P. 375.

(p) P. 413.

(q) P. 421.

(r) P. 436.

(s) P. 442.

(t) Et tempore Neronis Cæsaris scripsit Petrus, Apostolorum princeps, Evangelium Marci, dictante Marco, lingua Romana, in urbe Romæ. Sed adtribuit illud Marco. *Eutych. Ann. p. 335. Conf. ejusd. Origines. p. 35.*

(u) Vid. *Selden in Eutych. Origin. not. 28. p. 152.*

2. Though some have doubted who *Mark* was, many have been of opinion, that he was *John Mark*, son of *Marie*, a pious Jewish woman, and an early believer, of *Jerusalem*, and nephew to *Barnabas*.

3. If *Mark*, the Evangelist, be *John Mark*, as seems to me very probable, he was well acquainted with *Barnabas* and *Paul*, and other Apostles, and disciples, eye-witnesses of Jesus, beside *Peter*.

4. Some of the ancient writers, quoted by us, thought *Mark* to have been one of Christ's seventy disciples. Which I apprehend cannot be either affirmed, or denied with certainty. But if he was not one of them, he was an early believer, and an early disciple and companion of Apostles, and intimately conversant with them. Whereby, and by hearing *Peter* preach in *Judea*, and other places, and lastly at *Rome*, he was well qualified to write a Gospel.

S. *Basnage* has some observations upon this point, which deserve to be taken notice of. "*Epiphanius* (x) and the Author of the Dialogue against the *Marcionites*, suppose *Mark* to have been one of Christ's seventy disciples. But that opinion, says he, does not appear to me well grounded. It seems incredible, that *Peter* should call *Mark*, his son, if he was one of the seventy, who had a commission from Christ himself, and were almost equal to Apostles. That ancient writer, *Papias*, excludes him from that number, saying, that *Mark* was not a hearer or follower of the Lord. . . . And *Tertullian* calls *Mark* *Peter's interpreter*, which office would be below the character of one of the seventy. . . . Nor does *Origen* make him one of the seventy, whose authority must be of great weight . . . However, it seems to me very probable, that *Mark* was one of the five hundred brethren, who saw Christ after his resurrection. And having been an eye-witness of that, he was qualified to write a Gospel."

Upon which I observe: The supposition, that *Mark* might be one of the five hundred, spoken of by St. *Paul* 1 Cor. xv. 6. is a mere conjecture, without any authority, either in Scripture, or antiquity. But I would add a thought or two for strengthening the argument, that *Mark* was not one of the seventy disciples. *Eusebe* (y) in his Ecclesiastical Historie, has a chapter concerning the Disciples of our Saviour. But *Mark* is not there named, as one of them. Nor does *Jerome* say any thing of it in his book of Illustrious Men: nor elsewhere, that I remember. The silence of *Origen*, *Eusebe*, and *Jerome*, upon this head, must amount

(x) Marcum de LXX discipulis unum fuisse, credidit Epiphanius. . . . Nobis tamen non arridet ea sententia, cum incredibile sit, Petrum Marco filii nomen addidisse, si de septuaginta discipulis unus fuisset, quos Christus ipse legaverat, quique ab omni fere parte æquales erant Apostolis. Papias quoque vetustus ille auctor LXX discipulis Marcum eximit. . . . Ex Tertulliano quoque scimus, Marcum interpretis officio functum fuisse, quod infra LXX dignitatem fuit. . . . Neque LXX discipulis eum apposuit Origines, cujus non minimi ponderis est testimonium. . . . Nobis tamen est admodum probabile, Marcum unum fuisse quingentorum fratrum, qui Christum a morte revocatum contemplati sunt. Cuique, ut testi oculato, commissa est scribendi Evangelii provincia. *Basn. Ann. 66. num. xvii.*

(y) *H. E. l. 1. cap. xii.*

amount to an argument of no small weight, that there was not in their times any prevailing tradition, that *Mark* was one of the seventy. It may be also reckoned an argument, that he was not of that number, in that he has not in his Gospel taken any notice of them, or of the commission given to them. Which is in *St. Luke* only. ch. x. 1. . . 17.

I therefore conclude with saying, that *Mark* was an early believer, and an early disciple and fellow-laborer of Apostles. But that he ever saw, or heard the Lord Jesus, is not certain.

5. The general account of the above named writers is, that *Mark* wrote his Gospel at *Rome*. In this there is a remarkable agreement, with a very few exceptions. *Chrysostom* indeed speaks of it's being writ in *Egypt*. But he is almost singular. That it was writ at *Rome*, or in *Italie*, is said not only by *Epiphanius*, *Jerome*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Vistor*, and divers others: but the *Egyptian* writers likewise all along say the same thing: that it was writ by *Mark* at *Rome*, in the companie of the Apostle *Peter*. So say *Clement of Alexandria*, *Athanasius*, the supposed author of the Synopsis of Scripture, *Cosmas*, and *Eutychius*, all of *Alexandria*. *Ebedjesu* likewise, in his catalogue of *Syrian* writings, says, that *Mark* wrote at *Rome*. And the Latin author of the commentarie upon *St. Mark's Gospel*, quoted some while ago, says, that it was writ in *Italie*.

6. This leads us to think, that *St. Mark's Gospel* was not writ before the year 63. or 64. For we cannot perceive any good reason to think, that *St. Peter* was at *Rome*, till about that time. And this date is supported by the testimonie of that ancient writer, *Irenæus*, that *Mark* published his Gospel after the decease of *Peter* and *Paul*.

VI. These are observations, which the above cited testimonies seem naturally to afford. But before we proceed any farther, it will be fit for us to take notice of the sentiments of learned moderns concerning the time of *St. Mark's* writing his Gospel. The Time of this Gospel.

Cave supposes *St. Mark* to have published his Gospel at *Rome*, in the year of Christ 65. His argument for it I place (z) below.

Mr. Jones's opinion was, that (a) this Gospel was published between the year 64. and 67. or 68. when, according to his computation, *Peter* and *Paul* suffered martyrdom.

J. A.

(z) Rogatus Romæ a fratribus, scripsit Evangelium, a Petro approbatum, idque Græco sermone Romanis satis familiari. Factum id circa ann. 65. Petro et Paulo jam morte sublati. Cum enim illum epistola secunda ad Timotheum non longe ante martyrium scripta, Romam accersiverat Paulus, probabile est, Marcum vel eodem, vel saltem sequenti anno illuc venisse, ibique Evangelium vel primum condidisse, vel prius conditum in publicum edidisse. Certe *Irenæus*, l. 3. cap. i. et apud *Eusebium*, l. 5. c. viii. *S. Marcum* μὲν τὴν τέτων ἑξοδὸν Evangelium suum conscripsisse dilerte tradit. *Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 24.*

(a) *Mr. Jones's* words are these: "These, with some other reasons, make it evident to me, that *St. Peter* was not at *Rome*, till the year of Christ 63. or 64. and consequently, that the Gospel of *St. Mark* was not written before this time, but between that and the martyrdom of this Apostle and *St. Paul*, in the year of Christ 67. or 68." *New and full Method. Vol. 3. p. 88.*

J. A. Fabricius (b) was for the year of Christ 63. the ninth of *Nero*.

Mill says, that (c) *St. Mark* published his Gospel at *Rome* in the year of Christ 63. after that the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* had been gone from thence, as *Irenæus* says.

But here I beg leave to observe, that, probably, *Irenæus* does not speak of these two Apostles removal from *Rome*, but of their decease. Secondly, *Dr. Mill* has no reason to suppose, that *Peter* was at *Rome*, during the time of *Paul's* two years imprisonment there, especially at the period of it. But there is a great deal of reason to think otherwise. For we have several epistles of *St. Paul*, writ near the end of that confinement, in which no notice is taken of *Peter*.

Basnage (d) closely following *Irenæus*, says, *Mark's* Gospel was published in the year 66. after the decease of *Peter* and *Paul*: whose martyrdoms, according to him, happened in (e) the year 65.

So that it has been of late the opinion of many learned men, of the best judgement in these matters, that *St. Mark's* Gospel was not published, till after the year of Christ 60. I readily assent to them so far. And as I am disposed to place the martyrdoms of these two great Apostles at *Rome*, in the later part of the year 64. or in 65. it seems to me probable, that *St. Mark's* Gospel was composed in the year 64. or 65. and made public by him the first fair opportunity, soon afterwards, before the end of the year 65. That I mention as the latest date. I do not presume to say the time exactly. For it might be finished, and published in the year 64.

I hoped to have had assistance from *Mr. Wetstein* in this disquisition. But have been somewhat disappointed. In his preface to *St. Mark's* Gospel he concludes from *Col. iv. 10.* and *Philem. ver. 23.* that (f) *St. Mark* had been with the Apostle *Paul* at *Rome*, in the time of his confinement there: that from thence he went to *Colosse*, and afterwards returned to *Rome*, where he is said to have writ his Gospel. Accordingly, as one would think, *St. Mark's* Gospel could not be published before the year 64. or 65. But in his preface to *St. Luke's* Gospel the same learned writer expresseth himself to this purpose. "According- (g) to

(b) *Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. Tom. 3. p. 124. et 131.*

(c) *Post Pauli ac Petri exodum, seu discessum ab urbe Roma . . . Marcus discipulus et interpres Petri, et ipse quæ a Petro annuntiata erant, perscripta nobis tradidit. Inquit Irenæus . . . Scripsit igitur Marcus Evangelium, juxta Irenæum, paullo post horum duorum Apostolorum discessum a Roma, qui accidisse videtur anno æræ vulgaris LXXIII. Mill. Proleg. num. 101.*

(d) *De Marci Evangelio legimus apud Irenæum . . . Post vero horum excessum . . . Quæ traditio magis apud nos valet, quam alia quælibet de tempore editi a Marco Evangelii chronologia. Basn. ann. 66. n. xii.*

(e) *Vid. ann. 65. num. ix.*

(f) *Inde Romam venit, Paulumque captivum invisit, Col. iv. 10. Philem. 23. Inde ad Colossenses abiit, a quibus rogatu Pauli Romam rediit, 2 Tim. iv. 11. ubi Evangelium conscripsisse . . . dicitur. Wetstein. N. T. Tom. i. p. 551.*

(g) *Evangelium autem edidit xv. aut secundum alios xxii. post Christi ascensionem annis. . . . Lucam multa ex Matthæo ex Marco plura descripsisse, ex collatione patet. Ib. p. 643.*

“ some ecclesiastical writers *Luke* published his Gospel fifteen, according to others two and twenty years after Christ’s ascension That he transcribed many things from *Matthew*, and yet more from *Mark*, is manifest.”

But if *St. Luke* wrote within two and twenty years after Christ’s ascension, and transcribed a great deal from *St. Mark*; *St. Mark*’s Gospel must have been first published, and very early. If *St. Mark*’s Gospel was not published till the year 64. and *St. Luke* transcribed from him; *St. Luke* could not write, till a good while after two and twenty years from Christ’s ascension. I do not perceive therefore, that Mr. *Wetstein* had any determined opinion concerning the date of these two Gospels. Nor can I, as yet, persuade myself, that any of the Evangelists transcribed each other.

VII. I will now observe some characters of time in *Marks of Time in the Gospel itself*, like those before taken notice of in *the Gospel itself*. *St. Matthew*.

1. From ch. vii. 14 . . 23. it appears, that *St. Mark* fully understood the spirituality of the doctrine of Christ, recommending righteousness and true holiness, without an obligation to Jewish ritual ordinances and appointments.

2. His historie of the *Greek* or *Gentil* woman, in the same chap. vii. 24. . . 30. who besought Jesus to heal her daughter, and obtained her request, deserves notice here.

3. The call of the *Gentils*, and the rejection of the *Jews*, as a People, are intimated in ch. xii. 1. . . 12. in the parable there recorded, of the Householder, who planted a vineyard, and let it out to husbandmen: to whom after a while he sent servants, and then his son, to receive from them the fruit of the vineyard. But they abused the servants, and killed the son. It is added: *What therefore will the Lord of the vineyard do? He will destroy the husbandmen, and will let out the vineyard unto others.* And what follows.

4. In ch. xiii. are predictions concerning the destruction of the temple, and the desolations of the Jewish People. And, particularly, at ver. 14. . . 16. are remarkable expressions, intimating the near approach of those calamities, and suited to excite the attention of such as were in danger of being involved in them.

5. In his account of the institution of the eucharist our Lord says: ch. xiv. 24. *This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many:* that is, for all men, not for Jews only, but for *Gentils* also.

6. In ch. iv. 30. . . 32. is the parable of the *grain of mustard seed*, the *least of all seeds*, which becometh greater than all herbs: representing the swift and wonderful progress of the Gospel in the world. Of which it is very likely *St. Mark*, at the time of writing, had some knowledge.

7. It is manifest, that he well understood the extent of our Saviour’s commission to the twelve Apostles. For he has recorded it in these words, ch. xvi. 15. *Go ye therefore into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature:* or the whole creation, that is, *Jews* and *Gentils*, all mankind of every denomination.

8. Yea, it appears from the conclusion of his historie, that before he wrote, the Apostles (at least divers of them) had left *Judea*, and had preached

preached in many places. ver. 20. *And they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.*

9. Ch. xvi. 18. *They shall take up serpents.* Some may think, that here is a reference to the historie, which we have in Acts xxviii. 3. . 6. I do not say, there is. But allowing it, I should not reckon it an objection to the genuinenesse of this part of that chapter. It would only be an argument for the late date of this Gospel. And it has been so understood by (b) some. For my own part, I cannot say, that St. *Mark* has referred to it. But I make no question, that he was acquainted with the event there related, when he wrote his Gospel.

Observations upon this Gospel. VIII. I shall conclude this chapter with some observations upon St. *Mark's* Gospel.

1. It confirms the accounts given by the ancients, that it is the substance of *Peter's* preaching.

This was taken notice of just now in our recollection. But I choose to enlarge upon it here, and shew, that the Gospel itself affords evidences of it's being writ according to that Apostle's discourses, or according to informations and directions given by him to this Evangelist.

1.) In the first place I would here remind my readers of a long passage of *Eusebius*, the learned Bishop of *Cæsarea*, formerly transcribed, of which I take here a very small part only.

Having observed several things very honourable to *Peter*, related in the other Gospels, he adds: "Though (i) such things were said to *Peter* by Jesus, *Mark* has taken no notice of them: because, as is probable, *Peter* did not relate them in his sermons. For he did not think fit to bear testimonie to himself by relating what Jesus said to him, or of him. Therefore *Mark* has omitted them. But what concerned his denial of Jesus, he preached to all men, because he wept bitterly. . . . For all things in *Mark* are said to be memoirs of *Peter's* discourses."

2.) And (k) *Chrysostom*, reconciling *Matthew's* and *Mark's* accounts of *Peter's* denying Christ, says: "These things *Mark* had from his master. For he was a disciple of *Peter*. And what is very remarkable, though he was a disciple of *Peter*, he relates his fall more particularly, than any of the rest."

3.) The (l) same great preacher explaining the historie of our Lord's paying the didrachm or tribute-money to the temple, which is in Matth. xvii. 24 . . . 27. and particularly those words: *That take and give unto them for me and thee*, says, "*Mark*, who was a disciple of *Peter*, omits this, because it was honourable to that Apostle. But he relates the historie

(b) Postremo, in ipsius Evangeliiis quædam exstare videntur criteria, ex quibus ea sero esse conscripta colligi potest. Phrasis *μὴ χειρὶ τῆς σύμπλοκας*, usque ad hunc diem. Mat. xxviii. 15. justum spatium inter Christi resurrectionem et Evangelium exaratum postulare videtur. Ita quæ Marcus cap. xvi. 18. de serpentibus a Christi discipulis sine damno tollendis habet, ad Paulum, Romam tendentem, et quod ei in itinere in insula Miletio contigit, respicere videntur, Herman. *Venema Diss. secund. de titulo et. ad Ephes. Cap. v. num. iv.*

(i) *Vch. i. viii. 1. 86. . . . 88.*

(k) *Vol. x. p. 318.*

(l) *P. 319.*

“historie of his denial of Christ. And perhaps his master forbid him to “inset such things, as tended to aggrandise him.”

4.) No one has more largely treated this point, than Mr. *Jones*, who has (m) a catalogue of several places in the Gospels, containing things tending to *Peter's* honour, which are not mentioned in *St. Mark's* Gospel.

(1.) The account of Christ's pronouncing *Peter* blessed, when he had confessed him : Christ's declaring, that he had his faith and knowledge from God: the promise of the keys, and of that large power, which is made to him : are omitted by *St. Mark*, though the former and the succeeding parts of this discourse are both told by him. See *Matt.* xvi. 16. . . 20. compared with *Mark* viii. 29. 30.

(2.) The relation of *St. Peter's* being commissioned by Christ to work the miracle, by getting money out of the fish's mouth, to pay the tribute-money, is told by *St. Matthew.* ch. xvii. 24. . . 28. but omitted by *St. Mark* : though the preceding and subsequent stories are the very same as in *St. Matthew.* See *Mark* ix. 30. . . 33.

(3.) Christ's particular expressions of love and favour to *St. Peter*, in telling him, of his danger, and that he prayed particularly for him, that his faith might not fail, is omitted by *St. Mark*, but related *Luke* xxii. 31. 32.

(4.) *St. Peter's* remarkable humility above the rest of the Apostles expressed in an unwillingness, that Christ should wash his feet, which none of the rest did express, with Christ's particular discourse to him. *John* xiii. 6. &c. is omitted by *Mark*.

(5.) The instance of *St. Peter's* very great zeal for Christ, when he was taken, in cutting off the High-Priest's servant's ear. *John* xviii. 10. is not mentioned by *Mark* in particular, but only told in general, of a certain person that stood by. *Mark* xiv. 47.

(6.) *St. Peter's* faith in casting himself into the sea, to go to Christ. *John* xxi. 7. is not mentioned by *St. Mark.* (A)

(7.) Christ's discourse with *Peter* concerning his love to him, and his particular repeated charge to him, to feed his sheep. *John* xxi. 15. is omitted by *St. Mark*.

(8.) Our Saviour's predicting to *Peter* his martyrdom, and the manner of it. *John* xxi. 18. 19. is not related by *St. Mark*.

“These, adds that diligent author, are some instances of things, tending to *St. Peter's* honour, recorded by the other Evangelists, none of which are so much as hinted by *St. Mark.* . . . All which cannot be accounted for any way more probable, than supposing, that this Apostle did not publish those circumstances, which were so much to his honour.”

Indeed, I think, they do confirm the accounts given of this Gospel by the ancients. For these omissions cannot be so well ascribed to any thing, as to *St. Peter's* modestie and reservedness, who had not mentioned such things in his preaching, and discouraged the putting them
down

(m) See new and full Method. Part 3. p. 79. . . 81.

(A) There is a like thing, and more extraordinary, related by *Matthew* only. ch. xiv. 28. . . 31. I do not know, why Mr. *Jones* omitted it.

down in writing : infomuch that, as *Tertullian* says, the (n) Gospel published by *Mark*, may be said to be *Peter's*.

5.) Nevertheless I must acknowledge, that there are some things in *St. Mark's* Gospel honourable to *Peter*, which are not in any other. I shall mention two or three.

Says *St. Mark* ch. i. 36. *And Simon, and they that were with him, followed after him.* If thereby be intended the whole companie of the Apostles, that way of describing them is very honourable to *Peter*. But some may suppose, none to be intended, beside those mentioned ver. 29. If so, it resembles *Luke* ix. 32. *But Peter, and they that were with him :* meaning *John* and *James*, and referring to ver. 28.

In *Mark* xiv. 3. *Peter* is mentioned, as one of the four Apostles, to whom our Lord addressed himself, when he foretold the destruction of the temple, and the calamities attending it. Which is a passage peculiar to *St. Mark*.

And ch. xvi. 7. The message, which the angel sent to the disciples by the women at the sepulchre, is thus expressed : *But go your way. Tell his disciples and Peter, that he goes before you into Galilee.* *Peter* is not mentioned, upon this occasion, by *Matthew* xxviii. 7. nor by any other of the Evangelists.

Upon this text *Whitby* says very well : “ *Peter* is here named, not as “ Prince of the Apostles, but, as the Fathers say, for his consolation, and “ to take off the scruple, which might be upon his spirit : whether by “ his threefold denial of his master, he had not forfeited his right to be “ one of Christ's disciples.”

I now proceed to another observation.

2.) *St. Mark's* Gospel, as is evident to all, is the shortest of the four. *Jerome*, as before cited, says, *Mark* (o) wrote a short Gospel. And *Chrysostom* observed, that (p) *Mark* had the conciseness of *Peter*, following his master.

3. Nevertheless there are in *St. Mark* many things peculiar to himself, not mentioned by any other Evangelist.

I shall here put down several such things, and not those, which are omitted by *Matthew* only, but such things, as are in *Mark*, and in no other of the Evangelists.

1.) In the account of our Saviour's temptation in the wilderness, *St. Mark* says, ch. i. 13. *and was with the wild-beasts :* not mentioned by any other Evangelist, and yet very proper to shew the hardships, which our Lord underwent at that season.

2.) Ch. i. 20. In the account of the call of *James* and *John*, the sons of *Zebedee*, he says, *they left their father in the ship, with the hired servants.* A circumstance not mentioned by any other.

3.) Ch. i. 29. *And forthwith, when they were come out of the synagogue, they entered into the house of Simon, and Andrew, with James and John.* In *Matth.* viii. 14. it is only, *come into Peter's house.* In *Luke* iv. 38. *and entered into Simon's house.*

4.) Ch. i. 33. *And all the city was gathered together at the door.* Not in any other Evangelist. Compare *Matt.* viii. 16. *Luke* iv. 40. 41.

5.) Ch.

(n) See Vol. iii. p. 581. (o) See here. p. 175. (p) See Vol. x. p. 322.

5.) Ch. i. 35. *And in the morning rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitarie place, and there prayed.* 36. *And Simon, and they that were with him, followed after him.* 37. *And when they had found him, they said unto him: All men seek thee.* This is not at all in *Matthew*, and is here much fuller, and with more particulars, than in *Luke* iv. 42.

6.) Ch. i. 45. Of the leper, cured by our Saviour, he says: *But he went out, and began to publish it much, and to blaze abroad the matter.* Not particularly mentioned by the other Evangelists. Compare *Matth.* viii. 4. *Luke* v. 14. 15.

7.) In the cure of the paralytic. ch. ii. 2. *And straightway many were gathered together, insomuch that there was no room to receive them, not so much as about the door.* 3. *And they come unto him, bringing one sick of the palsy, which was born of four.* 4. *And—they uncovered the roof.* . . No other Evangelist has so particularly described the croud. In *Mark* only is it said, that this sick man was *born of four*. He likewise more particularly describes the uncovering the roof. Compare *Matt.* ix. 1. 2. *Luke* v. 18. 19.

8.) In the historie of the man with a withered hand, cured in the synagogue, on a sabbath. ch. iii. 5. *And when he had looked round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardnesse of their hearts, he saith unto the man: Stretch forth thy hand.* Not so full in any other Evangelist. Compare *Matt.* xii. 9. . . 13. *Luke* vi. 6. . . 11.

9.) Ch. iii. ver. 6. *And the Pharisees went forth, and straightway took counsel with the Herodians against him.* *Matth.* xii. 14. mentions *Pharisees* only. *Luke* vi. 11. mentions no persons by name.

10.) Ch. iii. 17. *And James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James. And he named them Boanerges.* Not in any other Evangelist.

11. Ch. iii. 19. . . . *And they went into the house.* 20. *And the multitude cometh together again, so that they could not so much as eat bread.* 21. *And when his friends heard of it, they went out to lay hold of him. For they said: He is beside himself.* Whether that expression, *he is beside himself*, is to be understood of Christ, or of the multitude, this passage is peculiar to *St. Mark*.

12.) Ch. iv. 26. *And he said: So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast his seed into the ground, 27. and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up; he knoweth not how.* 28. *For the earth bringeth forth fruit of itself, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.* 29. *But when the fruit is ripe, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come.* This parable is peculiar to *St. Mark*. See *Whitby* upon the place, and likewise (q) *Grotius*.

13.) After the parable of the grain of mustard seed, beside other things common to him and *Matthew*, he adds. ch. iv. 24. *And when they were alone, he expounded all things to his disciples.* Compare *Matt.* xiii. 31 . . . 34. This

(q) Hæc parabola, aliis omissa, cum suam hic explicationem non habeat, explicari debet ex simili comparatione, quæ est apud *Matth.* xiii. 24. *Grot.* ad *Marc.* iv. 26.

This particular leads us mightily to think, that either *Mark* was an eye-witnesse, or had the best and fullest information of things.

14.) Mark iv. 36. *And when they had sent away the multitude, they took him even as he was in the ship.* This circumstance, peculiar to *St. Mark*, enables us to account for our Lord's fast sleep in his passage to the countrey of the *Gadarens*. We perceive from *St. Mark*, that this voyage was undertaken in the evening, after the fatigue of long discourses in public, and without any refreshment. Our Lord's sleep in the midst of a storm is mentioned by all three Evangelists. Matt. viii. 24. . . . 26. Mark iv. 37. 38. Luke viii. 23. 24. But this Evangelist alone leads us to discern the occasion of it.

15.) Farther, in the same ver. 36. of ch. iv. *And there were also with him several other little ships.* A particular, peculiar to *St. Mark*.

16.) And in the account of this voyage cross the sea, he says ver. 38. that our Lord was *in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow*: two circumstances, wanting in the other Evangelists.

17.) Certainly, these, and other things, are sufficient to assure us, that either *Mark* was an eye-witnesse: or, that he wrote things, as related to him by an eye-witnesse, even *Peter* himself, as all the ancients say.

18.) In Matt. viii. 28. . . 34. Mark v. 1. . . 19. Luke viii. 26. . . . 39. are the several accounts of our Lord's healing the demoniac, or demoniacs, in the countrey of the *Gadarens*. For *Matthew* speaks of two, *Mark* and *Luke* of one only. In *St. Mark's* historie are divers things, not in the other Gospels. In him alone it is said, that *the man was always night and day in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones.* And he only mentions the number of swine, that perished in the sea, saying, *they were about two thousand.*

19.) All the first three Evangelists have given a historie of our Lord's raising the daughter of *Jairus*, and healing the woman with an issue of blood, both in connexion. Matt. ix. 18. . . 26. Mark v. 22. . . . 43. Luke viii. 41. . . 56. *St. Mark* has several things, which are in neither of the other. Of the woman he says ver. 26. *she had suffered much of many Physicians . . . and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse.* At ver. 29. *And she felt in her body, that she was healed of that plague.* At ver. 41. he inserts the very words, which *Jesus* spake, when he raised the daughter of *Jairus*: *Talitha Kumi.* I have omitted some other things, peculiar to *St. Mark* in the account of these two miracles.

20.) Ch. vi. 13. In the account of the commission given to the twelve by *Christ* in his life-time, he says: *they anointed many with oyl, and healed them.* Which is mentioned by no other Evangelist, as was observed of old by (r) *Victor*.

21.) Mark vii. 2. 3. 4. What is there said of the Jews washing themselves, when they come from the market, before they eat: and of their cleansing cups, pots, brasen vessels, and tables, is peculiar to *St. Mark*. Comp. Matt. xv. 1. 2.

22.) Ch. vii. 21. 22. Are the things, that defile men. *St. Matthew*, ch. xv. 19. mentions seven things only. *St. Mark* has thirteen. And two of them, *an evil eye*, and *foolishnesse*, are very singular.

23.) Ch.

23.) Ch. vii. 31 . . . 37. Our Lord bestows hearing and speech upon a deaf and dumb man.

24.) Ch. viii. 22 . . . 26. Our Lord cures a blind man at *Bethsaida*.

These two miracles are peculiar to *St. Mark*, being related by no other Evangelist.

25.) Ch. x. 46 . . . 52. is the account of the miracle on the blind man near *Jericho*. *St. Mark*, ver. 46. calls him blind *Bartimeus*, son of *Timaeus*. Not mentioned by the other Evangelists. See *Matt.* xx. 29 . . .

34. *Luke* xviii. 35 . . . 43. And at ver. 50. *he casting away his garment, rose, and came to Jesus*. A circumstance peculiar to *St. Mark*. Which shews his exact knowledge of the historie, as did likewise his calling the man by his name.

26.) Ch. xi. 13. *For the time of figs was not yet* : that is, the time of gathering was not yet come. A most useful observation peculiar to this Evangelist, shewing, that as there were leaves, it was reasonable to expect fruit on this fig-tree, if it was not barren. Upon this text might be consulted (s) *Bishop Kidder*, and (t) *Mr. Hallet*.

27.) Ch. xiii. 3. 4. *And as he sat upon the mount of Olives, over against the temple, Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, asked him privately, . . . When shall these things be?* No other Evangelist has mentioned the names of the disciples, who put this question to our Saviour. *Comp.* *Matt.* xxiv. 1 . . . 3. *Luke* xxi. 5.

28.) In *Mark* xii. 41 . . . 44. and *Luke* xxi. 1 . . . 4. is the account of the people casting their gifts into the chests of the treasure, in the temple. *St. Mark* says : *And Jesus sat over against the treasure*. In which expression there is great propriety. And he alone mentions the value of the poor widow's two mites, saying : *Which make a farthing*.

29.) Ch. xiv. 51. *And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body. And the young men [the guards] laid hold on him. 52. And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked*. A particular, in no other Evangelist, yet very fitly taken notice of, as intimating the usual noise and disturbance, when a man is taken up in the night-time, as a malefactor, and is carried before a magistrate. By (u) the noise of the people passing along that young person was excited to come hastily out of the house, where he was, to inquire what was the matter. *Mr. Le Clerc*, in his French Testament, has an useful note upon this place. He observes the natural simplicity of the Evangelists narration. Which, as he justly says, confirms the truth of their historie.

30.) Ch. xv. 11. *And they compell one Simon, a Cyrenian, who passed by, coming out of the countrey, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to bear his cross*. That particular, *the father of Alexander and Rufus*, is in no other Evangelist. *Comp.* *Matt.* xxvii. 32. and *Luke* xxiii. 26.

31.) Ch.

(s) *Demonstration of the Messiah. Part 2. ch. ii. p. 38. 39.*

(t) *Notes and Discourses. Vol. 2. p. 114. . . . 125.*

(u) *Non de Apostolorum grege . . . sed ex villa aliqua horto proxima, strepitu militum excitatus, et subito accurrens, ut conspiceret, quid ageretur. Grot. ad Marc. xi. 51.*

31.) Ch. xvi. 3. 4. *And they said among themselves : Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre ? For it was very great. In no other Evangelist.*

32.) Ch. xvi. 7. *But go your way. Tell his disciples, and Peter, that he goes before you into Galilee.* The mention of *Peter* is peculiar to *St. Mark*. For in *Matt. xxviii. 7.* it is : *Go quickly, and tell his disciples.* *St. Luke* has not recorded that message.

33.) I add nothing more of this kind. I have omitted many things, which are in this Gospel, and no other, being apprehensive, that if I enlarged farther, I should be charged with prolixity.

34.) The particulars that have been alleged, are sufficient to assure us, that *St. Mark* is not an epitomiser of another author : and that he was well acquainted with the things, of which he undertook to write a historie. He writes as an eye-witnesse, or as one, who had full and authentic information at the first hand. In a word, *St. Mark's* Gospel, though short, is a very valuable, and masterly performance.

4. It may be proper for me to add one thing more : That I suppose the twelve verses at the end of the sixteenth chapter to be a genuine part of this Gospel. If any doubt of it, I would refer them for their satisfaction to *Dr. Mill*, and to the observations of *Grotius* at the beginning of that chapter, and to *Beza* upon the ninth verse. And for explaining those twelve verses, and reconciling them with the other Evangelists, I refer to *Grotius* and other Commentators.

C H A P. VIII.

ST. LUKE, EVANGELIST.

I. *His Historie from the N. T.* II. *Testimonies of ancient Christian Writers to St. Luke and his two Books, his Gospel, and the Acts.* III. *Remarks upon those Testimonies.* IV. *The Time of writing his Gospel and the Acts.* V. *Internal Characters of Time in the Gospel.* VI. *The Place where it was writ.* VII. *A general recollection of St. Luke's Character.* VIII. *Observations upon his Gospel.* IX. *Observations upon the Book of the Acts.*

His historie from the N. T.

I. **T**HE first time that we find any mention of *St. Luke* in the books of the New Testament is in his (A) own historie. *Acts xvi. 10. 11.* Whereby it appears, that he was in *Paul's* companie at *Troas*, before the Apostle took

* (A) From some words in the *Cambridge* manuscript *Bp. Pearson* has argued, that *Luke* was in *Paul's* companie from the year 43. *Dein peragrat [Paulus] Phrygiam et Galatiam, et per Mysiam venit Troadem, ubi se illi comitem adjunxisse indicat Lucas xvi. 10. Qui antea etiam Antiochiæ cum Paulo fuit,*

took shipping to go into *Macedonia*: in which voyage *St. Luke* was one of the companie. ver. 8. *And they passing by Mysia, came to Troas.* 9. *And a vision appeared to Paul in the night. There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying: Come over into Macedonia, and help us.* 10. *And when he had seen the vision, immediately we endeavored to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering, that the Lord had called us to preach the gospel to them.* 11. *Therefore loosing from Troas, we came with a strait course to Samothracia.*

In that journey *St. Paul* went from *Samothracia* to *Neapolis*, and thence to *Philippi*. 11. . . 17. So far *St. Luke* speaks in the first person plural. But having finished his account of the transactions at *Philippi*, which reaches to ver. 40. the last of that chapter: at the begining of the next ch. xvii. 1. he (B) changeth the person, and says: *Now when they had passed through Amphipolis, and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews.*

Nor does he any more expressly speak of himself, untill *Paul* was a second time in *Greece*, and was setting out for *Jerusalem* with the collections, which had been made for the poor saints in *Judea*, Acts xx. 1. . . 6. *And after the uproar [at Ephesus] was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Mace-*

suit, et jam eum Troade affecutus est: ut colligere licet ex Act. xi. 28. ubi Codex Cantabr. habet, συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν. Ab anno igitur 43. per octennium discipulus fuerat Antiochiæ. *Annal. Paulin.* p. 10. But it is not safe to rely upon one manuscript only, different from all others, and of no great authority. As *Mr. Tillemont* took notice of this observation of *Pearson*, I transcribe his thoughts about it. Selon le manuscrit de Cambridge S. Luc dit qu'il estoit avec S. Paul à Antioche, des l'an 43. ce que *Pearson* a receu. Mais il ne seroit pas seur de fier à un manuscrit different de tous les autres. Et quand cela se pourroit en quelques occasions, ce ne seroit pas à l'égard du manuscrit de Cambridge, qui est plein d'additions et alterations contraires au veritable texte de S. Luc. *Mem. Ec. T. 2. S. Luc. note iii.* Some may argue from these words, that *Luke* was a Gentil, converted by *Paul* at *Antioch*. And others might argue, that he is the same as *Lucius*, mentioned Acts xiii. 1. But I should think it best for neither side to form an argument from this reading. *Mr. Wetstein* has referred us to a place of *St. Augustin*, where this text is quoted very agreeably to the *Cambridge* manuscript. In illis autem diebus descenderunt ab Hierosolymis Prophetæ Antiochiam. Congregatis autem nobis, surgens unus ex illis, nomine Agabus. &c. *De Serm. Dom. l. 2. c. 17.* But it is observable, that *Irenæus*, l. 3. c. 14. *init.* a more ancient writer, enumerating *St. Luke's* journeys in *St. Paul's* companie, begins at *Troas*. Acts xvi. 8. . . 10. I presume, it must be best to rely upon him, and the general consent of all manuscripts, except one, in the common reading.

(B) Nevertheless it is supposed by many, that *Luke* continued with *Paul*. *Irenæus* calls him *Paul's* inseparable companion, after his coming to be with the Apostle at *Troas*. *Adv. H. l. 3. c. 14.* So likewise *Cave*, Cujus perinde sectator erat, et omnis peregrinationis comes. *H. L. T. i. p. 25.* See also *Tillem. St. Luc. Mem. Ec. T. 2.*

Macedonia: And there accompanied him into Asia Sopator, of Berea . . . These going before, tarried for us at Troas. And we sailed away from Philippi . . . and came unto them at Troas in five days, where we abode seven days. So that Luke accompanied Paul, at that time, from Greece through Macedonia to Philippi, and also went with him from thence to Troas.

And it appears from the sequel of the historie in the Acts, that Luke was one of those, who accompanied the Apostle to *Jerusalem*, and staid with him there. And when the Apostle was sent a prisoner from *Cesarea* to *Rome*, he was in the same ship with him, and staid with him at *Rome* during the whole time of his two years imprisonment there, with which the historie of the Acts concludes.

From St. Paul's epistles writ at *Rome*, in the time of that confinement, we have proofs of Luke's being with him. He is mentioned as with the Apostle. 2 Tim. iv. 11. an epistle writ, as I suppose, in the summer, after the Apostle's arrival there. In Philem. ver. 24. he is one of those who sent salutations to *Philemon*, and is mentioned by the Apostle, as one of his fellow-laborers. And, if Luke the beloved Physician, mentioned Col. iv. 14. be the Evangelist, that is another proof of his being then with the Apostle.

St. Luke is also supposed by some to be the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches. 2 Cor. viii. 18. But that is not certain.

As I think, that all St. Paul's epistles, which we have, were writ, before he left *Rome* and *Italie*, when he had been sent thither by *Festus*; I must be of opinion, that the New Testament affords us not any materials for the historie of St. Luke, lower than his own book of the Acts, which brings us down to the end of that period.

From ancient authors. II. I now therefore proceed without farther delay, to observe what light may be obtained from ancient Christian writers. And as St. Luke's two books, his Gospel and the Acts, were all along universally received; I intend here, for avoiding prolixity, to allege, chiefly, such passages only, as contain something relating to the historie and character of St. Luke, or the time of writing his two abovenamed works.

Irenæus, as before quoted: "And (a) Luke, the companion of Paul, " put down in a book the Gospel preached by him." And the coherence seems to imply, that this was done after the writing of St. Mark's Gospel, and after the death of *Peter* and *Paul*. In a passage formerly cited (b) at length, *Irenæus* shews from the Acts, as we did just now, that Luke attended Paul in several of his journeys and voyages, and was his fellow-laborer in the gospel. He likewise says: "that (c) Luke was not only a companion, but also a fellow-laborer of the " Apostles, especially of Paul." Again, he calls him " a (d) disciple and " follower of the Apostles." " The (e) Apostles, he says, envying none " plainly

(a) Vol. i. p. 354.

(b) P. 361 . . . 363.

(c) P. 363.

(d) P. 361.

(e) Sic Apostoli simpliciter nemini invidentes quæ didicerant ipsi a Domino hæc omnibus tradebant. Sic igitur et Lucas nemini invidens, ea quæ

"plainly delivered to all the things which they had learned from the Lord. So likewise *Luke*, envying no man, has delivered to us what he learned from them, as he says: *Even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word.*"

By all which it seems, that *Irenæus* reckoned *Luke* to have been a disciple of the Apostles, not a hearer of Jesus Christ himself.

Clement of *Alexandria* has bore a large testimonie to this Gospel, and the Acts, as well as to the other books of the New Testament. And as we learn from *Eusebe*, "in (*f*) his Institutions, he mentions a tradition concerning the order of the Gospels, which he had received from Presbyters of more ancient times, and which is to this purpose. He says, that the Gospels containing the genealogies were writ first:" According to that tradition therefore St. *Matthew's* and St. *Luke's* Gospels were writ before St. *Mark's*. Which, according to the same *Clement*, and the tradition received by him, was writ at *Rome*, at the request of St. *Peter's* hearers, or the Christians in that city.

Tertullian (*g*) speaks of *Matthew* and *John*, as disciples of Christ, of *Mark* and *Luke*, as disciples of Apostles. Therefore, I think, he did not reckon these to have been of the seventy, or hearers of Christ. However, he ascribes a like authority to these, and says: "that (*h*) the Gospel, which *Mark* published, may be said to be *Peter's*, whose interpreter *Mark* was. For *Luke's* Digest also is often ascribed to *Paul*. And indeed it is easie to take that for the masters, which the disciples published." Again: "moreover (*i*) *Luke* was not an Apostle, but apostolical: not a master, but a disciple: certainly less than his master, but a disciple: certainly less than his master, certainly so much later, as he is a follower of *Paul*, the last of the Apostles." This likewise shews *Tertullian's* notion of St. *Luke's* character.

Origen mentions the Gospels in the order now generally received. "The (*k*) third, says he, is that according to *Luke*, the Gospel commanded by *Paul*, published for the sake of the Gentil converts." In his Commentarie upon the epistle to the *Romans*, which we now have in a *Latin* version only, he says, upon ch. xvi. 21. "Some (*l*) say, *Lucius* is *Lucas* the Evangelist, as indeed it is not uncommon to write names sometimes according to the original form, sometimes according to the Greek or Roman termination." *Lucius*, mentioned in that text of the epistle to the *Romans*, must have been a Jew. Nevertheless, as *Origen* assures us, some thought him to be *Luke* the Evangelist. The same observation we saw in (*m*) *Sedulius*, who wrote a Commentarie upon St. *Paul's* epistles, collected out of *Origen*, and others.

Eusebius

ab eis didicerat, tradidit nobis, sicut ipse testatur dicens: Quemadmodum tradiderunt nobis qui ab initio contemplatores et ministri fuerunt verbi. *Adv. H. l. 3. cap. 14. n. 2.*

(*f*) *Vol. ii. p. 475.*

(*g*) *Vol. ii. p. 587. 588.*

(*h*) *P. 581.*

(*i*) *P. 587.*

(*k*) *Vol. iii. p. 235.*

(*l*) Sed et *Lucium* quidam perhibent esse *Lucam* Evangelistam, qui Evangelium scripsit, pro eo quod soleant nomina interdum secundum patriam declinationem, interdum Græcam Romanamque proferri. *In Rom. T. 2. p. 632. Basil. 1571.*

(*m*) *Vol. xi. p. 182.*

Eusebius of Cesarea, as transcribed formerly, speaking of *St. Paul's* fellow-laborers, says: "And (n) *Luke*, who was of *Antioch*, and by profession a Physician, for the most part a companion of *Paul*, who had likewise more than a slight acquaintance with the rest of the Apostles, has left us in two books, divinely inspired, evidences of the art of healing souls, which he had learned from them. One of these is the Gospel, which he professeth to have writ, as they delivered it to him, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word: with all whom, he says likewise, he had been perfectly acquainted from the very first. The other is the Acts of the Apostles, which he composed now, not from what he had received by the report of others, but from what he had seen with his own eyes."

And in another place, cited (o) also formerly, he observes, "that (p) *Luke* had delivered in his Gospel a certain account of such things, as he had been well assured of by his intimate acquaintance and familiarity with *Paul*, and his conversation with the other Apostles."

From all which, I think, it appears, that *Eusebe* did not take *Luke* for a disciple of Christ, but of Apostles only.

In the Synopsis ascribed to *Athanasius* it is said, "that (q) the Gospel of *Luke* was dictated by the Apostle *Paul*, and writ and published by the blessed Apostle and Physician *Luke*."

The author of the Dialogue against the *Marcionites* says, "that (r) *Mark* and *Luke* were disciples of Christ, and of the number of the Seventy."

Epiphanius (s) speaks to the like purpose.

Gregorie Nazianzen says, "that (t) *Luke* wrote for the Greeks," or in *Achaia*.

Gregorie Nyssen says, "that (u) *Luke* was as much a Physician for the soul, as for the body:" taking him to be the same, that is mentioned Col. iv. 14.

In the catalogue of *Ebedjesu* it is said, "that (x) *Luke* taught and wrote at *Alexandria*, in the Greek language."

The Author of the Commentarie upon *St. Paul's* thirteen epistles seems to have doubted, whether (y) the Evangelist *Luke* be the person intended Col. iv. 14.

Jerome agrees very much with *Eusebe*, already transcribed. Nevertheless I shall put down here somewhat largely what he says. "*Luke* (z) a Physician of *Antioch*, not unskillfull in the Greek language, a disciple of the Apostle *Paul*, and the constant companion of his travels, wrote a Gospel,—and another excellent volume, entitled the Acts of the Apostles. . . . It is supposed, that *Luke* did not learn his Gospel from the Apostle *Paul* only, who had not conversed with the Lord in the flesh, but also from other Apostles. Which likewise he owns at the beginning

(n) Vol. viii. p. 103. 104.

(o) P. 95.

(p) . . . Τὸν ἀσφαλὴ λόγον ἂν αὐτὸς ἰκανῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν κατελήφει, ἐκ τῆς ἅμα παύλῳ συνουσίας τε καὶ διατριβῆς, καὶ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλίας ὡφελήματος, διὰ τῶ ἰδίῳ παρίστανεν ἰναγγελεῖαι. H. E. l. 3. c. 24. p. 96. c.

(q) Vol. viii. p. 250.

(r) P. 255.

(s) P. 306.

(t) Vol. ix. p. 133.

(u) P. 156.

(x) P. 217.

(y) Vol. ix. p. 367. 368.

(z) Vol. ii. p. 94. . . 96.

“begining of his volume, saying: *Even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word.* Therefore he wrote the Gospel from the information of others. But the Acts he composed from his own knowledge.”

So writes *Jerome* in his book of Illustrious Men.

In the prologue to his Commentarie upon St. *Matthew* he says: “The (a) third Evangelist is *Luke*, the Physician, a Syrian of *Antioch*, who was a disciple of the Apostle *Paul*, and published his Gospel in the countreys of *Achaia* and *Bæstia*.”

He observes elsewhere, “that (b) some said, *Luke* had been a profelyte to Judaism, before his conversion to Christianity.” He speaks of St. *Luke* in many other places, which I need not now take notice of.

Augustin says, “that (c) two of the Evangelists, *Matthew* and *John*, were Apostles. . . *Mark* and *Luke* disciples of Apostles.”

Chrysostom in the Synopsis, probably his, says: “Two (d) of the Gospels were writ by *John* and *Matthew*, Christ’s disciples, the other two by *Luke* and *Mark*, of whom one was disciple of *Peter*, the other of *Paul*. The former conversed with Christ, and were eye-witnesses of what they wrote. The other two wrote what they had received from eye-witnesses.” And to the like purpose in (e) his first homilie upon St. *Matthew*. Again he says: “*Luke* (f) had the fluence of *Paul*, *Mark* concisenesse of *Peter*, both learning of their masters.” And upon Col. iv. 14. he says: This (g) is the Evangelist.

Upon Col. iv. 14. *Theodoret* says, “that (h) person wrote the divine Gospel, and the historie of the Acts.” He says the same upon (i) 2 Tim. iv. 11.

Paulinus (m) celebrates *Luke*, as having been first a Physician of the body, then of the soul.

Here I would refer to the Author of *Quæstiones et Responsiones*, probably writ in the fifth centurie, who (n) reckons both the Evangelists, writers of the genealogies, that is, *Matthew* and *Luke*, to have been *Hebrews*.

According to *Euthalius* (o) *Luke* was a disciple of *Paul*, and a Physician of *Antioch*.

Isidore of *Seville*, says: “Of (p) the four Evangelists, the first and last relate what they had heard Christ say, or had seen him perform. The other two, placed between them, relate those things, which they had learned from Apostles. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel first in *Judea*. Then *Mark* in *Italie*, *Luke*, the third, in *Achaia*, *John* the last, in *Asia*.” In another place he says: “Of (q) all the Evangelists *Luke*, the third in order, is reckoned to have been the most skilful in the Greek tongue. For he was a Physician, and wrote his Gospel in *Greece*.”

F 2

In

(a) P. 83. 84.

(b) P. 97.

(c) P. 227. 228.

(d) P. 312.

(e) P. 314. . . 316. And see p. 325.

(f) P. 322.

(g) Ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ὁ εὐαγγελιστής. In. Col. hom. 12. T. xi. p. 412.

(h) See Vol. xi. note (A).

(i) In 2 Tim. T. 3. p. 505.

(m) Vol. xi. p. 44.

(n) See Vol. i. p. 263.

(o) Vol. xi. p. 211.

(p) P. 367.

(q) P. 372.

In *Theophylact* are these things. In his preface to St. *Matthew's* Gospel he says, "that (r) there are four Evangelists, two of which, *Matthew* and *John*, were of the choir of the twelve Apostles: the other two, *Mark* and *Luke*, were of the number of the Seventy. *Mark* was a disciple and companion of *Peter*, *Luke* of *Paul*. . . *Luke* wrote fifteen years after Christ's ascension." In the preface to his Commentarie upon St. *Luke* he says, "that (s) from that introduction it appears, *Luke* was not from the beginning a disciple, but only afterwards. For others were disciples from the beginning, as *Peter*, and the sons of *Zebedee*, who delivered to him the things which they had seen or heard." Upon which some remarks were made by us in the place referred to. In his comment upon the historie of the two disciples, whom Jesus met in the way to *Emmaus*, one of whom is said to be *Cleophas*, Luke xxiv. 18. *Theophylact* says: "Some (t) have thought the other to be *Luke* the Evangelist, who out of modestie declined to mention himself." In his preface to the Acts *Theophylact* says: "The (u) writer is *Luke*, native of *Antioch*, by profession a Physician."

Euthymius says: "*Luke* (x) was a native of *Antioch*, and a Physician. He was a hearer of Christ, and, as some say, one of his seventy disciples, as well as *Mark*. He was afterwards very intimate with *Paul*. He wrote his Gospel, with *Paul's* permission, fifteen years after our Lord's ascension."

So *Euthymius*. But I should think, that very few, who supposed *Luke* to have been a native of *Antioch*, could likewise reckon him a hearer of Jesus Christ. But *Euthymius*, as it seems, puts together every thing he had heard or read, without judgement or discrimination.

What *Nicephorus Callisti* says, is, briefly, to this purpose. "Two (y) only of the Twelve, *Matthew* and *John*, left memoirs of our Lord's life on earth: and two of the Seventy, *Mark* and *Luke*. . . *Matthew* wrote about fifteen years after our Saviour's ascension. Long after that *Mark* and *Luke* published their Gospels by the direction of *Peter* and *Paul*. The same *Luke* composed also the book of the Acts of the Apostles."

To these authors I now add *Eutychius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in the tenth centurie, who says: "In (z) the time of the same Emperour, (that is, *Nero*) *Luke* wrote his Gospel in Greek to a noble and wise man of the *Romans*, whose name was *Theophilus*: to whom also he wrote the Acts, or the historie of the Disciples. The Evangelist *Luke* was a companion of the Apostle *Paul*, going with him where-ever he went. For which reason the Apostle *Paul* in one of his epistles says: "*Luke, the Physician, salutes you.*"

III. Having

(r) P. 419. 420.

(s) P. 422.

(t) P. 423.

(u) P. 426.

(x) P. 437.

(y) P. 442.

(z) Etiam tempore hujus Imperatoris scripsit Lucas Evangelium suum Græce, ad virum nobilem ex sapientibus Romanis, cui nomen Theophilus, ad quem item scripsit Acta seu Discipulorum historiam. Erat autem Lucas Evangelista comes Pauli Apostoli, quocumque per aliquod tempus mansit. Unde est, quod Paulus Apostolus in quadam epistola sua dicit, Lucas Medicus vos salutat. *Eutych. Annal. p. 335. 336.*

III. Having thus recited the testimonies of all these writers concerning the Evangelist *Luke*, I shall now make some remarks. Remarks.

1. We hence perceive, that the notion, that *St. Luke* was a Painter, is without foundation, no notice having been taken of it in these ancient writers. Indeed this is said by one of our (a) authors, *Nicephorus Callisti*, in the fourteenth centurie, from whom a passage was quoted in the way of a summarie conclusion. But we do not relye upon him for any thing not confirmed by other writers, more ancient, and of better credit. Nor is this account received by (b) *Tillemont*, or (c) *Du Pin*, but rejected by them as altogether fabulous, especially the later: though our *Dr. Cave* (d) was somewhat inclined to admit one testimonie to this affair, whilst he rejected the rest. For a farther account of *St. Luke's* pretended pictures of the Virgin *Marie* I refer to (e) *Mr. Bower*.

2. We learn also, what judgement ought to be formed of the account given of *St. Luke* by (f) *Hugo Grotius*, and (g) *J. J. Wetstein*: which is, that he was a *Syrian*, and a slave, either at *Rome*, or in *Greece*: and that having obtained his freedom, he returned to his native place, *Antioch*: where he became a Jewish Profelyte, and then a Christian. Which

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those

(a) . . . ὡς δὲ τὴν ζωγράφου τέχνην ἐξεπιδείκνυτο. *Niceph. l. 2. cap. 43. T. i. p. 210.*

(b) *Saint Luc. Mem. Ec. T. 2.*

(c) *Nicephore et les nouveaux Grecs le font Peintre. Et il y a en differens endroits des images de la Vierge, qu'on donne pour l'ouvrage de S. Luc. Ce sont des fictions, qui n'ont ni verité ni apparence. Du Pin Diff. l. 2. ch. 2. §. 5.*

(d) Of more authority with me would be an ancient inscription, found in a vault near the church of *S. Mary* in via lata at *Rome*, supposed to be the place, where *S. Paul* dwelt: wherein mention is made of a picture of the *B. Virgin*. Una ex vii. a *B. Lûca* depictis: One of the seven painted by *St. Luke*. *Cave's Lives of the Apostles, in English, p. 222.*

(e) See his *Lives of the Popes. Vol. 3. p. 205. 206.*

(f) *Nostro autem nomen quidem Romanum fuisse arbitror, sed aliquanto longius. . . . Quare et Lucas, si quid video, contractum est ex Romano nomine, quod suspicor fuisse Lucillium. Nam ea gens tum Romæ florebat. . . . Erat noster hic Syrus, ut veteres consentiunt, et medicinam fecit. . . . Syria autem multos Romanis servos exhibebat. Et medicina, ut ex Plinio atque aliis discimus, munus erat servile. Manumissi autem nomen patroni induebant, ut Comædiarum scriptor, Afer cum esset, dictus est a patrono Terentio Terentius. . . . Ita hic a Lucillio Lucillius, et contracte Lucas. Credibile est, cum Romæ medicinam facitasset aliquamdiu, acceptâ libertate, rediisse in patriam. &c. Grot. Pr. in S. Lucam.*

(g) *Exercuisse medicinam Paulus ad Colossenses testatur. Eusebius autem et Hieronymus addunt fuisse natione Syrum Antiochenum. . . . Interpretes porro conjectura probabili, tum ex nomine, tum ex arte quam profitebatur, colligunt, fuisse servum manumissum. Observant enim primo, nomen ejus in compendium fuisse redactum, ut pro Lucillio vel Luciano vocaretur Lucas. . . . Observant secundo, servos et præcipue Syros medicinam facitasse. . . . Quod vero quidam existimant, eum Romæ serviisse, et a domino, qui ipsum manumiserit, nomine Lucam appellatum fuisse, non satis certum videtur. Nam præter familiam Lucilliam, quæ Romana fuit, etiam Græcis illud nomen fuit impositum, ut ex Anthologia constat. Wetst. Pr. ad Luc. T. i. p. 643.*

those learned interpreters endeavour to make out in a somewhat different manner. But neither has alleged any ancient writer, saying, that the Evangelist *Luke* was once a slave, and afterwards became a free man. Some slaves indeed were skilful in the art of medicine, and practised it in the families of their Roman masters. But does it follow, that because *Luke* was a Physician, that he was also a slave? This therefore being entirely destitute of foundation in antiquity must be esteemed the fiction of some learned critic, who was much delighted with his own ingenious speculations.

3. The account given of this Evangelist by *Eusebe*, and *Jerome* after him, that he was a *Syrian*, and Native of *Antioch*, may be justly suspected.

We do not find it in *Irenaeus*, nor *Clement of Alexandria*, nor *Tertullian*, nor *Origen*, nor in any other writer before *Eusebe*. Probably, therefore, it is not founded in any general, or well attested tradition: but was the invention of some conjectural critic, who having first imagined, out of his own head, that *Luke* was originally a Gentil, at length determined, that he was converted by *Paul* at *Antioch*. But all this was taken up without any good ground, or sufficient authority. And *Luke* may have been a believer, before either *Paul* or *Barnabas* went to *Antioch*. The same account is in *Jerome*. But he only follows *Eusebe*. He does not seem to have had any information about it from any others. Which is an argument, that there was not any early tradition to this purpose.

This storie, I say, is in *Eusebe*, and *Jerome*, and some others, after them, but not in all succeeding writers. Some of the ancients, as *Epiphanius*, and others, supposed *Luke* to have been one of Christ's seventy disciples. Which is inconsistent with his being a native of *Antioch*. If any did not see this inconsistency, and allowed both, it must have been owing to want of due attention and consideration. And the supposition, made by some, that *Luke* was one of the Seventy, shews, that there was no prevailing, and well attested tradition, that he was a native of *Antioch*. For if there had been any such tradition, it is not easie to conceive, how any should have held the opinion, that he was one of the Seventy.

It was formerly observed, that (*b*) *Chrysostom* no where says in his remaining works, that *Luke* was of *Antioch*. Indeed we (*i*) have lost one of his homilies upon the title and begining of the Acts of the Apostles. Nevertheless it seems, that in some of his many homilies, still remaining upon that book, or elsewhere, we should have seen this particular, if it had been known to him. He takes notice, that (*k*) there might be seen in his time the house, in which *Paul* dwelled at *Antioch*. And he often speaks of the prerogatives of that city in his homilies preached there. Methinks, this also should have been mentioned as one: that *Luke*, whom (as is well known) he often celebrates, was a native of that city. If this had been then known, or generally believed, it is reasonable to expect, that it should have been frequently mentioned by *Chrysostom*, a native and Presbyter of *Antioch*, who shined there as a Preacher twelve years.

(*b*) Vol. x. p. 328.

(*i*) P. 323.

(*k*) P. 371.

years. This has disposed me to think, that in his time there was not at *Antioch* any prevailing tradition to this purpose.

Cave says, it (*l*) is likely, that *Luke* was converted by *Paul* at *Antioch*. *Mill* (*m*) says the same, rather more positively. Which may now be the opinion of many. I have guessed, that it might be the opinion of the person, who first gave rise to the account, that *Luke* was a *Syrian*, of *Antioch*, mentioned in *Eusebe*. But I do not remember, that this is expressly said by any of the ancient writers, out of whom I have made so large collections in the preceding volumes. And the thing is altogether unlikely. If *Luke* had been a Gentil, converted by *Paul*, he would have been always uncircumcised, and unfit to accompany *Paul*, as he did. For the Apostle would not have allowed the *Greeks*, or Gentils, of *Antioch*, or any other place, to receive that rite. Nor are there in the *Acts*, or *Paul's* epistles, any hints, that *Luke* was his convert. Whereas, if he had been so, there (*c*) would have appeared some tokens of it in the affectionate expressions of *Paul* toward him on the one hand, or in the respectful and grateful expressions of *Luke* toward *Paul*, on the other hand.

4. It has been reckoned doubtful by divers learned men, whether the Evangelist *Luke* was a Physician.

This particular is different from the fore-going. Nor has it any connexion with it. *Luke* may have been of *Antioch*, and not a Physician. He may have been a Physician, and not of *Antioch*. The question is, whether *Luke*, the beloved Physician, mentioned by St. *Paul*, Col. iv. 14. be the Evangelist. Divers of the ancients, as we have seen, have supposed him there intended. *Chrysostom's* expressions are these: "This (*n*) is the Evangelist. But he does not diminish him by naming him so late. He extols him, as he does *Epaphras*. It is likely, that there were others called by that name." This last particular, perhaps, may deserve to be taken notice of. He affirms, that this is the Evangelist. But he supposeth, that there were others of the same name.

That distinguishing character, beloved Physician, not given to the Apostle's companion, and fellow laborer, in any other epistle, has induced divers learned and inquisitive moderns, to doubt, whether one and the

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(*l*) . . . a D. Paulo, dum Antiochiæ ageret, (uti verisimile est) conversus. *Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 25.*

(*m*) Scriptor operi huic suscipiendo, si quis unquam, summe idoneus: utpote qui ab ipso tempore conversionis, quæ contigit circa annum æræ vulgaris XLI. Ipsum enim ελληνιστῆς istis, qui magno numero Antiochiæ conversi sunt, [Act. xi. 20.] omnino adnumerârim. *Prol. n. 112.*

(*c*) This thought occurred to Dr. *Whitby*, who in his preface to St. *Luke's* Gospel speaks to this purpose: "We are told, that *Luke* was converted by *Paul* at *Thebes*. Answer. But this we have only from *Nicephorus*. And it is the less credible, not only because it comes to us so late: but also because it appears not from any credible author, that St. *Paul* ever was there. It is more probable from the silence of St. *Luke* and St. *Paul*, who never calleth him his son, that he was a Christian, or a believer, long before."

(*n*) Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς . . . εἰκὸς εἶναι καὶ ἄλλους καλεμένους τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ. *Chry. in Col. iv. hom. 12. T. xi. p. 412.*

the same person is intended. Among these are (o) *Calvin*, (p) *Sam. Basnage*, (q) *Dr. Heumann*, whose observations and arguments I transcribe below. On the other hand (r) *Estius*, and (s) *Mr. Jones*, strongly argue, that the same *Luke* is here intended, who is mentioned by *St. Paul* in some others epistle, even our Evangelist.

Upon the whole, it must be acknowledged, that this distinguishing character, *beloved Physician*, has occasioned a difficulty. Nevertheless, I would hope, that it is not insuperable. It is allowed, that in all other places of *St. Paul's* epistles by *Luke* is intended the Evangelist. We know from the book of the *Acts*, that *Luke*, the writer of it, went with *Paul* to *Rome*, and staid with him to the end of his captivity there. Nor is there any reason to surmise, that at the time of writing this epistle he might be absent from the Apostle upon some special occasion. For he joyns in his salutations in the epistle to *Philemon* of *Colosse*, sent at the same time with this epistle to the *Colossians*. Where also he is stiled a *fellow-laborer*. *Philem.* ver. 24. So that I cannot but think it probable, that *Luke*, the Evangelist, was by profession a Physician.

5. *St. Luke* was a Jew by birth, at least by religion.

None of the writers, out of whom we have made collections, call him a Gentil. Some, in *Jerome's* time, whose names we do not know, said, *Luke* had been a Jewish Proselyte, that is, had been converted from Gentilism to Judaism, and afterwards became a Christian. But none, that I remember, expressly say, that he was converted from Gentilism to

(o) Non assentior iis, qui *Lucam Evangelistam* intelligunt. Nam et notio- rem fuisse judico, quam ut opus fuerit tali indicatione, et splendidiore elogio fuisset insignitus. Certe coadjutorem suum, aut fidum saltem comitem, et certaminum participem vocasset. Potius conjicio, hunc abfuisse, et alterum medici epitheto ab illo discerni. Quamquam non contendo, ut de re certa, sed tamen conjecturas afferro. *Calvin. in Col. iv. 14.*

(p) Sunt tamen in Scripturâ *Lucam Evangelistam* a *Luca Medico* distinguendi causæ. &c. *Basnag. Ann. 60. n. xxxiii.*

(q) *Lucam Evangelistam* fuisse Medicum, *Hieronymus* aliquæ probari posse credunt ex *Col. iv. 14.* Sed ex hoc ipso loco confirmari posse puto contrarium. Si enim isto loco *Paulus* inquisset comitem suum omnibus notum, *Lucam Evangelistam*, simpliciter vocasset *Lucam*, uti fecit. *2 Tim. iv. 11.* At ut significaret, se de alio *Luca* loqui, discriminis causâ addit ὁ ἰατρός, *C. A. Heuman. Ep. Misc. T. 2. p. 518.*

(r) Sunt qui in dubium revocent, num de *Luca Evangelista* loquatur *Apostolus*. Hunc enim dicunt notio- rem fuisse, quam ut artis nomine eum designaret. Ac saltem, inquirunt, eum coadjutorem suum, aut fidelem comitem vocasset. Verum, ut vetus et communis, ita probatissima sententia est. . . . *Lucam Evangelistam*, Medicum fuisse, et eum ipsum, cujus hic mentio est: (neque enim alium *Lucam* *Paulo* familiarem ulla prodit historia:) Quod vero tacuit hoc loco adjutorem, id diserte expressit ad *Philemonem* scribens, *Demas et Lucas adjutores mei*. Non enim putavit *Apostolus* rem satis notam ubique inculcandam esse. Ubi illud observandum est, *Apostolum* assidue *Lucam* cum *Dema* nominare, tam hoc loco, et ad *Philemonem*, quam etiam in secunda ad *Tim.* ep. cap. iv. Quis ergo dixerit, alium atque alium esse *Lucam* cum eodem *Dema* nominatum? *Com. in Col. iv. 14.*

(s) See *Mr. Jones's New and Full Method*, Vol. 3. p. 103; 104.

to Christianity. Unless we should make an exception for *Nicephorus Callisti*, who in one place says so. But he is too late, and of too little credit, to be much regarded: especially, if he is singular. All our writers, who speak of *Luke*, as a companion and disciple of Apostles, must have supposed him to be a Jew. And some have said, that he was one of the Seventy, as we have seen.

That *Luke* was a Jew by birth, or at least by religion, may be argued from his being a constant companion of *Paul* in many places, particularly, at *Jerusalem*. If *Luke* had been an uncircumcised Gentil, some exceptions would have been made to him. Nevertheless nothing of that kind appears either in *St. Paul's* Epistles, or in the Acts. Another thing leading to this supposition is his (1) following the Jewish computations of times: such as the Passover, Pentecost, the Fast. Of all which instances may be seen in Acts xii. 3. xx. 6. and 16. xxvii. 9.

Here it will be objected, that *Luke the Physician*, mentioned Col. iv. 14. must have been a Gentil, because at ver. 10. 11. the Apostle had mentioned *all these of the circumcision, who were his fellow-workers, and had been a comfort to him*. To which I answer. It is not certain, that *Luke*, the Evangelist, is the *beloved Physician*, there spoken of. We just now saw the reasons of doubting about it. But there is another solution. *St. Paul* (u) needs not to be understood to speak absolutely. There might be several exceptions to that proposition. *Timothie* was one, who joyns with the Apostle in sending the epistle. But he and *Luke* were so well known to all, as faithful to the Apostle, that they needed not to be there mentioned. And *Luke* and *Demas* follow afterwards, somewhat lower, nearer the end of the epistle, very properly. ver. 14. *Luke, the beloved Physician, and Demas greet you*. And I should be unwilling from this text, and the coherence, to conclude, that *Demas* was a Gentil. Says the Apostle: Philem. ver. 24. *There salute thee Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, my fellow-laborers*. The two first named were certainly Jews. I suppose, the other two were so likewise. Salutations from believers, of the Jewish People, would be very acceptable and encouraging to Gentil converts.

St. Luke says Acts i. 19. *inasmuch as that field was called in their proper tongue Aceldama*. Whence some may argue, that he was not a Jew. But it might be observed, that none of the Evangelists, when they speak of the Jews, say any thing, to denote they were of that people. Says *St. Matthew* ch. xxviii. 15. *And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews untill this day*. *Mark* vii. 3. *For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash their hands, eat not*. *John* i. 9. *The Jews sent Priests and Levites from Jerusalem*. ch. v. 1. *After this there was a feast of the Jews*. See also ch. xix. 40. . . . 42. And does not *St. Paul* say,
1 Thess.

(1) Quis vero cum veri specie aliqua Lucam Evangelistam unum ex Judæis fuisse neget? Lucam qui in designandis temporibus Judæorum disciplinam adhibet, Pentecostem scilicet, Jejunium, tertiam noctis vigiliam. Quæ omnia ex Judaico more petuntur. *Basnag. An. 60. n. xxxiii.*

(u) Adde, quod iste sermo, *hi soli*, non est ita rigide accipiendus, ut absolute excludat omnes alios, sed benigno sensu: Hi fere soli sunt adjutores. *Est. ad iv. Col. 11.*

1 Thess. ii. 14. 15. *Ye became followers of the churches of God in Judea. For ye also have suffered like things of your own countrey-men, even as they of the Jews: who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own Prophets.* It might be not amiss to observe also Acts xxviii. 17. . . 19. And I might refer to other places.

That this Evangelist was a Jew, is the opinion of many learned and judicious moderns: particularly, Mr. *S. Basnage*, whom I have cited at note (1) and *J. A. Fabricius*, who (x) likewise is clearly of the same opinion. Indeed, I think, it ought not to be questioned.

6. *Luke*, the Evangelist, was, probably, an early Jewish believer, soon after Christ's ascension, if not a hearer of Christ, and one of the seventy disciples.

Our most ancient writers, as we have seen, speak of *Luke* as a disciple of the Apostles. Some have reckoned him one of the Seventy, others have thought him to be *Lucius*, mentioned by *St. Paul* in the epistle to the *Romans*, and others have supposed, that he was one of the two disciples that met Jesus in the way to *Emmaus*.

The large accounts, which *Luke* has given in the book of the Acts of several, below the rank of Apostles, has made me think, that he was one of the same rank, and possibly one of them. There are three instances of this kind. The first is *Stephen*, one of the seven Deacons, who, as we learn, *was full of faith and power, and did great wonders and miracles among the people*: against whom there arose a strong opposition, so that he was the very first Martyr for Christ and his doctrine, and of whom *St. Luke* has recorded a long discourse before the Jewish Council. ch. vii. The second is *Philip*, another of the seven, of whom *St. Luke* writes, that he first *preached Christ* to the *Samaritans*. ch. viii. 5. . . 8. *so that the people with one accord gave heed to those things, which Philip spake, hearing, and seeing the miracles which he did*, and what follows. The same *Philip* afterwards, having first explained the scriptures to him, and brought him to sincere faith in Jesus as the Christ, baptized the Chamberlain and Treasurer of the Queen of *Ethiopia*, a Jewish proselyte, and a man of great distinction. ver. 26. . . 40. The third instance of this kind is that of the men of *Cyprus* and *Cyrene*, *who travelled as far as Phenice, Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to Jews only*. Who soon after their coming to *Antioch*, *spake unto the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them. And a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord*. ch. xi. 19. . . 21. These were the men, who first preached to Gentils out of *Judea*: as *Peter* was the first, who preached to Gentils at the house of *Cornelius* in *Cesarea*. ch. x. and not long before them. We have, as it seems, the names of three of those men. ch. xiii. 1. *Simeon, called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen*. The second person, here named, may be our Evangelist.

A like argument may be formed in favour of *St. Luke's* having been one of Christ's seventy disciples, in that he, and he only of all the Evangelists,

(x) Lucas, five Lucius, . . . incertum, num idem cum Luca Medico Col. iv. 14. quin Judæus fuerit, at antequam Christo nomen daret, ne dubito quidem, præcipue si verum est quod legas in Origenis five Adamantii cujusdam dialogis, adversus Marcionitas, et Epiphaniî LI. II. eum fuisse e numero LXX. discipulorum. *Bib. Gr. l. 4. c. v, T. 3. p. 132.*

gelists, has inserted in his Gospel an account of the commission, which Christ gave unto them. ch. x. 1. . . . 20.

And indeed some learned men of later times, as well as formerly, have been of opinion, that *Luke* was one of the Seventy.

Among these is our Dr. *Whitby*, who (b) reckoned both *Mark* and *Luke* to have been of that number.

J. A. Fabricius (c) was inclined to be of the same opinion. And in favour of it refers to the passages of *Adamantius* and *Epiphanius*, before taken notice of by us. This likewise was the sentiment of (d) Mr. *Basnage*.

Dr. *C. A. Heumann* has lately published a dissertation concerning Christ's Seventy Disciples, containing many curious observations. And he supposeth, that (*) these several following were of that number. *Matthias*, chosen in the room of the traitor, *Joseph*, called *Barsabas*, surnamed *Justus*, and probably, the seven Deacons, or however, some of them, and the four teachers and Prophets of *Antioch*, *Barnabas*, *Simeon* called *Niger*, *Lucius of Cyrene*, whom he thinks to be our *Luke* the Evangelist, and *Manaen*. Acts xiii. 1.

His argument is to this purpose. We have not in the Gospels the names of those Disciples. Nor did Christ form a college or company of them, as he did of the Twelve, because it was a temporarie office, which subsisted for a short time only. They were but once sent forth. And when they were returned, their commission was at an end. Nevertheless they hereby became qualified for public service. And it may be reckoned very probable, that if an opportunity was afforded, they would be very willing, after Christ's ascension, to exert themselves in his cause. And it is very likely, that some of these Seventy were chosen, and employed by the Apostles, as men, who had been already exercised in the service of the gospel, and were thereby fitted for farther usefulness.

So that learned writer. And it must be acknowledged, that this is a specious argument. But it is rather founded in an ingenious speculation, than in the authority of testimonie. Which, in this case, would be more valuable.

Indeed *Epiphanius*, beside the places (e) formerly alleged, where he says, *Mark* and *Luke* were of the Seventy, has another: where (f) he mentions a great many, who were said to be of that number; as the seven deacons, all whom he mentions by name, and also *Matthias*, *Mark*, *Luke*, *Justus*, *Barnabas*, *Apelles*, *Rufus*, *Niger*. And therefore, we cannot

(b) See his *Preface to St. Luke's Gospel*.

(c) . . . præcipue, si verum est, quod legas in Origenis seu Adamantii cujusdam Dialogis adversus Marcionitas, et Epiphanii H. LI. n. xi. Neque adeo repugnat et Lucam et Marcum ex illis fuisse, licet Veteres miro consensu, ut Marcum Petri, ita Lucam tradunt Pauli fuisse interpretem et sectatorem. Haud dubie enim Apostolorum etiam præ LXX illis magna prærogativa erat. &c. *Bib. Gr. l. iv. cap. v. T. 3. p. 133.*

(d) *Ann. 60. num. xxviii.*

(*) *Dissertatio de Septuaginta Christi Legatis. ap. Nov. Syllog. Dissertat. Part. i. p. 120. . . 154.*

(e) *Har. LI. num. vi. xi.*

(f) *II. 20. num. iv.*

not deny, that in the time of *Epiphanius* there were some, who entertained an opinion, that all these were of Christ's seventy Disciples. Nevertheless we do not find it in *Irenaeus*, or *Clement of Alexandria*, or *Origen*, or any others of the highest antiquity, and best credit: nor in *Eusebe* or *Jerome*, that I remember, who were acquainted with the writings of those ancient authors, and many others, which are not come to us. *Eusebe* has a chapter concerning the Disciples of our Saviour. He says, the names of Christ's twelve Apostles were well known: but (g) there was no where any catalogue of the Seventy. However, he mentions *Barnabas*, *Matthias*, and the disciple put up with him, and one or two more, who were said to be of the Seventy. But he takes not here any notice of *Mark*, or *Luke*, or of any of the seven Deacons.

Matthias and *Barabas* certainly were such men, as are described *Acts* i. 21. 22. And they may have been of the Seventy. But we cannot be certain, because we have not been assured of it by any accounts, that demand full assent. Some of the seven Deacons may have been of the Seventy, as *Stephen* and *Philip*. But we do not know, that they were. It is very probable, that all those Deacons were not of the Seventy, particularly, *Nicolas* a proselyte, of *Antioch*. If *Luke*, the Evangelist, be the same as *Lucius*, of *Cyrene*, there ariseth a strong objection against his having been one of the Seventy. *Simeon called Niger*, and *Lucius of Cyrene*, mentioned *Acts* xiii. 1. and the men of *Cyprus* and *Cyrene*, (of whom those two, just mentioned, were a part) were early believers, after Christ's ascension, and they may have heard and seen the Lord in person. But they cannot be well supposed to have been of the Seventy. Christ's twelve Apostles were of *Galilee*. It is likely, that the Seventy also were of the same country, or near it. Christ sent them forth from him, to go over the land of *Israel*, and to return to him in a short time, where he should be. And his usual residence was in *Galilee*. It does not appear to me at all probable, that our Lord put into that commission any men, who were born, and usually resided abroad, in other countreys, out of the land of *Israel*.

Hitherto, then, we have not any full proof, that our Evangelist was one of the Seventy. Let us proceed.

St. *Luke* ch. xxiv. 13. . . 34. relates how two disciples met Jesus after his resurrection, as they were going to *Emmaus*. And he says, that the name of one of them was *Cleophas*. *Theophylact* in his comment upon this place, as (h) formerly shewn, observes: "Some (i) say, that one of these two was *Luke* himself: but that the Evangelist concealed his own name." *Nicephorus Callisti* (k) in one place, makes not doubt, that *Luke* was the other disciple not named. It is likely, that he had met with it in more ancient writers. *Sam. Basnage* (l) readily declares himself of the

(g) Τῶν δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν κατάλογος μὲν ἔδειξ ὑδαμῇ φέρεται. *H. E.* l. i. c. 12.

(h) *Vol. xi. p. 423.*

(i) Τινὲς τὸν ἕνα τῶν τῶν δύο αὐτὸν τὸν λουκᾶν εἶναι φασί· διὸ καὶ ἀπέκρυψε τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ὄνομα ὁ ἐναγγελιστής. *Theoph. in Luc. cap. xxiv. p. 539.*

(k) Τοῖς περὶ λουκᾶν καὶ κλεόπαν τὴν ὁδὸν παρῆναι γνωρίζεται, πρὸς ἐσπέραν εἰς ἑσπῆρον αὐτοῖς συγκατακλιθεῖς. *Niceph. l. i. c. 34. p. 117.*

(l) Nulla sane magis idonea ratio observatur animo, cur Cleopæ, non alterius, Lucas meminerit: quomodo Joannes, ubi de se mentionem agitat, nomen

the same opinion. Indeed, I think, it has a great appearance of probability. It is much more likely, than the tradition, or interpretation in *Epiphanius*, that (m) it was *Nathanael*. The same *Basnage* says that if *Nathanael* had been the other, *St. Luke* would have named him.

St. Mark ch. xvi. 12. 13. has a like account, but briefer, of two, to whom Christ appeared, as *they were walking into the country*. He does not name either of them. *Grotius* (n) allows, that *Mark's* and *Luke's* histories are of the same persons. Both the Evangelists speak of these as *two of them*. They were not of the Twelve, but yet they were of their company, such as had been with Jesus: as is allowed by (o) *Grotius*, and (p) *Beza*. Nevertheless they say, that (q) *Luke* is not the other. He is excluded, as they say, by the tenour of his introductions both to his Gospel, and the Acts. Their reasonings will be considered presently.

However, supposing *Luke* to be the person here intended, I do not think, that he is thereby shewn to be one of the Seventy. *Cleophas* and the other were disciples of Christ, and eye-witnesses. But it does not therefore follow, that they were of the number of the Seventy.

We proceed. Among the Salutations in the epistle to the *Romans* are these. ch. xvi. 20. *Timothie my work-fellow, and Lucius, and Jason, and Sosipater, my kinsmen, salute you*. All these were Jewish believers, and the three last mentioned, as it seems, were the Apostle's relations. That by *Lucius* some supposed the Evangelist *Luke* to be intended, we have been informed by so ancient a writer as *Origen*. And it is very likely, that *St. Luke's* name was writ differently: *Lucas, Lucius, and Lucanus*. There is the more reason to think, that the Evangelist is here intended, because he must have been with the Apostle at the time of writing the epistle to the *Romans*. Says Mr. *Tillemont*: "Many (r) believe, that *St. Luke* is he, whom *St. Paul* in his epistle to the *Romans* calls

nomen dissimulat suum. Si de grege Apostolorum fuissent, aut virorum multa laude in Evangelio celebratorum, uti Nathanael, quod Epiphanio visum, iterum atque iterum dicemus, tam ejus quam Cleopæ nomen scenerasset. *Ann.* 33. num. CL.

(m) See vol. viii. p. 316.

(n) Quare immerito Enthyimius hic aliam putat historiam indicari, quam eam, quæ a Luca copiose describitur. *Grot. ad Marc. xvi. 12.*

(o) . . . δυνὶ ἐκ αὐτῶν] τῶν μετὰ ἰησοῦ γενομένων, ut supra dixit ver. 10. Nam hoc nomine etiam alii extra xii. censentur, præcipue qui de numero erant illorum septuaginta. *Grot. ad Marc. xvi. 11.*

(p) Ex iis, ἐξ αὐτῶν, nempe discipulis, non autem ex Apostolis. Aliorum enim præter Apostolos mentio facta fuit præcedente versu 9. *Bez. in Luc. xxiv. 13.*

(q) Alterum fuisse hunc nostrum Lucam, quidam ex veteribus arbitrantur, quorum opinio refellitur ex præfatione Actis Apostolorum præposita. *Bez. ad Luc. xxiv. 18.*

Duo ex illis, nempe eorum, quos modo λοιπῶν, *ceterorum* nomine designarat, et sectatoribus Christi. Probabiliter sentiunt Veteres, fuisse hos de numero LXX. . . Nomen alterius infra exprimit Lucas, Cleopam vocans. Alterum ipsum Lucam multi putârunt, quos satis ipse refellit in Evangelii anteloquio, ab oculatis testibus se separans. *Grot. ad Luc. xxiv. 13.*

(r) *Mem. Ec. Tom. 2. S. Luc.*

“ calls *Lucius*, making his name a little more Latin. And it is the more likely, inasmuch as the Acts assure us, that St. *Luke* was then with St. *Paul*. If that be so, he was related to this Apostle.” *Grotius*, who supposed our Evangelist to have been of *Antioch*, taking notice of the above-mentioned observation of *Origen*, says, that (s) *Lucius*, in Rom. xvi. is the same, as *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, mentioned Acts xiii. 1.

Fabricius (t) esteemed it somewhat probable, that *Lucius* is the Evangelist.

Dr. *Heumann* supposes (u) this *Lucius* to be St. *Luke*, and the same as *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, whom (x) he computes to be one of the seventy Disciples, as before seen.

Mr. *Basnage* likewise argues very strongly, that (y) *Lucius* is our Evangelist.

Indeed this opinion cannot be well said to be destitute of probability: since there is a good deal of reason to think, that *Luke* was in the Apostle's company, when he wrote the epistle to the *Romans*. And if *Lucius* be not he, no mention is made of him. Which is very unlikely.

If this be our Evangelist, we hence learn, that he was a Jew, and related to the Apostle. And if this be *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, we know his character, and, in part, his historie, from Acts xi. 19. . 21. and xiii. 1. . . 4. He was an early Jewish believer after Christ's ascension, and together with others was very serviceable in early preaching the gospel to Jews and Gentils out of *Judea*. And, once more, if the other, who accompanied

(s) Docet nos *Origenes*, in annotationibus epistolæ ad Romanos, fuisse qui crederent *Lucium* eum, qui in eadem epistola nominatur. xvi. 21. esse hunc ipsum *Lucam*, et *Lucium* dici flexione Romana, *Lucam* Græca. Ego *Lucium* illum, cujus ibi meminit *Paulus*, puto non alium esse a *Cyrenensi*, quem noster hic nominat Actor. xiii. 1. *Grot. Pref. ad Evang. S. Luc.*

(t) Fuerunt enim jam olim, qui teste *Origene* *Lucam* eundem putârunt cum *Lucio*, quem *Paulus* inter συγγενεῖς suos refert Rom. xvi. 21. Neque verisimilitudine destituitur hæc sententia. *Fab. Bib. Gr. ubi supra. p. 132.*

(u) *Lucas* non est verum, id est, pure expressum nomen Evangelistæ, sed vel *Lucanus*, (quem in modum ut ex *Silvanus* factum est *Silas*) vel *Lucius*. Ac perverisimile est, Evangelistam nostrum esse *Lucium* illum *Cyrenæum*, cujus fit mentio Act. xiii. 1. Quem nec diversum esse credo ab illo *Lucio*, quem *Paulus* Rom. xvi. 21. vocat cognatum suum, simulque testatur, eum in suo comitatu fuisse. *Heuman. Ep. Misc. T. 2. p. 519.*

(x) Jure igitur credimus, et hos quatuor [Act. xiii. 1.] fuisse e septuaginta illorum discipulorum numero. Jam inter hos si *Lucius* non est alius quam *Lucas* Evangelista, merito et *Lucam* nostrum recensemus inter septuaginta illos discipulos. *Diff. de Lxx. Christi Legat. § xx. p. 149.*

(y) *Lucam* Evangelistam *Paulo* consanguineum fuisse verisimilitudinis multum habet. *Lucium* sane, cujus nomine *Romanos* salutatur Apostolus, ex ipsius cognatis unus erat. Sunt vero non pertenuis conjecturæ, quibus adducamur ad existimandum unum eundemque virum cum *Luca* *Lucium* esse. Quæ antiqua sane sententia fuit, cujus meminit *Origenes* in Rom. xvi. . . . *Silam* quidem *Paulus* ipse *Silvanum* vocat. Aderat etiam *Paulo* comes *Lucas*, cum missa est ad *Romanos* epistola, quem insalutatos præterisse, prorsus sit incredibile: quod tamen factum fuisset, si *Lucius* est a *Luca* diversus. *Basn. ann. 60. n. xxxiii.*

companied *Cleophas* in the way to *Emmaus*, be *Luke* the Evangelist, he was a disciple and eye-witnesse of Jesus Christ. But I do not say, one of the Seventy.

Now we come to consider the objection of *Beza*, *Grotius*, and divers others: who have supposed, that *St. Luke*, in the introduction to his Gospel, excludes himself from the number of eye-witnesses. But though this has been a difficulty with many, there have been of late divers learned men, remarkable for inquisitiveness, and good judgement, who are not much moved by it. One of them is *Dr. Whitby*, in his preface to *St. Luke's* Gospel, already taken notice of by us. Another (z) *Fabricius*, a third (a) *Basnage*, the fourth *Heumann*: who in his forecited Dissertation observes, that (b) *St. Luke's* introduction imports no more, than that he was not an eye-witnesse from the beginning, nor an Apostle. But he may have been for some while a follower of Christ very consistently with what he there writes. And, probably, he was so. But he very fitly puts the credit and authority of his historie upon the testimonie of the Apostles.

I shall likewise transcribe below a passage of *Petavius* (c) from his *Animad-*

(z) Neque obstat porro, quod Lucas affirmat, se ea scribere, quæ acceperit ab illis, qui fuissent ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀυτόπται. Nam non de omnibus LXX dici hoc poterat, quod Act. i. 21. et seq. ad Apostolum requiritur. *Bib. Gr. T. 3. p. 133.*

(a) *Ann. 60. num. xxviii.*

(b) Repugnare quidem videri possit ipse Lucas cap. i. 2. scribens, se quæ tradat accepisse α τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀυτόπται. Verum non se negat fuisse ἀυτόπτην, qui negat, se ἀυτόπτην ἀπ' ἀρχῆς fuisse. Concedimus itaque, non ab initio statim, uti Apostolos, quos ἰησοῦς τῷ λόγῳ appellat, interfuisse rebus a Christo gestis Lucam. Sed aliquo jam tempore functo suo munere Messia se applicuisse Lucam, et postea semper in ejus comitatu fuisse, quo minus credamus, hoc ipsius testimonium minime impedit. Accedit, quod modestia erat, Apostolorum potius, quam suum ipsius testimonium commendare, jubereque lectores, si forte sibi creditari sint ægrius, fidem habere Apostolis, testibus nulli obnoxii exceptioni. *Heum. Diff. ib. num. xx.*

(c) Quod Lucas & discipulorum numero fuerit, asserit et Dorotheus in Synopsi . . . Sed contra sentiunt plerique, et id ex ipsis Lucæ verbis colligunt, cum ait: Ἐδοξε καὶ μοι . . . Sed tantum abest, ut hæc discipulum Christi fuisse, ac non pleraque, cum ab eo gererentur, oculis usurpasse negent, ut contrarium potius hinc elici possit. Verbum enim παρεκκληθεῖν nonnunquam ad eam notitiam refertur, quæ oculis ipsis, ac propria intelligentia comparatur, non aliorum sermonibus. Ut cum Demosthenes ἐν τῷ περὶ παραπρεσβείας, de Æschine, cujus in legatione comes fuerat, sic loquitur: Καὶ ὁ τότε ποιηθέντων εἰδώς, καὶ παρεκκληθηκώς ἅπασιν κατηγορεῶ. Sic igitur Lucas ἀγωνεν παρεκκληθηκέναι πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς dicitur, hoc est, comperta, explorataque, ac spectata etiam, habuisse. Ac videri potest, et nonnulla hæc antithesis esse, ut cum superiore versu dixerit: Quemadmodum multi res a Christo gestas scribere aggressi sunt, καθὼς παρείσαντο ἡμῖν ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, statim subjiciat: Ἐδοξε καὶ μοι παρεκκληθηκότι, hoc est, qui non, ut illi ἐκ παραδόσεως, sed ex propria id scientia compererim. Ceterum tamen ad eum sensum accommodari Lucæ verba nihil prohibet, non fidecirco tamen Christi discipulum fuisse certo pronunciare ausim: cum huic adversari sententiæ longe plures Patres intelligant. Sed ista commemoravi, ut ne Lucæ ipsi de se testanti refragari quisquam Epiphanium arbitretur. *Petavi. Animadv. in Epiphani. Her. li. num. xi. p. 89. 90.*

Animadversions upon *Epiphanius*, though it be somewhat long. I do it the rather, because he is an older author than any of those, hitherto cited in behalf of this interpretation. He is considering what *Epiphanius* says of *Luke's* being one of Christ's seventy disciples. The sum of what he advanceth is to this purpose: "He dares not affirm, that *Luke* " was a disciple of Christ, because many of the Fathers have thought " otherwise. But he says, there is nothing in *St. Luke's* introduction to " induce us to think, he was not a disciple of Christ, or that he had not " seen a large part of the things related by him: but rather the contrarie. " And he was willing to shew, that *Epiphanius* is not contradicted by *St. Luke* himself."

7. *St. Luke* was for a good while a constant companion of *St. Paul*. But he was also acquainted with other Apostles.

Tertullian, and *Chrysostom*, as we have seen, call *St. Paul* *Luke's* Master. But they need not be understood to intend, that *Luke* learned nothing from other Apostles. So *Irenaeus* said: "*Luke*, the companion of "*Paul*, put down in a book the Gospel that had been preached by *Paul*." But in another place he says: "That (*) *Luke* was a fellow-laborer of " the Apostles, especially, of *Paul*." And in another place he calls *Luke* (**) "a follower and disciple of the Apostles." And *Eusebius* said "*Luke* was for the most part a companion of *Paul*, but had also more " than a slight acquaintance with the other Apostles." And *Jerome* says: "It was supposed, that *Luke* did not learn his Gospel from the Apostle "*Paul* only, who had not conversed with the Lord in the flesh, but also " from other Apostles. Which also he acknowledgeth at the beginning " of his volume, saying: *Even as they delivered them unto us, who from the " beginning were eye-witnesses of the word.*"

That must be right, I think, because it is agreeable to the writer's own words in the introduction to his work. I always consider *Paul* as an eye-witness. But he was not an eye-witness from the beginning: nor a minister of the word, from the beginning. He must have had a distinct knowledge of all things concerning the Lord Jesus. Christianity, as has been often, and justly said, is founded in facts. In order to preach it, *Paul* must have had a knowledge of Christ's life, preaching, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension. As he was not instructed by other Apostles in the doctrine preached by him, he must have had it from revelation. And I suppose, that a man, who, like *Luke*, often heard *Paul* preach, might have composed a Gospel, or historie of Jesus Christ from *Paul's* sermons, preached in divers places, and to men of all characters. And the ancients seem to have supposed, that *Luke* had thereby great assistances for composing his Gospel. Which I do not deny. Nevertheless it seems fairly to be concluded from his own introduction, that he had consulted others also.

It might not be amiss, if I had room for such observations, to compare *St. Luke's* Gospel and the historical parts of *St. Paul's* Epistles, and

(*) Quoniam non solum prosequutor, sed et cooperarius fuerit Apostolorum, maxime autem Pauli. *Iren. l. 3. c. 14. n. 1. p. 201. b.*

(**) Lucas autem sectator et discipulus Apostolorum. *Ibid. cap. x. [al. xi.] in p. 189.*

and also of his discourses recorded by *Luke* himself in the book of the *Acts*. It is reasonable to think, that wherever any disciples of *Jesus* preached the Christian Religion, they gave an account of the things concerning *Christ*. Wherever the Apostles, or others, preached, in order to induce faith in *Jesus* and his doctrine, their first discourses must have been historical. The reason of the thing leads us to this. And we are assured of it from their discourses, of which we have an account. We perceive this in the discourses of *St. Peter* at *Jerusalem*. *Acts* ii. 22. . . . 36. iii. 12. . . 26. iv. 10. and at the house of *Cornelius* in *Cæsarea*, x. 34. . . 43. from *Paul's* discourses in the synagogue at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*. Ch. xiii. 23. . . 38. at *Athens*, xvii. 31. at *Corinth*, xix. 8. before the Governor *Festus*, and King *Agrippa*, ch. xxvi. and at *Rome*: though then many years had passed, since the ascension of *Christ*, and since his religion had begun to be preached, and propagated in the world. *St. Luke's* general account of *Paul* there is thus: *And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ.* xxviii. 30. 31. "That is, says (d) *Grotius*, his miracles, "doctrine, death, resurrection, and the mission of the Spirit: by which "things men were assured, that the heavenly kingdom was set up." And this may have been the occasion of the frequent use of those expressions, *preaching Christ*, and *preaching Jesus Christ*, as equivalent to preaching the Christian Religion, or the doctrine of the Gospel.

I must own, that in the survey of *St. Luke's* Gospel, and *St. Paul's* discourses and epistles, I have not discerned any such special agreement, as to be induced to think, that one of them had copied the other.

St. Paul says, at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, *Acts* xiii. 23. *Of this man's seed has God raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus.* And 2 *Tim.* ii. 8. *Remember, that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead, according to my gospel.* These things are agreeable to *St. Luke's* Gospel. But they are also in *St. Matthew's*. And must have been taught by all the Apostles, and all preachers of the gospel.

Acts xx. 35: *And to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said: It is more blessed to give, than to receive.* That saying of our Lord is not recorded by *St. Luke* in his Gospel, nor by any other of the Evangelists.

1 *Cor.* xv. 5. . . 7. *And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the Twelve. After that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once. . . After that he was seen of James, then of all the Apostles!* *St. Luke's* account of our Saviour's appearances after his resurrection are in ch. xxiv. and *Acts* i. 1. . . 12. And if they are observed, I suppose, that no remarkable agreement between *Paul* and *Luke* will be discerned, but rather the contrary. The five hundred brethren, mentioned by *St. Paul*, probably, saw *Jesus* in *Galilee*: where, as in *Matth.* xxvi. 32. xxviii. 7. and *Mark* xvi. 7. he appointed to meet the disciples. But of this there is nothing in *St. Luke*. And all our Saviour's appearances to the disciples, mentioned

(d) *Miracula ejus, et præcepta, et mortem, et resurrectionem, et missionem Spiritus Sancti. Per quæ certi fiebant homines de regno illo cœlesti. Grot. ad Act. xxviii. 31.*

tioned by him, were at *Jerusalem*, or in it's neighborhood. Nor does *Luke* give any hint of that particular appearance to *James*, mentioned by *St. Paul*. Not now to add any thing farther.

However, I shall transcribe below (e) some observations of *Mr. Wetstein*, relating to this matter.

8. It may be reckoned probable, that *St. Luke* died a natural death: forasmuch as none of the most ancient writers, such as *Clement of Alexandria*, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Jerome*, say any thing of his martyrdom. *Gregorie Nazianzen*, in (f) one of his orations, seems to put *Luke* among Martyrs. Nevertheless, as is well observed by (g) *Tillemont*, *Elias Gretensis*, in the eighth centurie, famous for his Commentaries upon *Gregorie*, supposeth it certain, that (h) *Luke* did not dye a Martyr any more than *John*, the Apostle and Evangelist: but that after having suffered much in the cause of Christ, and the gospel, he returned in peace to the God of peace. *Gaudentius*, Bishop of *Brescia*, about 387. observes, that (i) in his time it was generally said, that *Luke* and *Andrew* finished their course at *Patra* in *Achaia*. He does not say, in the way of martyrdom. I do not perceive *Paulinus*, about the year 403. to (k) celebrate *Luke*, as a Martyr, but rather *Nazarius*, mentioned in the next verse. If Martyr belongs to *Luke*, it may be understood in a general sense, as equivalent to Confessor, or a great sufferer for the gospel.

9. *Cave* says, that (l) *Luke* lived a single life, and died in the 84. year of his age, about the year of Christ 70. but of what death, is uncertain. And it is true, that *Nicophorus*, in the fourteenth centurie, says, that (m) *Luke* died in the 80. year of his age. And in some editions of *Jerome's* book of Illustrious Men there is a passage, near the end of the article of *St. Luke*, importing, that he lived 84. years in celibacie. But *Martianus*, the learned Benedictin editor of *Jerome's* works, says,

(e) Si Lucas vel Pauli hortatu, vel peculiari Spiritus Sancti afflatu ad scribendum impulsus fuisset, rem memoratu tam dignam . . . silentio neutiquam transiisset. Quod vero quidam existimant, ex locis 2 Tim. ii. 8. et 1 Cor. xv. 4. collatis cum Luc. x, 7. et xxiv. 34. probari, Lucæ, quod dicitur, Evangelium ad Paulum potius auctorem esse referendum, nobis parum fit verosimile. *Wetstein. ad Luc. cap. i. ver. 3. Tom. i. p. 644.*

(f) *Orat. 3. p. 76.*

(g) *St. Luc. Mem. Ec. T. 2.*

(h) Quippe ne longe abeam, Joannes . . . et item Lucas haudquaquam interempti fuere, verum cum permultas propter Christum et ejus evangelium calamitates pertulissent, in pace ad eum qui pacis Deus est, reversi sunt. *El. Cr. Annot. p. 322. 323.*

(i) Andreas et Lucas apud Patras, Achaia civitatem, consummati referuntur. *Gaud. Serm. 17. ap. Bib. PP. Tom. 5. p. 969. C.*

(k) Hic pater Andreas, et magno nomine Lucas, Martyr et illustri sanguine Nazarius.

Paulin. Ep. 32. p. 210. Conf. Annot. p. 75. Paris 1685.

(l) Vitam egit cœlibem, ac mortuus est anno ætatis 84. circa annum (ut nonnulli volunt) 70. Quo vero mortis genere incertum est. *Hist. Lit. p. 25.*

(m) Ὁ γδοήκοντα ἔτην γερόμενος, ὡς φασιν. *Niceph. l. 2. c. 43.*

says, that (n) passage is not in any manuscripts. Nor does he know, whence that silly fiction was borrowed. *Fabricius* (o) confirms that account.

IV. There is no great difficulty in settling the time of St. *Luke's* writing his Gospel. The Acts of the Apostles were published in 63. or 64. and not long after his Gospel, as is generally allowed. Accordingly Dr. *Mill* (p) supposeth those books to have been two parts of one and the same volume, and to have been published in the year of Christ 64.

The Time of this Gospel.

This argument was represented at length (q) formerly. The reader is referred to it, that I may not enlarge upon it in this place.

V. However, I cannot forbear to observe some marks *Marks of Time in the Gospel itself.*

1. The occasion of writing it, as St. *Luke* assures us in the introduction, was, that *many* had already published narrations of these things. But it cannot be reasonably thought, that many should have writ histories of Jesus Christ presently after his ascension, nor indeed till many years after it.

2. There are several things in the Gospel, from which it may be fairly argued, that it was not writ, till after *Peter* and *Paul*, and perhaps other Apostles likewise, had preached to Gentils, and received them into the Church, without their embracing the peculiarities of the law of Moses.

3. In ch. ii. 10. the angel says to the shepherds near *Bethlehem*: *I bring you good tidings of great joy to all people.* At ver. 30. . . 32. *Simeon* says, at the presentation of Jesus in the temple: *Mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people: a light to lighten the Gentils, and the glorie of thy people Israel.* In ch. iii. 8. says *John* the Baptist: *God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham.* And I might here refer to ch. i. 78. 79. I suppose, that when St. *Luke* recorded these things, he understood them. Which he could not do, till after the gospel had been freely and fully published among Gentils.

4. That St. *Luke* understood the spirituality of the doctrine of the gospel, may be concluded from the account, which he has given of our Lord's discourse, recorded ch. vi. 20. . . 49. I might for this refer to ch. i. 74. 75. and other places.

5. Ch. vii. 9. When our Lord had heard the centurion's profession of faith, *he marvelled at him, and said: I have not found so great faith, no*
not

3

(n) Falso additur in hoc loco: *Vixit octoginta et quatuor annos, uxorem non habens.* Nullum existat vestigium horum verborum in manuscriptis codicibus. Neque novi, unde putida hæc commenta fluxerint. *Martian.*

(o) Sed illa *Erasmus*, *Martinus Lipsius*, et *Suffridus Petri*, in exemplaribus suis missi non invenerunt. *Fabr. in loc. ap. Bib. Eccles.*

(p) Voluminibus hujus D. *Lucæ* partem posteriorem, seu λόγον δεύτερον quod attinet, librum dico Actuum Apostolorum, haud dubium est, quin is scriptus fuerit statim post λόγον πρώτον, sive Evangelium. *Poleg. num. 121.*

(q) See in this volume ch. iv. sect. iv.

not in Israel. In Matth. viii. 11. 12. is a farther enlargement. The like to which may be seen in Luke xiii. 28. . . 30.

6. In ch. xiii. 6. . . 9. is the parable of *the fig-tree, spared one year more*: representing the ruin of the Jewish church and people as near, if they did not speedily repent.

7. In ch. xi. 48. . . 51. are predictions of the calamities coming upon the Jewish people. In ch. xiii. 34. 35. are our Lord's lamentations over the city of *Jerusalem*, in the view of the calamities coming upon it. See likewise xvii. 22. . . 37. xix. 11. . . 27. xx. 9. . . 18. xxi. 5. . . 11 and ver. 20. . . 35. As *St. Luke* enlargeth so much in his accounts of these predictions, it may be argued, that the accomplishment was not far off, when he wrote.

8. In ch. xiv. 16. . . 24. is the parable of *a great supper*. When they who were first invited, refused to come. Whereupon the invitations were enlarged, and made more general. And in the end he who made the supper declares, that *they who were first bidden, should not taste of it*: representing the call of the Gentils, and the general rejection of the Jews for their unbelief.

9. In ch. xiii. 18. . . 21. are the parables of the *grain of mustard-seed* and *leaven*, representing the wonderful progress of the gospel: of which, probably, *St. Luke* had been witness, when he recorded them.

10. Ch xxiv. 46 47. . . *And he said unto them. . . that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.* When *St. Luke* wrote this, it is very likely, that he well understood the commission of the Apostles, as reaching to men of all denominations, throughout the whole world.

11. But I need not enlarge farther on these internal characters of time, the other argument being sufficient and satisfactory.

The Place, where VI. I must say something concerning the place, *it was writ.* where *St. Luke's Gospel* was writ.

Jerome, as before (r) quoted, in the prologue to his Commentarie upon *St. Matthew*, says, that (s) *Luke*, the third Evangelist, published his Gospel in the countreys of *Achaia* and *Boeötia*. In his book of *Illustrious Men* he says; the (t) Acts were writ at *Rome*. *Gregorie Nazianzen* says, that (u) *Luke* wrote for the *Greeks*, or in *Achaia*. And speaking of the provinces of divers of the Apostles and Evangelists, he (x) assigns *Judea* to *Peter*, the Gentils to *Paul*, *Achaia* to *Luke*, *Epirus* to *Andrew*, *Ephesus* or *Asia* to *John*, *India* to *Thomas*, *Italie* to *Mark*: in which countrey, undoubtedly, many of the ancients believed this last mentioned Evangelist to have writ his Gospel. *Chrysostom* does not say, where *Luke* wrote: but only that (y) he wrote for all in general.

We are told by (z) *Philostorge*, that in the reign of the Emperour *Constan-*

(r) *Vol. x. p. 84. 85.*

(s) In *Achaia Boeotiaque partibus volumen condidit. Ibid.*

(t) *Ib. p. 95.*

(u) *Vol. ix. p. 133.*

(x) *Εγω πῆρες ἡ Ἰουδαία, τὶ πάντων καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ πρὸς ἀχαιοὺν . . . μακεδὸν πρὸς ἰταλίαν. Gregor. Or. 25. p. 438. A.*

(y) *Vol. x. p. 318.*

(z) *Vol. vii. p. 317.*

Constantius St. Luke's reliques were translated from *Achaia* to *Constantinople*. It must therefore have been the general persuasion in those times that St. Luke had died, and had been buried in *Achaia*. *Nicephorus* says, that (a) when *Paul* left *Rome*, *Luke* returned to *Greece*, where he preached the gospel, and converted many: where also he suffered martyrdom, and was buried. Soon afterwards he says, that (b) in the reign of *Constantius* *Luke's* body was translated from *Thebes* to *Constantinople*. The connection leads us by *Thebes* to understand *Thebes* in *Greece*.

Grotius says, he thinks, that (c) about the time that *Paul* left *Rome*, *Luke* also went thence into *Achaia*, and there wrote his books, which we have, as *Jerome* likewise says. *Cave* thought, that (d) both St. *Luke's* books were writ at *Rome*, and before *Paul's* captivity there was at an end.

But by *Mill*, *Grabe*, and *Wetstein*, it is said, that *Luke* published his Gospel at *Alexandria*, in *Egypt*. Let us observe their proofs.

First of all (e) *Mill* and (f) *Wetstein* quote *Oecumenius*, as saying, that *Luke* preached at *Thebes* in *Egypt*. Nevertheless I do not find it in *Oecumenius*. And I suppose, that *Simeon Metaphrastes*, a writer of no great credit, in the tenth century, in his life of St. *Luke*, is their authority. For he is the writer quoted by (g) *Grabe*, though he does it cautiously. Nor does *Metaphrastes* say, that St. *Luke* published his Gospel in *Egypt*. He supposeth it to have been writ before he went thither. For he says, that (h) when *Luke* preached there, he sometimes argued from the Old Testament, and sometimes from the Gospel, which he had writ.

It may be reckoned probable therefore, that this journey of St. *Luke* into *Egypt* is a mere fiction, a thing without ground ascribed to him by some, after he had left *Paul*, and after he had writ his Gospel.

Nevertheless

(a) Συνδιάγων δ' ἐν ῥώμῃ τῷ παύλῳ, ἐπαίνει τῇ ἐλλάδι αὐτοῖς. κ. λ. *Niceph.* l. 2. cap. 43. p. 210. (b)

(b) *Ibid.* C.

(c) Puto autem Româ iisse Lucam in Achaïam, atque ibi ab eo conscriptos quos habemus libros. Quod et Hieronymus prodidit. *Grot. Præf. in Evang. Luc.*

(d) Utrumque anno Christi 59 S. Paulo nondum ex carcere dimisso, scripsisse videtur. *In Luca H. L. p. 25.*

(e) Certe post discessum a Româ Libyam petiisse nostrum hunc Evangelistam, ac apud Thebanos verbum prædicasse testatur Oecumenius comment. in Lucam. *Mill. Prol. n. 114.*

(f) . . . vel secundum Hieronymum . . . in Achaïæ Boeotiæque finibus, qui tamen Thebas Ægyptias, ubi teste Oecumenio Lucas prædicavit, pro Boeotiis accepisse videtur. *Wetst. N. T. Tom. i. p. 643.*

(g) Taceo recentiores, veluti Simeonem Metaphrasten, qui in Vita S. Luca Græce et Latine edita ad calcem commentariorum Oecumenii. p. 857. D. ita scribit: Totam Libyam percurrens in Ægyptum pervenit. &c. *Grabe Spic. T. i. p. 33.*

(h) Καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς περάγων χαρῆς, νῦν δὲ ἀφ' ἑπερ ἕτος ἀνιστάτο ἐναγγελίᾳ διεκμνηνὺν αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ χρεῖσθ. *Sim. Metaphr. de Vit. S. Luca, p. 858. B.*

Nevertheless those learned men (i) have been pleased to argue from this passage of *Metaphrastes*, that *Jerome* mistook *Thebes* in *Boëotia* for *Thebes* in *Egypt*. Which appears to me to be altogether arbitrarie. I should rather think, that some later writer mistook the place, and instead of *Thebes* in *Boëotia*, thought of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, a very famous city, and better known to himself than the other.

It may be of use to take here more at large the passage of *Nicephorus*, in part quoted just now. “*Luke*, (k) says he, was born at *Antioch*, which “is in *Syria*, by profession a Physician, and also well skilled in painting. “He came to *Paul* at *Thebes* with it’s seven gates: where renouncing “the error of his ancestors, he embraced the Christian doctrine, and “of a Physician for the body, became a Physician for the Soul. He likewise wrote a Gospel, as *Paul* dictated it to him, and also the Acts of “the Apostles. Whilst *Paul* was at *Rome*, [or, When *Paul* had been “at *Rome*] he returned into (D) *Greece*.” This, I think, must confirm our supposition, that somebody mistook *Thebes* in *Egypt* for *Thebes* in *Boëotia*. It is plain, that *Nicephorus* means *Thebes* of *Greece*. And he seems to have supposed, in this place, that *Luke* was converted about the time he came to be with *Paul* in *Macedonia* and *Greece*. See Acts xvi. 10. He says, *Luke* returned into *Greece*. Therefore the *Thebes* before-mentioned must have been in that countrey. Nor was *Paul* ever at *Thebes* in *Egypt*. *Luke* therefore could not meet him, and be converted by him there. He calls it *Thebes* with it’s seven gates. So (l) *Thebes* in *Boëotia* was sometimes called.

Secondly. Another argument, that St. *Luke*’s Gospel was writ at *Alexandria*, is, that (m) it is so said in the *Syriac* version.

But those titles are of no great weight. Before the three Catholic Epistles, received by the *Syrians*, is a title or inscription, importing, that (n) they were writ by the Apostles, *James*, *Peter*, and *John*, witnesses of

(i) Neque aliunde in aliam sententiam ductum arbitror Hieronymum, qui in Achaia Boeotiaque finibus hoc Evangelium conditum ait, quam quod seu lecto, seu ex traditione alicubi accepto, Lucam apud Thebanos prædicasse, ac conscripisse Evangelium, incolas istos fuisse existimarit Thebarum Boeotiarum, non autem Thebarum urbis Aegypti superioris. Mill. Prol. n. 115. *Via, et Wetstein. citat. supra not. (f).*

(k) *Niceph. l. 2. cap. 43. p. 210. A. B.*

(D) All must be sensible, that this storie of *Nicephorus* is very strange. For in one place he without hesitation speaks of St. *Luke*, as the companion of *Cleophas*, mentioned *Luke* xxiv. 18. *Lib. 1. cap. 34. p. 117. A.* And he several times speaks of *Mark* and *Luke*, as two of Christ’s seventy disciples. *Lib. 2. cap. 43. et in cap. 45. p. 213. B. κὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁ δύο ἑτάροις, μάρτυρον κὶ ἀποστόλων.*

(l) *Vid. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

(m) Ita quippe sonat titulus ejus in versione Syriaca, ante mille annos edita: Evangelium Lucæ Evangelistæ, quod protulit et evangelizavit Græce in Alexandria magna. *Græc. Spic. T. i. p. 33. Conf. Mill. Prol. n. 114.*

(n) Sanctorum Apostolorum, Jacobi, Petri, Johannis, transfigurationis Christi spectatorum, epistolæ singulæ.

of our Saviour's transfiguration, taking James to be the son of Zebedee: whereas the epistle of James could not be writ till long after his death, who was beheaded by Herod Agrippa, as related Acts xii. 1. 2. And St. Paul's second epistle to Timothy (o) is said by the same Syrian, to have been writ at Rome, and sent by Luke. Which is manifestly contrarie to the epistle itself. See 2 Tim. iv. 11. 12.

St. Luke's Gospel is also said in the *Perfic* version, (p) to have been writ at *Alexandria*. But then it is allowed, that this version was made from the *Syriac*, not from the *Greek*.

Thirdly, it is also urged, that there are *epigraphai* or inscriptions in some manuscripts, at the end of this Gospel, where it is said, that it was writ in the great city of *Alexandria*.

But it is well known, that those inscriptions at the end of the books of the New Testament are of little value, divers of them containing manifest mistakes; and they are in late manuscripts only, or however, such as are not of the highest antiquity.

Fourthly. *Grabe* (q) likewise insists upon a passage in the Apostolical Constitutions, where the Apostles are brought in, relating what Bishops had been appointed by them in their own time. And it is said, that in *Alexandria*, *Anianus*, the first Bishop, was ordained by the Evangelist *Mark*, and *Avilius* by *Luke*, also Evangelist. And (r) *Mill* in like manner quotes the constitutions, after *Grabe*, though almost ashamed so to do.

But it should be considered, that the author of that work is anonymous, and unknown, and his time not certain. He says what he pleaseth. And has been convicted of falshood in such accounts (s) as these, as well as in others. It has very much the appearance of fiction, that the first Bishop of *Alexandria* should be ordained by *Mark*, and the second by *Luke*. And possibly it is a fiction of the writer himself. For I do not recollect, that this is said any where else. *Epiphanius*, as well as more ancient writers, must have been totally unacquainted with this ordination, and with St. Luke's journeys in *Egypt*. For he says, that (t)

this

(o) Ad Timotheum vero secunda Romæ scripta, fuit missa per eundem Lucam Medicum et Evangelistam. *Ebedjesu Catal. ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 12.*

(p) Et in versione Persica, quam tamen non ex Græco, sed Syriaco textu translata existimat admodum R. Waltonus: Evangelium Lucæ, quod lingua Græca Ægyptiaca in Alexandria scripsit. *Grab. ubi supr. p. 33.*

(q) Atque hoc non parum confirmatur ex eo quod lib. vii. Const. Apost. Clement. cap. 46. Lucas dicatur Alexandria fuisse, ibique Episcopum Avilium ordinasse. *Urbis Alexandrinorum Anianus primus a Marco Evangelista ordinatus est, secundus vero Avilius a Luca, et ipso Evangelista.* *Grabe ibid.*

(r) Et si Constitutionum Apostolicarum seu auctori seu consarcinatori fides, in ecclesia Alexandria, a Marco primum fundata. . . Avilium Aniani primi Episcopi successorem, ordinaverit. *Mill. Prol. n. 141.*

(s) See in this work vol. viii. p. 352.

(t) *Hær. L. i. num. xi. p. 433.*

this Evangelist preached the gospel in *Dalmatia*, *Gaul*, *Italie*, and *Macedonia*, but especially in *Gaul*.

Du Pin having taken notice of what is said relating to this matter in the inscriptions, which are in some manuscripts, the titles in the *Syriac* and *Perfic* versions, *Metaphrastes*, and the *Constitutions*, concludes: "All (u) these monuments deserve no credit. We ought to adhere to what is said by *Jerome*, as most probable: that this Gospel was composed in *Achaia*, or *Bœotia*."

Upon the whole, there appears not any good reason to say, that *St. Luke* wrote his Gospel at *Alexandria*, or that he preached at all in *Egypt*. It is more probable, that when he left *Paul*, he went into *Greece*, and there composed, or finished, and published his Gospel, and the *Acts* of the Apostles.

His Character. VII. I would now offer something by way of character of this Evangelist. But I shall do it briefly, and cautiously. And if I mention doubtful things doubtfully, I may hope to escape censure. It is probable, that he is *Lucius*, mentioned *Rom. xvi. 21*. If so, he was related to *St. Paul* the Apostle. And it is not unlikely, that that *Lucius* is the same as *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, mentioned by name. *Acts xiii. 1*. and in general with others. *ch. xi. 20*. It appears to me very probable, that *St. Luke* was a Jew by birth, and an early Jewish believer. This must be reckoned to be a kind of requisite qualification for writing a historie of Christ and the early preaching of his Apostles to advantage. Which, certainly, *St. Luke* has performed. I do not perceive sufficient reason to believe, that *Luke* was one of Christ's seventy disciples. But he may have been one of the two, whom our Lord met in the way to *Emmaus*, on the day of his resurrection, as related *Luke xxiv. 13. . . 35*. He is expressly stiled by the Apostle his fellow-laborer. *Philem. ver. 24*. If he be the person intended *Col. iv. 14*. (which seems very probable,) he was, or had been, by profession a Physician. And he was greatly valued by the Apostle, who calls him *beloved*. Which must be reckoned much to his honour. For nothing could be so likely to recommend any man to *St. Paul's* esteem, as faithfulness to the interests of pure religion. It is undoubted, that he accompanied *Paul*, when he first went into *Macedonia*. *Acts xvi. 8. . . 40*. And though we are not fully assured, that he continued to be with him constantly afterwards: we know, that he went with the Apostle from *Greece* through *Macedonia*, and *Asia*, to *Jerusalem*, and thence to *Rome*, where he stayed with him the whole two years of his imprisonment in that city. This alone makes out the space of above five years. And it is an attendance well becoming *Lucius* of *Cyrene*: to which no man could be more readily disposed, than one of the first preachers of the gospel to the Gentils. We do not exactly know, when *St. Luke* formed the design of writing his two books. But, probably, they are the labour of several years. During *St. Paul's* imprisonment in *Judea*, which lasted more than two years, and was a time of inaction for the Apostle, *St. Luke* had an opportunity for compleating his collections, and filling up his plan. For in that time unquestionably *Luke* conversed with many early

early Jewish believers, and eye-witnesses of the Lord, and some of the Apostles, who were still at *Jerusalem*. And I make no doubt, but that before that season he had conversed with several of the Apostles, and other eye-witnesses of our Lord's person and works. Nor can any hesitate to allow the truth of what is said by some of the ancients, that *Luke*, who for the most part was a companion of *Paul*, had likewise more than a slight acquaintance with the rest of the Apostles. Whilst he was with *Paul* at *Rome*, it is likely, that he had some leisure for composing, and writing. When *St. Paul* left *Rome*, I imagine, that *Luke* accompanied him no longer: but went into *Greece*, where he finished, and published, one after the other, his two books. Which he inscribed to *Theophilus*, an honorable friend, and a good Christian in that countrey. Here *Luke* died, and perhaps somewhat in years. Nor need it to be reckoned an improbable supposition, that he was older than the Apostle.

VIII. I shall conclude this chapter with some observations upon *St. Luke's* Gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles. But those upon his Gospel will chiefly relate to the introduction: though some were mentioned formerly.

*Observations
upon his Gospel.*

1. *St. Luke's* two books, his Gospel and the Acts, are inscribed to *Theophilus*. Whereby some understand any good Christian in general, others a particular person.

Epiphanius (x) speaks as if he was in doubt, whether thereby should be understood a particular person, or a lover of God in general. *Salvian* (y) seems to have supposed it to be only a feigned name.

Augustin (z) and *Chrysostom* (a), and many others, have thereby understood a real person. *Theophylact* expresseth himself after this manner: "*Theophilus*, (b) to whom *Luke* wrote, was a man of senatorian rank, and possibly a Governour: forasmuch as he calls him *most excellent*, the same title, which *Paul* useth in his addresses to *Felix* and *Festus*." *Oecumenius* says, "that (c) *Theophilus* was a Prefect or Governour." However, we have no particular account in the ancients, who he was, or of what countrey.

Cave (d) supposed *Theophilus* to have been a Nobleman of *Antioch*. And in his Lives of the Apostles and Evangelists (e) writ in English, he refers

(x) Εἰς ἓν τινὲ θεοφιλεῖ τότε γράφων τῷτο ἔλεγεν, ἢ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις θεὸν ἀγαπῶντι. *Epiph. Hær. LI. n. vii. p. 429. A.*

(y) Positus itaque in hoc ambiguae opinionis incerto, optimum fere credidit, ut beati Evangelistæ sacratissimum sequeretur exemplum: qui in utroque divini operis exordio Theophili nomen inscribens, cum ad hominem scripssse videatur, ad amorem Dei scripsit: hoc scilicet dignissimum esse judicans, ut ad ipsum affectum Dei scripta dirigeret, a quo ad scribendum impulsus esset. *Salvian. ad Salon. ep. 9. p. 215.*

(z) *De Consens. Evan. l. 4. c. 8. T. 3.*

(a) *Chrys. in Act. Hom. i. T. 9. p. 3. 4.*

(b) *See Vol. xi. p. 423.*

(c) *Ηγεμὼν ἦν οὗτος; ὁ θεόφιλος; &c. Comm. in Act. T. 2 p. 2 C.*

(d) Utrumque opus inscripsit, Theophilo optimati, (ut credere fas est,) Antiocheno. *Hist. Lit. in Luca.*

(e) *P. 224.*

refers to the Recognitions : where is mentioned a rich man of *Antioch*, of this name. But I do not esteem that to be any proof, that *St. Luke's Theophilus* was of *Antioch*. That fabulous writer is not speaking of *Paul*, nor of *Luke*, but of *Peter* : who, as he says, in (f) seven days converted ten thousand people at *Antioch*. And *Theophilus*, the greatest man in the city, turned his house into a church. Moreover, supposing him to intend *St. Luke's Theophilus*, his authority is of no value. A writer at the end of the second centurie does not speak of his own knowledge. And if *St. Luke* published his books in *Greece*, which to me seems probable, I should be inclined to think, that *Theophilus*, to whom they are addressed, was a man of the same country.

2. It may be of more importance to enquire, whom *St. Luke* means by the *many*, who before him had attempted to write histories of *Jesus Christ*. *Epiphanius* says, that (g) *St. Luke* intended *Cerinthus*, *Merinthus*, and others. How *Origen* (h) expressed himself concerning this, in his preface to *St. Luke's Gospel* ; and how *Jerome* (i) in his preface to *St. Matthew*, may be seen by those, who are pleased to look back. They say, that many attempted to write Gospels, as *Basilides*, *Apelles*, and others. And they mention divers Gospels, not received by the Church : Such as the *Gospel of Thomas*, and *Matthias*, the *Gospels of the Egyptians*, and of the *Twelve*. But it is not necessarie to be supposed by us, that they thought, that all, if any, of those Gospels were writ before *St. Luke's*, or that he spoke of them. For *Basilides* and *Apelles* could not write Gospels before the second centurie. And they might suppose, that several, if not all the other, mentioned by them, were writ after *St. Luke's*. The meaning of what these ancient writers say, is, that the Church receives four Gospels only. There were many others. But to them may be applied the words of *St. Luke* : they only took in hand, or attempted. They did not perform, as *Matthew*, and *Mark*, and *Luke*, and *John*, did. And they might express themselves in that manner concerning Gospels writ after *St. Luke's*, as well as before it.

However, *Theophylact*, as was formerly (k) observed, in the preface to his Commentarie upon *St. Luke*, expresseth himself, as if he thought the Evangelist referred to the Gospels according to the *Egyptians*, and according to the *Twelve*.

3. We will now observe the judgements of some learned moderns. *Grabe* (l) allows, that *St. Luke* did not refer to the Gospels of *Basilides*,
or

(f) Et ne multis immorer, intra septem dies, plus quam decem millia hominum credentes Deo baptizati sunt, et sanctificatione consecrati: ita ut omni aviditatis desiderio Theophilus, qui erat cunctis potentibus in civitate sublimior, domus suæ ingentem basilicam, ecclesiæ nomine consecravit. *Recogn.* i. c. cap. 71.

(g) . . φάσκων ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπιχειροῦσιν· ἵνα τινὰς μὲν ἐπιχειροῦντας διέξη, ὅτι δὲ τὰς περὶ κρηθόν, καὶ μήκρηθόν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας *H. LI. n. vii. in.*

(h) See *Vol. iii. p. 317. 318.*

(i) See *Vol. x. p. 140. 141.*

(k) *Vol. xi. p. 427.*

(l) Reliqua quippe ab Origene et Ambrosio nominata falsa Evangelia, veluti Basilidis, aliudque Manichæorum, Apostolo Thomæ perperam adscriptum, procul omni dubio post S. Lucæ obitum prodire : adeo ut ea in primis Evangelii verbis, in quorum explicatione Origenes et Ambrosius ista afferunt, respicere

or *Thomas*, or some others, mentioned by *Origen*. For they were not published, till after *St. Luke's* death. But he thinks, that *St. Luke* might refer to the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, and according to the *Twelve*, and some others, now unknown.

That *St. Luke* might refer to the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, he thinks for the following reasons, which I shall consider.

The first is, that (*m*) *St. Luke's* Gospel was writ in *Egypt*. To which I answer: That is said without ground, as has been lately (*n*) shewn.

Grabe's second argument is, that (*o*) *Clement* of *Rome*, or some other, in the fragment of the second epistle ascribed to him, has quoted the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*. Which argument, as one would think, might have been spared: since *Grabe* himself allows, that (*p*) second epistle to be supposititious, and not to have been composed, till about the middle of the third centurie. If that be the true date of the epistle, it is too late a thing, to warrant the supposition, that *St. Luke* referred to the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*.

I shall take no further notice of *Grabe*. But I imagine, that the Gospel according to the *Egyptians* was not composed before the second centurie. *Clement* of *Alexandria* is the first known Catholic author, that has cited it. And in his time it was very obscure and little known. This (*q*) was shewn formerly.

Dr. Mill does not much differ from *Grabe*. He thinks, that (*r*) of the many Narrations, to which *St. Luke* refers, the two principal were the Gospels according to the *Hebrews*, and according to the *Egyptians*.

The general account, which *Mill* gives of those Memoirs or Narrations, seems to be very just and reasonable. And I intend to transcribe him here largely. "About (*s*) the year 58. or somewhat sooner, says
" *Mill*,

respicere haud potuerit. Contra vero haud est absimile, ista secundum Hebræos et Egyptios ante fuisse scripta, atque ad ea, una cum aliis pluribus jam ignotis, Lucam intendisse digitum, dum præfatus est. &c. *Gr. Spic. T. i.*
p. 31. 32.

(*m*) Evangelium, de quo agitur, ab Ægyptiis editum fuisse ante Lucæ Evangelium, huncque istud inter alia, si non præcipue, respexisse, dum in proœmio plures historias evangelicas memorat, ad quas emendandas, et defectus eorum supplendos, suam literis consignasse se innuit, probabile redditur ex eo, quod Lucas Evangelium scripsisse dicatur Alexandria in Ægypto. *Id.*
ib. p. 33. *in.*

(*n*) See before *p.* 103 . . 105.

(*o*) Accedit, quod jam Clemens Romanus, vel quisquis est auctor ep. 2. ad Corinthios, certe antiquissimus, isto Evangelio usus esse ex fragmento mox recitando, colligatur. *Ibid. p.* 34.

(*p*) Ceterum quæras, quando epistola illa Clementi supposita fuerat, respondeo, id seculo iii. et quidem medio, factum esse. *Ib. p.* 269. *in.*

(*q*) See *Vol. ii. p.* 527 . . . 530. *second edition. p.* 526 . . 529. *first edition.*

(*r*) Ex dictis autem hisce historiis . . duæ præ ceteris celebratæ erant, quæ et ipsæ Evangelia appellabantur, secundum Hebræos alterum, alterum secundum Ægyptios. *Proleg. n.* 38. *vid. et n.* 39 . . . 41. *et n.* 112. &c.

(*s*) Sub hoc quidem tempus, annum dico LVIII. seu etiam aliquanto ante, contextæ fuere a fidelibus quibusdam illius ævi *ἐν γένει*; evangelicæ,
seu

" *Mill*, were composed by some of the faithful Evangelical Narrations, or short histories of Christ. This appears from St. *Luke's* introduction to his Gospel. From which we learn, in the first place, that they were not our Evangelists, *Matthew* and *Mark*. For *Matthew* was an eye-witnesse. Nor can two be called *many*. In the next place, it is to be observed, that these narrations consisted of *things most s rely believed among us*, that is, as I understand it, *of the things fulfilled and done by Christ among the first professors of the faith*: of which number *Luke* reckons himself. Lastly, from the words of that introduction it appears, that those Narrations were received either from the Apostles themselves, or from their assistants in the work of the gospel. It is therefore manifest, that there were some of the first Christians, who before *Luke*, (and also, as we may suppose, before *Matthew* and *Mark*,) wrote histories of the things done by Christ, and received from apostolical traditions: and that not with a bad, or heretical design, as many insinuate, who comment upon this introduction of St. *Luke*, but with the same design, as our Evangelists: that Christians might have at least some account in writing of the Lord's actions. Nevertheless it may be also inferred from what St. *Luke* here says, that their histories were inaccurate, and imperfect: there were in them some things not certain, or well attested, and possibly, here and there, some mistakes. For which cause it seemed good to him, who had attained to full information, to write a compleat and copious historie of the things done by Christ."

If this account be right, some consequences may be deduced, which will be of use to us.

And indeed, it seems to me to be very right. There were several histories of Christ, to which St. *Luke* here refers. They were composed with a good view, like to that of our Evangelists. But they were defective and inaccurate. If there were any mistakes, I would imagine, that they were not numerous, nor in things of the greatest importance. Nor were the writers sufficiently qualified for the work, which they had undertaken.

seu historiolarum de rebus Christi. Patet hoc ex Evangelii D. Lucæ præmio: . . . Exinde colligimus, in primis equidem, πολλὰς homines, qui historiolas conficiebant, alios prorsus esse ab Evangelistis nostris, Matthæo et Marco. Erat enim Matthæus unus ex ἀνθρώποις, ideoque neque ab istorum traditionibus pendebat, sicut hi quos memorat Lucas. Ne dicam, quod duos duntaxat nemo πολλὰς dixerit. Deinde vero notandum, eos narrationes suas instituisse περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἱερῶν πραγμάτων, hoc est, ut ego lubens interpretor, *de rebus apud primos fidei professores*, quorum numero seipsum accenset Lucas, a Christo impletis sive gestis. Denique liquet ex verbis modo citatis, traductas fuisse naratiunculas istas seu proxime, seu mediate saltem, ab Apostolis ipsis, eorumque in opere evangelico adiutoribus. Manifestum est igitur, fuisse e primis Christianis nonnullos, qui ante Lucam, [addo etiam Matthæum et Marcum,] res Christi, (seu Evangelia) ex apostolicis traditionibus undecunque acceptis, conscripserant: idque non studio aliquo maligno, seu hæretico, quod insinuant fere qui in hoc Lucæ præmium commentati sunt: sed eodem plane fine, quo Evangelistæ nostri: ut haberet scilicet Ecclesia rerum a Domino nostro gestarum qualem qualem notitiam. Ceterum cum in iis quæ sequuntur apud Lucam, singula Christianæ rei historiam spectantia accurate se affectum esse dicat Evangelista . . . haud obscure quidem hinc colligi videtur,

undertaken. This, I think, to be intimated by St. *Luke*, though modestly, and without censoriousness, in what he says of himself, *that he had perfect understanding of all things from the very first*. Which, probably, could not be said of the composers of the Narrations, to which he refers. They were men, who had an honest zeal. But they had writ too hastily, before they had obtained full information. For which reason their histories could not answer the end aimed at.

These things being allowed to be right, several consequences may be deduced by us.

In the *first* place, and in particular, we hence learn, that the Gospel according to the *Twelve*, or according to the *Hebrews*, was not one of those Narrations, or Memoirs, to which St. *Luke* refers. For these were very short histories: [*historiola* as *Mill* calls them:] that was a full Gospel, or large historie of Jesus Christ. Many, in *Jerome's* time, supposed it to be the authentic Gospel of St. *Matthew*: which, certainly, is not a short and imperfect Memoir. From the notice taken of that Gospel by several ancient writers, especially by *Jerome*, it appears to me very probable, (and, I should think, must appear very probable to others likewise,) that the Gospel according to the *Twelve*, or according to the *Hebrews*, either was St. *Matthew's* original *Hebrew* Gospel with additions: or his original *Greek* Gospel, translated into *Hebrew* with additions. But this last seems to me most likely, as has been often said already upon divers occasions.

Secondly. Another thing to be deduced from *Mill's* account, if right, is, that (E) the Gospel according to the *Egyptians* was not one of the Narrations to which St. *Luke* refers. For that Gospel was not composed upon the same principles with those of our Evangelists. It was an heretical Gospel, as appears from the fragments of it, collected by *Grabe*, and (r) probably, it was composed in the second centurie, by some *Encratites*, enemies of marriage.

Thirdly. I add one thing more, whether it be a consequence from what has been already said, or not: that nothing remains of the Narrations, to which St. *Luke* refers, not so much as any fragments, they not being quoted in any Christian writings, now extant.

3. I shall now transcribe a part of Dr. *Doddridge's* remarks upon St. *Luke's* introduction. "This (s) must refer to some histories of the life of
" Christ,

detur, τῶν πολλῶν istorum διγῆσεις minus accuratas fuisse, minusque perfectas: ita quidem, ut in his, quæ tradiderant, aliqua hinc inde occurrerint parum certa, ne dicam a vero aberrantia. Unde omnino visum sit ipsi plenariam historiæ hujus cognitionem consecuto, integrum jam et luculentum rerum a Christo gestarum Commentarium scribere. *Mill. Prolog. num. 35.*

... 37.
(E) I am not singular in supposing, that the Gospel according to the *Egyptians* is not intended by St. *Luke*. *Beza* says the same strongly. And as I imagine, he justly asserts, it not to have been writ, till after St. *Luke's* Gospel. Quod istos ait Lucas, non satis commode præstitisse: minime tamen opinor, fabulosas, imo etiam impias narrationes intelligens, tandem Ecclesiæ sub Nicodemi, Nazaræorum, Thomæ, Ægyptiorum, nominibus impudentissime obtrusas. *Bez. ad Luc. cap. i. ver. 1.*

(r) *Vid. Grabe Spic. T. i. p. 31. . . 37.*

(s) *See his Family Expofitor. Vol. i. p. 1.*

“ Christ, now lost. For *Matthew* and *Mark*, the only Evangelists that
 “ can be supposed to have written before *Luke*, could not with any pro-
 “ priety be called *many*. And of these two, *Matthew* at least wrote from
 “ personal knowledge, not from the testimonie of others. I conclude,
 “ that the books referred to are lost: as I am well satisfied, that none of
 “ the apocryphal Gospels, now extant, published, particularly, by *Fa-*
 “ *bricius*, and *Jones*, can pretend to equal antiquity, with this of St.
 “ *Luke*. . . And St. *Luke* seems to allow these histories, whatever they
 “ were, to have been honestly written, according to information receiv-
 “ ed from capable judges.”

4. Mr. *Beaufobre*, speaking of these Memoirs, says: “ The (t) life
 “ of our Saviour was so beautiful, his character so sublime and divine,
 “ his doctrine so excellent, and the miracles, by which he confirmed it,
 “ were so shining, and so numerous, that it was impossible, but many
 “ should undertake to write Memoirs of them. This produced many
 “ histories of our Saviour, some more, others less exact. It is great
 “ pity, that they are lost. For we might have consulted them, and could
 “ have judged for ourselves concerning the character of the writers, and
 “ their composition. St. *Luke*, who speaks of Narrations, or Gospels,
 “ that had preceded his own, intimates indeed, that they were defective,
 “ but he does not condemn them, as fabulous, or bad.”

5. That is right. Those Memoirs were not bad, nor fabulous. But
 they were imperfect, as I apprehend, to a great degree. Nor do I la-
 ment the losse of them. I can pay so much deference to the judgement
 of Christian Antiquity, especially, the earliest of all, as to believe, that
 those *many Narrations*, to which St. *Luke* refers, did not deserve to be
 preserved, or to be much taken notice of, after the publication of the
 Gospels of our first three Evangelists. I imagine, that when once these
 came abroad, the former appeared to the faithful so low, and mean, and
 defective, that they could not bear to see, or read them.

Observations upon IX. I shall now make some observations upon the
the book of the Acts. other work of our Evangelist.

1. The book of the Acts was writ according to (u) *Mill*, in the year
 64. And from what has been argued by us in several places that must
 appear to be as likely a time, as any. It could not be writ till after St.
Paul's confinement at *Rome* was come to a period. I suppose, it to
 have ended in the former part of the year of Christ 63. And I think it
 probable, that St. *Luke* finished this book the same, or the next year, ei-
 ther at *Rome*, or in *Greece*.

2. It cannot be disagreeable to recollect here some of the observations
 of ancient writers upon this book, the only book of the kind, which we
 have, containing a historie of the preaching of Christ's Apostles after
 his resurrection.

3. *Tertullian* (x) often speaks of the importance of this book, as
 shewing Christ's fulfilment of the promise of the Holy Ghost to his
 disciples.

4. “ The (y) Acts of the Apostles, says *Jerome*, in his letter to *Pau-*
 “ *linus*,

(t) *Hist. de Manich. Tom. i. p. 449.*

(u) *Prolegom. num. 121.*

(x) See *Vol. ii. p. 588. . . . 590. or p. 587. . . . 589.*

(y) *Actus Apostolorum nudam quidem sonare videntur historiam, et na-*
scientis

"*linus*, concerning the studie of the Scriptures, seems to, promise a bare historie, and an account of the early infance of the Church: but if we consider, that the writer is *Luke* the Physician, we shall at the same time discern, that every word is suited to heal the maladies of the soul."

5. Says *Augustin*: "*Luke* (z) after having writ a Gospel, containing a historie of Christ's words and works to the time of his resurrection and ascension, wrote such an account of the Acts of the Apostles, as he judged to be sufficient for the edification of believers. And it is the only historie of the Apostles, which has been received by the Church: all other having been rejected, as not to be relied upon."

6. I beg leave to refer my readers to the passages of *Chrysostom*, already (a) transcribed, relating to this book: and to the whole of his first homilie upon it. I add now only one passage more out of the same homilie. "The (b) Gospels, says he, are the historie of the things, which Christ did, and spake. The Acts the historie of the things, which another Paraclet spake and did."

7. It is not needful for me to make a distinct enumeration of the things contained in this book. Every one who has perused it with care, cannot but know, that it contains an account of the choice of *Matthias* to be Apostle in the room of the traitor, of the wonderful and plentiful pouring out of the gift of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles, and other disciples of Jesus at *Jerusalem*, at the Pentecost next succeeding his crucifixion, and of the testimonie bore by the Apostles to his resurrection and ascension in their discourses, and by many miracles, and various sufferings: their preaching first at *Jerusalem*, and in *Judea*, and afterwards by themselves, or their assistants, in *Samaria*: and then to Gentils in *Judea*, and afterwards out of it, as well as to Jews: and of the conversion of *Paul* and his preaching, miracles, labours, sufferings, in many cities and countreys, parts of the Roman Empire, and the polite world, and at length in *Rome* itself.

8. If we were to indulge ourselves in making remarks upon this useful and excellent performance, nothing, perhaps, would be more observable than it's brevity and concisenesse: by which means many things must have been omitted, which happened during the period of that historie. For it is very true, which *Chrysostom* said, that (c) *Luke* leaves us thirsting for more.

9. Says *Le Clerc*: "*Luke's* (d) Apostolical Historie relates the beginning

scntis Ecclesiæ infantiam texere. Sed si noverimus, scriptorem eorum Lucam esse Medicum, cujus laus est in evangelio, animadvertemus pariter, omnia verba illius animæ languentis esse medicinam. *Ad Paulin. ep. 50. al. 103. T. 4. P. 2. p. 574.*

(z) See *Vol. x. p. 237. 238.*

(a) See *Vol. x. p. 323... 330.*

(b) Τα μὲν ἔν' εὐαγγέλιῳ ὃν ὁ Χρῆστος ἐποίησεν καὶ εἶπεν ιστορία τις ἐστίν· αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὃν ἔτερος παρὰ αὐτοῦ εἶπε καὶ ἐποίησε. *In Act. hom. i. Tom. 3. p. 9. B.*

(c) *Vol. x. p. 327.*

(d) Hic vero definit Lucæ Historia Apostolica, quæ initia prædicationis evangelicæ apud Judæos, Ethnicosque, et ministerio quidem Petri et Pauli potissimum scribere adgressus est. De ceteris Apostolis altum ubique apud eum est silentium. . . Utinam vero, vir quispiam apostolicus, pari judicio et fide, ceterorum res gestas literis mandasset, quæ narrationi Lucæ desunt supplere voluisset, idque opus ad nos pervenisset! *Cler. H. E. An. 61. n. iv.*

“ings of the preaching of the Gospel among Jews and Gentils, chiefly
 “by the ministrie of *Peter* and *Paul*. For of the other apostles he is
 “almost entirely silent. . . I wish, says he, that some other apostolical
 “man, of like judgment and integrity, had writ the historie of the other
 “Apostles, and had undertaken to supply what was wanting in *Luke’s*
 “historie, and that this work had come down to us.” But, however
 desirable it may now appear to us, we cannot perceive from ecclesiastical
 historie, that ever such a work was published.

10. *Estius* imagined, “that (e) *Luke*, possibly, intended to write a
 “third book, to supply, particularly, the omissions of the two years,
 “which *St. Paul* spent at *Rome*.” But I verily believe, there is no
 ground at all for that conjectural supposition.

11. Again: *Le Clerc*, above mentioned, thinks, “that (f) *Luke* breaks
 off the historie of *St. Peter*, of whom he had said so much before, very
 abruptly, in those words, Acts xii. 17. *And he departed and went to another place*.” Nevertheless *St. Luke* afterwards drops *St. Barnabas* in a
 like manner. ch. xv. 39. And in the end he will take his leave of the
 Apostle *Paul* himself without much more ceremonie.

12. Those omissions are no reflection upon the writer, nor any disparagement to his historie. The proper deduction to be made by us is this: We hereby perceive, that it was not the design of *St. Luke*, to aggrandize *Peter*, or *Paul*, or any of the Apostles, nor to write their lives: but to record the evidences of our Saviour’s resurrection, and to write a historie of the first preaching and planting the Christian Religion in the world. This design he has admirably executed. And having filled up his plan, he concluded.

13. However, undoubtedly, many things are omitted by *St. Luke*. Some of which we may learn from *St. Paul’s* epistles. I shall observe some omissions.

14. *St. Luke* has not in the course of his historie, mentioned the writing of any of *St. Paul’s* epistles. It is probable, that he was at *Corinth*, when the Apostle wrote thence his large epistle to the *Romans*. Nevertheless he takes not any notice of it, nor of the epistles writ by *St. Paul* at *Rome*, when he certainly was with him, nor indeed of any other. By comparing the epistles themselves, and *St. Luke’s* historie of the Apostle in the Acts, we are enabled to trace the time and place of divers of those epistles. But they are no where particularly mentioned by the historian.

15. In Acts ix. 19. . . . 26. *St. Luke* after the account of *St. Paul’s* conversion, speaks of his being at *Damascus*, and his preaching there, and of the opposition, which he there met with from the Jews, and his escape thence, and then going to *Jerusalem*. But *St. Paul* Gal. i. 17.

18. informs

(e) Sed proculdubio multa actorum Pauli a Luca sunt omissa. . . . Ac fortasse Lucas meditabatur tertium librum, in quo repeteret acta illius biennii . . . sicut Act. i. quædam exposuit tacita ultimo capite Evangelii. *Est. ad Act. Ap. xxviii. 30.*

(f) Mirum est, Lucam, postquam liberationem Petri e carcere narravit cap. xii. 17. eumque in alium locum, hoc est, extra Ierosolymam, ivisse dixit, ne verbum quidem de eo habere, de quo tam multa alia dixerat. *Id. ibid.*

18. informs us, that after his conversion he went into *Arabia*, and then returned to *Damascus*: and that three years passed between his conversion and his going to *Jerusalem*. This is an instructive instance. For the omission is certain; and undoubted. I am of opinion, that St. *Luke* did not omit the journey into *Arabia*, because he did not know of it: but designedly, and because he did not judge it necessarie to be mentioned. *Jerome* (g) has taken particular notice of the omission of that journey into *Arabia*.

16. Like omissions are in St. *Luke's* Gospel. I shall take notice of two.

1.) Having given the historie of our Lord's presentation at the temple, he says ch. ii. 39. *And when they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city, Nazareth.* Nevertheless, I think, the holy family did not now go directly from *Jerusalem* to *Nazareth*, but to *Bethlehem*. There, as I suppose, our Lord received the homage of the Magians. And afterwards, to avoid the persecution of *Herod*, they removed thence to *Egypt*, and then returned to *Nazareth*. All which is recorded Matth. ii. 1 . . . 13. The visit of the Magians must have been after the presentation at the temple. If it had been before, and if they had presented *their gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh*: mentioned Matth. ii. 11. *Marie* would not have made the lesser offering for her purification, mentioned Luke ii. 23. 24. Nor could the child *Jesus* have been safely brought to *Jerusalem*, or such notice have been taken of him at the temple, as St. *Luke* particularly relates, ch. ii. 25. . . 38. if *Herod, and all Jerusalem*, had been just before alarmed by the inquiries of the Magians: *Where is he that is born King of the Jews?* Matth. ii. 1. 2. Omitting therefore all those things, St. *Luke* says, as above observed, and afterwards *they returned to Nazareth*, the place of their usual abode. Which is agreeable to Matth. ii. 22. 23.

2.) Another thing observable is, that all our Saviour's appearances to his disciples, after his resurrection, recorded by St. *Luke* ch xxiv. were at *Jerusalem*, or near it. He takes not any notice of our Saviour's meeting the disciples in *Galilee*, so particularly mentioned Matth. xxviii. 7. and Mark xvi. 7. St. *John* also ch. xxi. 1 . . . 23. speaks of our Saviour's shewing himself to the disciples at *the sea of Tiberias*. And St. *Paul* assures us, that our Lord was seen of above five hundred brethren at once. 1 Cor. xv. 6. Which, probably, was in the same countrey. And though at the beginning of his book of the Acts, St. *Luke* resumes the account of our Saviour's shewing himself to the disciples after his resurrection; there is nothing more about *Galilee*, than in the former relation. Insomuch, that, if we had St. *Luke's* histories only, we might have been apt to conclude, that all the appearances of our Saviour to his disciples were at *Jerusalem*, or near it, and no where else.

17. St. *Paul's* epistles inform us of many things omitted by St. *Luke*. But

(g) Lucam vero idcirco de Arabia præteruisse, quia forsitan nihil dignum apostolatu in Arabia perpetrarat: et ea potius compendiosa narratione dixisse; quæ digna Christi evangelio videbantur. Nec hoc segnitæ Apostoli deputandum, si frustra in Arabia fuerit: sed quod aliqua depensatio et Dei præceptum fuerit, ut taceret. Hier. in Ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. 4. p. 235.

But we should have known many more, if we had had a parallel historian. A comparison of St. *Luke's* historie of our Saviour with that of the other Evangelists may assure us of this.

18. In the eleventh chapter of the second epistle to the *Corinthians*, St. *Paul* mentions divers visions and revelations, with which he had been favored. But St. *Luke* has not taken notice of any of them. St. *Paul* in his speech to the people at *Jerusalem*, recorded by St. *Luke* Acts xxii. 17. mentions a trance, which he had in the temple. But St. *Luke* has no where told us the exact time of it. Nor has he otherwise mentioned it.

19. I do not think, that these things were omitted by St. *Luke*, because St. *Paul* concealed them from him : or because by some other means he was unacquainted with the time and place of them. But it was a regard to brevity, that induced him to pass them over. They were not necessarie to be inserted in his historie. Without them he has recorded sufficient attestations of *Paul's* apostolical authority, and of the truth, and divine original of the doctrine taught by him.

20. Says St. *Paul*, unwillingly, and constrained by the disadvantageous insinuations and charges of self-interested and designing men. 2 Cor. xi. 23. *Are they ministers of Christ ? [I speak as a fool :] I am more. In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft.*

In prisons more frequent. Therefore before writing this epistle in the year 57. *Paul* had been imprisoned several times : though St. *Luke* has mentioned before this time one imprisonment only, which was at *Philippi*. Acts xvi. 23. . . 40. Upon which *Eftius* (*b*) observes, that *Paul* did and suffered many things, not mentioned in the Acts. And Rom. xvi. 7. *Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen, and my fellow prisoners . . . who also were in Christ before me.* *Paul* was not a prisoner, when he wrote the epistle to the *Romans*, in the beginning of the year 58. But (*i*) he had been in prison before with those two early Christians, his relations. But where, or when, we cannot exactly say.

21. Ver. 24. *of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one.* Nevertheless St. *Luke* has not mentioned one of those times. *Eftius* conjectures, that (*k*) *Luke* omitted these, and many other things, because he was not with the Apostle, when they happened, and *Paul* out of modestie

(*b*) De Paulo autem incarcerato ante hanc epistolam, in Actis Apostolorum non legimus quidem, nisi cap. xvi. ubi a Philippenfibus in carcerem missus legitur. Sed permulta Paulus et fecit et passus est, quæ in Actis non scribuntur. *Eft. ad 2 Cor. xi. 23.*

(*i*) Porro concaptivos intellige, quod aliquando communia cum Paulo vincula pro Christo passi fuissent. Ubi tamen, et ut quando factum sit, ignoratur. *Eft. ad Rom. xvi. 7.*

(*k*) Sed cur Lucas in Actis ne unius quidem flagellationis ex quinque meminit? Ideo videlicet, quod de Paulo pene ea sola, quibus ipse præsens fuit, sigillatim recenscat : alia vero vel silentio pertranseat, vel summatim ac breviter referat. . . Qua in re notanda humilitas Pauli, qui suas tot et tam graves pro Christo passiones Lucæ comiti suo non aperuerit, ne hic quidem recitaturus, nisi coëgisset eum amor salutis Corinthiorum. *Id. ib. ad ver. 24.*

desist forbore to tell him of them. I rather think, that *Luke* was fully acquainted with *Paul's* historie. But he aimed at brevity, and judged the things mentioned by him to be sufficient.

22. Ver. 25. *Thrice was I beaten with rods*: meaning, I suppose, by Roman Magistrates. But *St. Luke* has mentioned one instance only of this: which was at *Philippi*, when *Paul* and *Silas* both underwent this hard usage. Acts xvi. 19. . . 40. Of this (*l*) likewise *Estius* has taken notice in his Commentarie.

Once was I stoned: undoubtedly meaning at *Lystra* in *Lycaonia*, as related by *St. Luke* Acts xiv. 19. 20.

Thrice I have suffered shipwreck. *St. Luke* has recorded but one instance, which was not untill after this time, in the Apostle's voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*. Acts xxvii. Which therefore must have been the fourth.

A night and a day have I been in the deep. At one of those times I escaped with the utmost difficulty, by getting on a plank, and floating in the sea a night and a day, or a whole day of four and twenty hours.

23. Ver. 26. *In journeyings, often, in perils of water*, or rather *rivers*. Which (*m*) are sometimes very dangerous. But *St. Luke* has not recorded any dangers of the Apostle upon rivers, either in crossing them, or sailing upon them.

24. Says *Tillemont* in his life of *St. Paul*: "The (*n*) greatest part of interpreters think, that *St. Paul* made no voyages, but those, which are taken notice of in the Acts. . . . Nevertheless we must necessarily acknowledge, that beside what *St. Luke* informs us of the sufferings of *St. Paul*, this Apostle was five times scourged by the Jews, twice beaten with rods, and thrice shipwrecked. All this happened, before he wrote his second epistle to the *Corinthians*: that is, in the time, of which *St. Luke* has writ the historie. Nevertheless *St. Luke* says nothing of all this. It is certain therefore, that either he has omitted the circumstances of the most remarkable events, which he relates, or that *St. Paul* made several voyages, of which he has taken no notice."

25. The reason of *St. Luke's* silence here I take to be the same that has been already assigned of his silence upon other occasions. It was not necessarie, that these things should be related. To have writ an account of all the Apostle's journeys, and dangers, would have rendered the work more voluminous and prolix, than was judged proper. When *St. Luke* set about composing and publishing this book, he had all the materials before him, and his plan was formed. Agreeably to which, he determined to write at large the historie of *St. Paul's* voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*, in which are many remarkable incidents, and to omit some other
of

(*l*) *Ter virgis cæsus sum*: a Gentilibus. Erat enim Romanis consuetudo, virgis cedere nocentes. . . Porro Lucas tantum semel meminit hujus contumeliæ Paulo illatæ: scilicet Act. xvi. ubi scribit eum una cum Sila virgis cæsum a Philippensibus. *Est. in loc.*

(*m*) *Periculis fluminum*: quæ interdum non minus periculosa sunt navigantibus, quam mare. *Est. in loc.*

(*n*) *Mem. Ec. T. i. St. Paul, note xviii.*

of the Apostle's journeys and voyages: though divers of them likewise were attended with affecting circumstances.

26. The chapter, from which I have just now transcribed several things, concludes in this manner. ver. 31. . . . 33. *The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for evermore, knows that I lie not. In Damascus the Governor under Aretas, the King, kept the city of the Damascens with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me. And through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands.*

I have often reflected with great satisfaction on St. Luke's not omitting this dangerous attempt upon the Apostle's liberty, and life: with which himself was so much affected, and which he has here mentioned with such solemnity. The historie of it may be seen in Acts ix. 23. . . . 25.

I now proceed to some other things.

27. St. Paul assures us Gal. ii. 1. . . . 3. that when he went up to *Jerusalem* upon occasion of the debate concerning the manner of receiving Gentil converts, he took *Titus* with him. Which is not said by St. Luke Acts xv. though he gives a particular account of *Paul's* going from *Antioch* to *Jerusalem* upon that occasion. Nor indeed has St. Luke once mentioned *Titus* in his historie: though St. Paul wrote an epistle to him, and has mentioned him several times in his epistles, sent to others.

28. Gal. ii. 11. . . . 21. St. Paul speaks of *Peter's* being at *Antioch*, before he and *Barnabas* had separated. But St. Luke says nothing of it. *Jerome*, in his Commentarie upon the epistle to the *Galatians*, says: "We (o) are not to wonder, that *Luke* has taken no notice of this. For by the usual privilege of historians he has omitted many things performed by *Paul*, and which we know from himself."

29. Rom. xvi. 3. 4. St. Paul applauds an action of great generosity in *Aquila* and *Priscilla*. But St. Luke has not informed us of the place, or occasion of it. Doubtless he did not omit it, for want of respect to those excellent Christians, whom he has mentioned more than once. ch. xviii. 18. and 26. But that particular did not come within the compasse of his design.

30. Many things, not expressly mentioned by St. Luke, may be argued, and concluded to have been done, from those which he has recorded.

1.) In Acts iv. 23. . . . 30. is recorded a prayer of the Apostles, in which they request, that they may be enabled to work miracles for farther confirming the doctrine taught by them. And unquestionably, their prayer was heard, and their request granted, and they did work many miracles in the name of Christ, more than are related by St. Luke.

2.) Acts v. 12. *And by the hand of the Apostles were many signs and wonders done among the people.* And what follows. Whence it may be concluded,

(o) Nec mirum esse, si Lucas hanc rem tacuerit, quum et alia multa, quæ Paulus sustinuisse se replicat, historiographi licentiâ prætermiserit. In Gal. cap. ii. T. 4. p. 244.

concluded, that (p) many miracles were wrought, not only by *Peter* and *John*, but also by the other Apostles also, beside those, which are particularly recorded. See also ch. ii. 43.

3.) Says Mr. *Biscoe*: “Many (q) and great miracles are related in the historie of the Acts to be wrought by St. *Paul*, and his fellow-laborers, in their preaching the gospel to the Gentils. And agreeably hereto St. *Paul* says, 2 Cor. xii. 12. *Truly the signs of an Apostle were wrought amongst you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.* And to the *Romans*, ch. xv. 18. 19. . . I make no doubt, says that learned writer, but the Apostles wrought miracles in every city, where they came with a view to preach the gospel, and make converts. St. *Luke* is so very succinct in his historie of the Acts, that he often omits them. He gives an account of only a miracle or two wrought at *Philippi* in his whole relation of St. *Paul*’s journey from *Antioch* to the West, when he converted a great part of *Macedonia* and *Achaia*: though it is evident from St. *Paul*’s own epistle, already quoted, that he at that time did many signs and wonders at *Corinth*. And that he did the same at *Thessalonica*, is not obscurely intimated in his first epistle to the *Thessalonians*, ch. i. 5. We read nothing in the Acts of the Apostles of what St. *Paul* did in *Galatia* the first time, more than that he went through it. Acts xvi. 6. And all that is added the second time he was there is, that *he went over all the countrey of Galatia, strengthening all the disciples.* ch. xviii. 23. Which indeed is an intimation, that the first time he was there he preached the gospel among them, and made converts. But from his epistle to the *Galatian* churches it is fully evident, that he wrought miracles among them, and conferred on them gifts of the Holy Spirit. For he asks them: *He that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?* Gal. iii. 25. That he means himself, is manifest from the whole tenour of the epistle. See ch. i. 6. iv. 11. 13. 14. 19.”

There follow other like observations, which I may not transcribe.

4.) Mr. *Biscoe*, as above, makes no doubt, but the Apostles wrought miracles in every city, where they came, with a view to preach the gospel, and make converts. I am of opinion, that this may be truly supposed of *Paul*, particularly, and that it may be concluded from what St. *Luke* has writ. For, according to him, *Paul* wrought miracles in *Cyprus*. Acts xiii. 11. at *Lystra*. xiv. 10. at *Philippi* xvi. 16. . . 18. See also 25. 26. and very many at *Ephesus*. xix. 11. . . 17. And at *Troas* he raised *Eutychus* to life. xix. 9. . . 12. In his voyage from *Judea* to *Rome* he wrought many miracles. xxviii. 3. . . 6. and 7. . . 10. From these miracles, recorded by St. *Luke*, it may be well argued, that St. *Paul* wrought miracles

(p) *Oecumenius* says, that *Luke* omitted many miracles wrought by the Apostles for avoiding ostentation. Πολλῶν δὲ θαυμάτων ἐπιτελεσμένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὡς καὶ ἀνωτέρω ἐμνήσθη ὁ ταῦτα γεράων λεγῶν, [cap. ii. 43.] ἐδεικνύει ἐκείνων ὀνόμασι μνημονεύει, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνῳ γεράφει μόνον ἅψ’ ὅτι πάντες ἐκινήθησαν. . . ἡ καὶ ὅτι ἐκόμπε χάριν ἡ συγγραφή αὐτῷ αὕτη ἐσπεδάσθη. *Oecum. in Act. Cap. iii. Tom. i. p. 25. A. B.*

(q) *The Historie of the Acts confirmed.* ch. xi. §. 8. p. 407. 408.

acles in all, or most other places, where he went, and made any stay, preaching the gospel. In particular, it may be argued, that *Paul* wrought miracles at *Athens*, and at *Rome*. What they were, we cannot say, because they have not been recorded by *St. Luke*, nor by any other credible writer. But that miracles were performed by the Apostle in those cities appears to me very probable.

5.) *St. Luke* (r) has not given any account of *St. Paul's* appearing before the Emperour *Nero* at *Rome*, when he was sent thither by *Festus*. Nevertheless, that *Paul* was brought before *Nero* soon after his arrival at *Rome*, is highly probable. And though *St. Luke* has not expressly said so, it may be concluded from what he has said. For he has again and again sufficiently intimated, that *Paul* was certainly to appear before the Emperour, to whom he had appealed. See *Acts* xxv. 10. 11. 12. 21. xxvi. 32. xxvii. 24. xxviii. 9. The Apostle therefore was brought before *Nero*, and pleaded before him. But *St. Luke* forbore to give a distinct account of it, because he had already given a particular account of *Paul's* pleadings before *Felix*, and *Festus*, and *Agrippa*. And from them may be concluded, what was the tenour of his apologic before the Emperour himself.

6.) *St. Paul*, in his epistle to the Christians at *Rome*, says, ch. i. 11. *I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established.* And ch. xv. 29. *I am sure, that when I come unto you, I shall come unto you in the fulnesse of the blessing of the gospel of Christ.* And unquestionably, the event was agreeable to these wishes and expectations.

7.) *St. Luke* has not particularly recorded those things in his historie. But from what he has said they may be inferred. Says our historian. *Acts* xxviii. 13. . . 16. *And we came the next day to Puteoli. Where we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven days. And so we went toward Rome. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us, as far as Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns. Whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage. And when he came to Rome, the Centurion delivered the prisoners to the Captain of the Guard. But Paul was suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him. And ver. 30. Paul dwelled two whole years in his own hired house.*

8) From the things here said it may be fairly concluded, that during the Apostle's stay at *Rome*, there was a very delightful communication of civil and religious offices between him and the believers there, according to the abilities, and the exigences of each. Before he left *Rome*, the *Philippians* seem to have sent him a supplic by *Epaphroditus*. *Philip. iv.* 10. . . 18. But it may be well supposed, that the price of his lodging, and the expences of his maintenance, were provided for, chiefly, by the Christians, whom he found at *Rome*, when he came thither, and by the converts, which he made afterwards. The soldiers likewise, who by turns attended upon him, would expect to be considered, if they carried it

(r) *Mirum, quod Lucas hic nullam faciat mentionem primæ defensionis Pauli, de qua ipse 2 Tim. iv. Quam factam fuisse primo anno, quo Romam venit, non dubitandum. Est, ad Act. xxviii. 30.*

it civilly toward their prisoner. All which, we may suppose, was taken care of by the good Christians at *Rome*: who, as *St. Luke* assures us, went out to meet him, and conducted him into the City.

C H A P. IX.

ST. JOHN, APOSTLE, and EVANGELIST.

I. *His Historie from the N. T.* II. *His Age.* III. *When he left Judea, to go to Ephesus.* IV. *His Historie from ecclesiastical Writers.* V. *The Time, when he was banished into Patmos.* VI. *How long he was there.* VII. *Testimonies of ancient Writers to his Gospel.* VIII. *Opinions of learned Moderns concerning the Time, when this Gospel was writ.* IX. *An Argument, to prove, that it was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem.* X. *Objections considered.* XI. *Observations upon this Gospel.*

I. **J**OH^N was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman upon the sea of Galilee, probably (a) of the town *His Historie from the N. T.* of Bethsaida and (b) Salome. John was the younger brother. For James is always (c) mentioned first, except in *Luke* ix. 28. And John is generally reckoned the youngest of all Christ's disciples.

Though Zebedee was by trade a fisherman, he needs not be reckoned poor. For, as *St. Mark* has particularly observed, he was not only master of a boat, and nets, but had hired servants. ch. i. 20. Moreover, we may recollect what *Peter* said to Christ, who also had been a fisherman upon the same sea. *We have left all, and followed thee.* *Matt.* xix. 27. They left their employments, by which they gained a subsistence: and for the present there was self-denial in their attendance upon Jesus.

It is not unlikely, that Zebedee died not long after these two brothers were called to be Apostles. However, the circumstances of the familie may be collected from what is said of their mother, who is mentioned, *Matt.* xxvii. 55. and *Mark* xv. 41. among those women, who followed Jesus out of Galilee, and ministred unto him. That ministrie is described *Luke*

(a) *Zebedæum gente Galilæum fuisse ex loco commorationis circa lacum Gennesareth suspicamur. Incertius autem, Bethsaidensem pronunciare, ut plerique faciunt: cum id nitatur tantum testimonio Evangelii, sociis Andreæ ac Petro hoc oppidum adsignantis. Neque tamen argumenta ad manus sunt, quibus vulgatam hanc opinionem impugnemus. Lampe Prolegom. in Johan.*

(b) *Compare Matt. xxvii. 55. with Mark xv. 40. and xvi. 1.*

(c) *So Matt. iv. 21. x. 2. Mark i. 19. iii. 17. x. 35. Luke v. 10. Act. i.*

Luke viii. 3. To which might be added, that *she* is mentioned among those women that brought sweet spices to embalm the body of Jesus. Mark xvi. 1. Luke xxiii. 55. And our Lord, having recommended his mother to this disciple, it is said, that *he took her to his own home*. John xix. 27.

If *Salome* was related to our Lord in the manner supposed by (d) *Theophylact*, or some other way, with which we are not distinctly acquainted; that may have been, in part, the ground and reason of several things mentioned in the Gospels: as the petition of these two brothers, disciples, for the two first places in Christ's kingdom: *John's* being the beloved disciple, and friend of Jesus, and being admitted to some freedoms, denied to the rest: and, possibly, (e) performing some offices about his person: and, finally, our Lord's committing to him the care of his mother, so long as she should survive him.

In Acts iv. 13. It is said of *Peter* and *John*, that they were *ignorant and unlearned men*. Which, indeed, is nothing else, but that they were neither (f) Doctors, nor Magistrates, but men of private stations, who had not been educated in the schools of the Rabbies: or, as Dr. Doddridge has happily translated this text, *illiterate men, and in private stations of life*. So *Oecumenius* says, that (g) St. *John* in sending a letter to *Caius* had *Paul* for an example, who wrote to *Timothie*, and *Titus*, and to *Philemon*, an idiot: that is, a man of a private station: whereas *Timothie* and *Titus* had a public character in the Church, as they were Evangelists.

There can be no doubt, that *Zebedee's* sons, as the children of all pious Jews at that time, were well acquainted with the scriptures of the Old Testament. They had read them, and had heard them read and explained in the synagogues. They had also been accustomed to go to *Jerusalem*, at the feasts, and had discoursed with many upon the things of religion. They now were in expectation of the appearing of the Messiah, foretold in the Law and the Prophets. But, undoubtedly, were in the common prejudice of the nation, that it would be, in part, at least, a worldly kingdom. And it is very likely, that they had heard *John* preach: though they did not attend steadily upon him, as his disciples,

(d) See Vol. xi. p. 424. 425.

(e) Opus scilicet erat ipsi aliquo, quem interdum ad matrem mitteret, (quod non ita raro factum esse, facile intelligitur,) quo uteretur ad lavandos sibi pedes, ad induendos sibi et exuendos calceos. [vid. Matt. iii. 11. Marc. i. 8. Luc. iii. 16. Joan. i. 27.] qui sibi præsto esset ad mandata subita, qui in cubiculo sibi adjaceret dormienti, qui alia sibi præstaret minuta officiola domestica, qui propterea perpetuus sibi esset pedisequus, nec nisi jussus ab ipso recederet. *Heuman. Diff. Syll. Tom. 2. p. 338.*

(f) Ἀγέμματος, sine literis: id est, non versati in doctrinis thalmudicis, quales illiterati Hebræis. Nam scripturas Apostoli et legerant, et memoria tenebant. Καὶ ἰδιώται. Idiotæ sunt Hebræis, qui neque Magistratus sunt, neque Legisperiti. *Grot. in. loc.*

(g) Περὶ δὲ γαίῳν ἰνα γράφων ἔχει πᾶνλον τίτῳ γράφοντα καὶ τιμοθέῳ, καὶ περὶ φιλημονῶν δὲ ἰδιώτην. *Oecum. T. 2. p. 606. C.*

ciples. For all the people of Judea in general went to John's baptism.

Says St. John i. 35. 36. *Again, the next day after John stood, and two of his disciples. And looking upon Jesus, as he walked, he saith: Behold the lamb of God. . .* From ver. 40. we learn, that one of these two, which heard John speak, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. And (b) some have supposed, that our Evangelist, who writes this, was the other. Which I do not look upon as certain, though I do not deny it.

Whether the other was John, or not, it ought to be reckoned unquestioned, that before he was called to be an Apostle, he had seen and heard the Lord Jesus, and had been witness of some miracles wrought by him. It appears to me very probable, that (i) he was one of the disciples, who were present at the wedding in Cana of Galilee, where water was made wine. John ii. 1. . . . 11.

The call of James and John to attend upon Jesus statedly, is related Matt. iv. 21. 22. Mark. i. 19. 20. Luke v. 1. . . 10.

St. Mark, putting down the names of the twelve Apostles, when he mentions James and John, says, that our Lord surnamed them *Boanerges, which is sons of thunder*. ch. iii. 17. By which it seems unreasonable to suppose, that our Lord intended to reproach them with some fault in their natural temper, as if they were fierce and furious: though (k) a learned writer has intimated so much. That (l) name must have been very honourable, prophetically representing the resolution and courage, with which they would openly and boldly declare the great truths of the gospel, when fully acquainted with them. How John answered this character, we know from what is said of him in the book of the Acts, and from his own writings, and from things recorded of him in ecclesiastical historie. How well James, the other brother, answered that character, may be concluded from his being beheaded by Herod Agrippa at Jerusalem, not many years after our Lord's ascension. Which, we cannot doubt, was owing to an open and stedfast testimonie to the resurrection of Jesus, and to other services for the Church: whereby he had greatly signalized himself in the short period of his life after our Lord's ascension. Possibly (m) he had, with a freedom, not a little offensive,

(b) Duorum alter ver. 41. nominatur. Alter videtur ipse Evangelista, noster fuisse, uti vitium in vita ejus. Lib. i. cap. 2. *Lampe in Job. cap. i. ver. 35. 36.*

(i) However, *Basnage* disputes this. Neque probabile admodum, Joannem his interfuisse nuptiis. Quod si concederetur, &c. *Basn. Ann. 30. num. xxxviii.*

(k) "However it was, our Lord, I doubt not, herein had respect to the "furious and resolute disposition of those two brothers, who seem to have "been of a more fierce and fiery temper, than the rest of the Apostles." *Cave's Life of St. James the Great. num. 5. p. 142.*

(l) *Vid. Fr. Lamp. Prolegom. l. i. cap. 2. num. vii. . . . xv.*

(m) Accedit altera ratio, quæ eos adhuc proprius spectabat, nempe quod in scopo ministerii sui præ ceteris Apostolis Baptiste similes futuri. Nempe sicut Baptista in ea totus erat, ut per tonitru præconii sui judicium jam tum Judæis

sensitive, spoke of the calamities coming upon the Jewish people, if they did not repent, and believe in Jesus, as the Christ: as also *John* the Baptist had declared in his preaching. Matt. iii. 7. . . 12. Luke iii. 17. and *Stephen* in his. Acts vi. 13. 14. *James* (A) was the first Martyr for Christ among the Apostles. And bids fair for obtaining his petition, in a higher sense, than it was at first intended: of *sitting on the right hand or the left hand of Christ in his kingdom*. And the other brother, surviving all the other Apostles, bore the longest testimonie to the truth of the gospel.

This account of that name is agreeable to (n) what *Grotius* says in his Annotations. But Dr. *Heumann* (o) has another thought. He observes, that *Simon*, to whom Jesus gave the name of *Peter*, is often so called. But we do not read, that the two sons of *Zebedee* were any where else spoken of by the name *Boanerges*, either by themselves or others. He thinks, that the words should be thus rendered: *And he had surnamed them Boanerges*: that is, upon a particular occasion he so called them. That occasion, (q) he supposes to be the historie related Luke ix. 52. . . 56.

Judæis imminens indicaret et averteret; ita ad ministerium fratrum horum potissimum ad Judæos spectaturum erat. *Jacobus* quidem ea fini post ascensionem Domini nunquam, quod scimus, ab Hierosolyma, discessit, donec pro fide martyrium subiret. Hoc vero ei evenisse, quam maxime probabile est, quia invidiosa præ ceteris ejus concio fuit, periculum instans incredulorum ex Judæis omni data occasione ingeminans. &c. *Lamp. ib. l. 1. cap. 2. num. xv.*

(A) It has long been the general opinion of the people of *Spain*, that this *James*, the son of *Zebedee*, planted the gospel in that country. *Gaspar Sanctius*, a learned *Spanish* Jesuit, wrote a treatise in defence of it, beside what he says in his Commentarie upon the Acts of the Apostles. But it is inconsistent with the historie in the Acts. None of the Apostles left *Judea* so soon. Nor is this opinion founded on the testimonie of any ancient writers, of good credit. And it is now generally given up, even by Popish writers. *Vid. Baron. A. D. 41. num. i. Tillemont S. Jacques Le Majeur, et note vi. Mem. Ec. Tom. i.* I transcribe here the Judgement of *Estius*. Deinde, quando occisus est, vixdum cœperat evangelium gentibus prædicari, ut ex præcedentibus et sequentibus patet. Nec dum Apostoli dispersi erant in remotas gentes: sed ejus rei commodum tempus exspectabant. Denique nullus scriptor antiquus certæ fidei refert, *Jacobum* Hispanias vidisse. *Est. in Act. Ap. Cap. xii. ver. 2.—Vid. et Basnag. Ann. 44. num. iv. v. et Dictionaire de Moreri. S. Jacques le Majeur.*

(n) Omnino mihi videtur Christus, in hujus nominis impositione respexisse ad Aggæi vaticinium. cap. ii. 7. . . . Quod de evangelii prædicatione exponit Scriptor ad Hebræos. xii. 26. Ad hanc ergo maximam rerum mutationem significat Christus, Zebedæi filios eximios sibi ministros fore. Et certe destinatam illis excellentiam quandam inter ipsos Apostolos vel hoc ostendit, quod cum Petro seorsim a ceteris multarum rerum testes sunt assumpti. Adde, quod *Jacobus* primus Apostolorum omnium sanguine suo Christi doctrinam obsignavit, et quod *Johannes* omnibus Apostolis superstes diutissime testimonium perhibuit veritati. *Grot. ad Marc. iii. 17.*

(o) *Nova Sylloge Dissert. Part. i. p. 254. . . 259.*

(q) Legimus, et adversus Petrum indigne se gerentem, in hæc verba erupisse Christum: *Apage, Satana*. Jam uti *Satanas* non factum est ordinarium Petri

52. . . 56. That is an ingenious conjecture. But if this name had been given them in the way of reproof and censure, as Christ once called *Peter* Satan. Matt. xvi. 23. Mark viii. 33. one would scarcely expect to see it here. The place, as seems to me, leads us to think, the name honorable, as well as *Peter*. Which has been the general opinion of all times.

In *Suicer's* Thesaurus, at the word *Βερρῆ* may be seen the observations of many ancient writers upon this name. I take *Theophylact's* only. Who says, that (r) when Christ called these two disciples sons of thunder, he intimated, that they would be great preachers, and eminent divines.

From the time they were called by Christ, they stately attended upon him. They heard his discourses, and saw his miracles.

They were two of the Twelve, whom (s) Christ sent forth upon a commission, to preach in the land of *Israel*. Which was of great use to them. Thereby (t) they learned to trust in God, and were prepared for the greater difficulties of their Apostleship afterwards.

John addressed himself to Christ, saying: *Master, we saw one casting out demons in thy name. And we forbid him, because he followeth not with us. . .* So in Luke ix. 49. 50. And more at large in Mark ix. 38. . . 41.

But it was a thing, in which several were concerned. For *John* says: *We saw one casting out demons, in thy name. And we forbid him.* The historie, as recorded by the Evangelists, led me to think so. And Mr. *Lampe* (u) was of the same mind. Moreover, it might be done some while before.

Our Lord was going from *Galilee* to *Jerusalem* before the feast of Tabernacles, as some think, or before the feast of the Dedication, as (x) Dr. *Doddridge* argues. And, as he was to pass through the country of *Samaria*, he sent messengers before his face. And they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him. But they did not receive him, because his face was, as though he would go unto *Jerusalem*. When his disciples, *James* and *John*, saw this, they said: Lord, wilt thou, that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as *Elias* did. But he turned, and rebuked them, and said: Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. . . And they went to another village. Luke ix. 51. . . 56. Some have been of opinion, that the messengers sent by our Lord, to prepare entertainment for him, were these two disciples. If so, this proposal might be suspected to proceed as much from resentment

Petri cognomen, sic nec Zebedæi fratres nisi semel nominati sunt Boanerges. Nec prout laudis hoc nomen est, (quæ quidem inveterata est opinio,) sed nomen vitii. Non est, inquam, appellatio honorifica, sed invectiva. *Ib.* p. 259.

(r) Ὡς δὲ βροντῆς ὀνομάζει τὰς τῆς ζεβεδαίου, ὡς μεγαλοκήρυκας καὶ θεολογίτας.
In *Marc. Tom.* i. p. 205. C.

(s) See Matt. x. 46. Mark. vi. 7. Luke ix. 1.

(t) See Luke xxii. 35.

(u) *Ubi* *supr.* l. i. cap. 2. num. 18.

(x) *Family-Expositor*, Vol. ii. p. 183.

ment of an injurious treatment of themselves, as of their master. But to me that is not certain. I rather think, that those messengers were different persons. So (y) likewise argues Mr. Lampe.

The two brothers, *James* and *John*, were ambitious of high posts of honour and dignity in Christ's kingdom : which, with others, they esteemed to be of a worldly nature. The petition was presented by their mother, but at their instigation. And they seem to have been present at the same time. For our Lord's answer is directed to them. Matt. xx. 20. . . 23. Mark x. 35. . . 40.

The two brothers, *James* and *John*, and *Peter*, were the only disciples that were admitted to be present with our Lord at the raising of the daughter of *Jairus*. Mark v. 37. Luke viii. 51. The same three disciples were taken up by Christ into the mount, when he was transformed in a glorious manner, and Moses and Elias appeared, talking with him. Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28. The same three were admitted to be present at our Lord's devotions in the garden, when he retired from the rest. But they all failed to watch with their Lord, as he had desired. Matt. xxvi. 36. . . 45. Mark xiv. 32. . . . 42.

Says St. Mark xiii. 1. 2. *And as he went out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him: Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here. And Jesus answering said unto him: Seest thou these great buildings! There shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.* Compare Matt. xxiv. 1. 2. It follows in Mark xiii. 3. 4. *And as he sat on the mount of olives, over against the temple, Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, asked him privately: Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign, when all these things shall be fulfilled?* Whereby we perceive, that to those four disciples, especially, our Lord addressed himself, when he delivered the predictions concerning the great desolation coming upon the Jewish People, recorded in that chapter, and in Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxi.

This Apostle and *Peter* were the two disciples, whom Jesus sent to prepare for eating his last passover. Luke xxii. 8. Compare Matt. xxvi. 17. . . 19. Mark xiv. 13. . . 16.

Our Lord, sitting at supper with his disciples, said : *One of you will betray me.* *Peter* beckoned to *John*, who leaned on the bosom of Jesus, that he would ask, who it should be, of whom he spake. Which he did. And our Lord gave him a sign, by which he might know, whom he intended. John xiii. 21. . . 26. This is an instance of the freedom, which *John* might take, as the beloved disciple, and friend of Jesus.

When our Lord was apprehended by the Jewish officers, we are informed by St. Mark xiv. 51. 52. *And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body. And the young men laid* hold

(y) Cui tamen in eo non accedimus, quod filios Zebedæi ipsos illos legatos putat fuisse, quos Iesus in vicum Samaritanorum hospitium rogaturos miserat. Unde ob illatam sibi injuriam videntur exacerbati esse, sed textus legatos illos a filiis Zebedæi satis clare distinguit. Accedit, quod Iesus ad illos τῶν τῶν conversus fuerit. Quod indicat, illos, cum Domino consilium proponerent, non fuisse Domino obvios, sed pone eum sequentes. Lampe Proleg. l. 1. cap. 2. n. xix. not. (b).

hold of him. And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them. Some have thought, that this young man was *John*. *Cave* (z) gives a good deal of countenance to that supposition. Others (a) have thought him to be *James*, the Lord's brother. But *Grotius*, and justly, wonders, that (b) any should have been of opinion, that he was one of the Apostles.

That *Peter* followed our Lord at a distance, and was admitted into the Hall of the Jewish High-Priest, we are assured from all the Gospels. It has been supposed by many, that *John* shewed the like testimonie of affection and respect for his Lord. For he says ch. xviii. 15. *And Simon Peter followed Jesus. And so did another disciple. That disciple was known to the High-Priest. And spake to her that kept the door, and brought in Peter.*

Nevertheless it may be questioned, whether *St. John* hereby intends himself. *Chrysostom* (c) supposeth him to be meant, and that *St. John* concealed his name out of humility and modestie. To the like purpose also (d) *Theophylact*. Nor (e) had *Jerome* any doubt here. But *Augustin* (f) was cautious in saying, who it was: though he thought it might be *John*.

Let us now observe the sentiments of moderns. *Whitby* upon the place says: "He seems not to be *John*. For he being a Galilean, as "well as *Peter*, they might equally have suspected him upon that account." However to this it might be answered, that *John* being known to the High-Priest, he was safe. But then another difficulty will arise. For it may be said: How came *John* to be so well known to the High-Priest, and his familie, as to be able to direct his servant to admit a stranger, as *Peter* was, and at that time of night?

Grotius,

(z) "Indeed upon our Lord's first apprehension, he fled after the other Apostles; it not being without some probabilities of reason, that the ancients conceive him to have been that *young man*, that followed after Christ, *having a linen cloth cast about his naked body*: whom when the officers laid hold upon, he left the linen cloth, and fled naked away." *Cave's Life of St. John*, num. ii. p. 151.

(a) See *Whitby* upon *Mark* xiv. 51.

(b) Non de Apostolorum grege. Quod miror, veteribus in mentem venire potuisse. Nec e domo, in quam Christus in urbe diverterat, sed ex villa aliqua horto proxima, strepitu militum excitatus, et subito accurrens, ut conspiceret, quid agerent. *Grot. ad Marc. xiv. 51.*

(c) Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής; Ο ταῦτα γράφας, κ. λ. *Chr. in Joan. hom. 83. al. 82. T. 8. p. 491.*

(d) Τίς ἦν ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής; Αὐτὸς ἄτος ὁ ταῦτα γράφας ἀποκρύπτει ἑαυτὸν διὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης. κ. λ. *Theoph. in Joh. xviii. p. 809.*

(e) Unde et Iesus Joannem Evangelistam amabat plurimum. Qui propter generis nobilitatem erat notus Pontifici, et Judæorum insidias non timebat: in tantum ut Petrum introduceret in atrium, et staret solus Apostolorum ante crucem, matremque Salvatoris in sua reciperet. *Ad Princip. virg. ep. 96. al. 16. T. 4. p. 780.*

(f) Quisquam iste sit discipulus, non temere affirmandum est, quia tacetur. Solet autem se idem Joannes ita significare, et addere, quem diligebat Iesus. Fortassis ergo hic ipse est. Quisquis tamen sit, sequentia videamus. *In Joann. Evang. Tr. 113. T. 3. P. 2.*

Grotius, likewise thought, that (g) this *other disciple* could not be *John*, or any one of the Twelve, but rather some believer, an inhabitant of *Jerusalem*, and, possibly, the person, at whose house our Lord had eat the paschal supper.

Lampe (b) hesitates. And at length allegeth the sentiment of a learned writer, who conjectured, that this *other disciple* was *Judas*, the traitor. For *Judas*, he thinks, was soon touched with remorse for what he had done. And he might follow Jesus to the High-Priest's, hoping, that by some means he might escape out of the hands of those, to whom he had betrayed him. *Judas* being there himself, might be very willing to let in *Peter*. Whether this conjecture be specious, or not, I cannot say. But it does not seem to me very likely, that *St. John* should characterise *Judas*, by the title of *another disciple*, after he had betrayed his Lord and Master.

After all, I am not able to determine this point. At first reading this place of *St. John*, we are naturally enough led to think, that by *the other disciple* should be meant himself. But upon farther consideration there arise difficulties, that many induce us to hesitate.

Whether he followed Jesus to the Hall of *Caiaphas*, or not, we are assured, that he attended the crucifixion, and seems to have been the only one of the Twelve, that did so.

John xix. 25. . . 27. *Now there stood by the crosse of Jesus his mother. . . When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother; Woman, behold thy son. Then saith he to the disciple: Behold thy mother. And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home.* There might be several reasons for that determination: as *John's* being a relation, the sweetness of his temper, and his having somewhat of his own. He had been the beloved disciple, or friend of Jesus. And therefore was the most proper to be thus trusted.

(g) Et sane non est probabile, aut ipsum Johannem hic intelligi: (cur enim Galilæus cum esset, minus interrogaretur ab adstantibus, quam Petrus?) aut aliquem ex Duodecim, sed alium quendam Hierosolymitanum, non æque manifestum fautorem Iesu: quales multi erant in urbe, ut supra didicimus. xii. 42. Valde mihi se probat conjectura existimantium, hunc esse eum, in cujus domo Iesus cœnauerat, ob id quod legitur. Matt. xxvi. 18. *Grot. ad Job. xviii. 15.*

(b) Scripseram hæc, cum J. Casp. Merhenii Observat. Crit. in Pass. J. C. consulens, novam ab eo hypothesein proponi deprehenderem, . . . quæ notatu non indigna est. Ipsum siquidem Judam proditorem pro hoc discipulo habet, quem Joannes nominatu post turpissimum prodicionis crimen indignum censuit. . . Id autem quod potissimum in rem spectare videtur, neque a nostra sententia, quam de consilio Judæ in prodendo servatore fovemus, abaudit, ita habet: *Judam post commissum scelus pudore suffusum pedetentim cohortem fuisse secutum, atque in Petrum ita incidisse, cui scelus suum excusare, quin negare potuit, se ea mente Christo osculum dedisse, ut Christum proderet, sed ut periculum imminens ei subindicaret.* Nos sane de eo vix dubitamus, Judam pœnitentiâ sceleris jam tum fuisse tactum, atque conscientie stimulis ea propter agitatum facile potuisse eo consilio Iesum captum sequi, ut resciret, annon aliquâ ratione, pro solito, Iesus manus captorum evaluurus esset. Liberam jam lectori optionem relinquimus. *Lampe in Evang. Joann. cap. xviii. Tom. 3. p. 523. not. (f).*

ed. And doubtless this designation was perfectly agreeable to our Lord's mother.

John saw his Lord expire on the crosse. And still farther. *One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side. And forthwith came thereout blood and water. And he that saw it bore witness. And his record is true.* ch. xix. 34. 35.

And undoubtedly he also staid afterwards, and saw the body of Jesus laid in the sepulchre, and the stone placed at the mouth of it: as related by himself. xix. 38. . . 42. Comp. Matt. xxvii. 53. . . 60. Mark xv. 45. . . 47. Luke xxiii. 50. . . 56.

Early in the morning, on which our Lord rose from the dead, *Marie Magdalen*, and other women, came to the sepulchre, and saw that it was open, the stone having been taken away. *Marie Magdalen* knowing where she could find the two Apostles, *Peter* and *John*, went back to the city and told them, that *they had taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre: and, says she, we know not where they have laid him. So they ran both together, to the sepulchre.* And by what they saw there, they were led to the persuasion, that Jesus was risen from the dead. As related John xx. I. . . 10.

John was present with the other disciples, when Jesus shewed himself to them in the evening of the day, on which he arose, and likewise eight days after. ch. xx. 19. . . 29.

He has also particularly related the historie of our Lord's shewing himself to several disciples at the sea of *Tiberias*: when they had an extraordinary draught of fishes, in number one hundred and fifty-three. There were present at that time *Simon Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee, and two other disciples.* ch. xxi. 1. . 23. Beside other things, which I omit, our Lord having had discourse with *Peter*, and having foretold his martyrdom: *Peter* put to him a question, concerning *John*, saying: *Lord, what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him: If I will, that he tarry, till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die. Yet Jesus said not unto him: He shall not die. But if I will, that he tarry, till I come, what is that to thee?* Thus checking, as I apprehend, *Peter's* curiosity. However, it has been supposed by judicious Commentators, that here is an intimation, that *John* should not die before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. Nor is their any doubt, but he survived that event, which few or none of the other Apostles did. Though (i) our Lord's words may be understood to contain only an obscure intimation, that whereas *Peter's* days would be shortened by martyrdom, this disciple should be preserved, till he died in the ordinarie course of nature.

From all which we perceive, that (k) *St. John* was present at most of the

(i) Ita obscure significat, Johannem, non, ut Petrum morte violenta moriturum, sed tali, quâ sine hominum vi solveretur, ubi Christus tempus idoneum judicasset. Quod et contigit, ut Veterum plures consentiunt. *Gret. ad Joan. xxi. 22.*

(k) Ex ipsa historia evangelica Joannis probabile fit, omnibus eventibus, itineribus, miraculis, concionibus servatoris nostri ipsum interfuisse. . . cum probabile sit, illum fuisse inter discipulos duos Joannis Baptistæ, a quibus collectionis

the things related by him in his Gospel: and that he was an eye and ear-witneſſe of our Lord's labours, journeyings, diſcourſes, miracles, his low abaſement even to an ignominious death, and his being alive again, and then aſcending to heaven.

Having (l) been preſent with the reſt of the Apoſtles at the Lord's aſcenſion, he (m) returned with them from mount *Olivet* to *Jeruſalem*, and continued with them, joyning with them in their devotions, and in the choice of another, to ſupply the place of *Judas*: and (n) partook in the plentiful effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Apoſtles and their company on the day of Pentecoſt next enſuing.

Peter and *John*, who often accompanied each other, healed the lame man at the temple, and upon that occaſion preached to the people who aſſembled about them. For which they were brought before the Jewish Council, and after ſome debates were diſmiſſed with orders, not to preach any more in the name of Jeſus. Acts iii. and iv. 1. . . 22.

Some while after this, the number of believers ſtill increaſing in *Jeruſalem*, *John* and the reſt of the Apoſtles were apprehended, and put into the common priſon. But they were the ſame night delivered by an angel, who commanded them to *go and ſpeak in the temple to the people*. Which they did *early in the morning*. Whereupon they were again taken up, and brought before the Council, who conſulted how they might put them to death. But by the advice of *Gamaliel* that deſign was laid aſide. And when they had beaten them, they commanded, that they ſhould not ſpeak in the name of Jeſus, and let them go. Whereupon the Apoſtles departed from the preſence of the Council, rejoicing. . . And daily in the temple, and from houſe to houſe, they ceaſed not to teach and preach Jeſus Chriſt.

Afterwards, there being a violent perſecution at *Jeruſalem*, many were ſcattered abroad. *Philip*, one of the ſeven, went down to *Samaria*, and preached to them, and wrought many miracles, inſomuch that great numbers believed. When the Apoſtles, who were at *Jeruſalem*, heard of this, they ſent unto them *Peter* and *John*, that they might receive the Holy Ghoſt. Having performed that ſervice, they returned to *Jeruſalem*. And in their way preached the goſpel in many villages of the *Samaritans*. Acts viii. 5. . . 25.

From

lectionis diſcipulorum initium Jeſus fecit, uti L. i. cap. 2. §. ii. oſtendimus, inde colligimus, Evangeliiſtam noſtrum ſtatim ab initio rebus, quæ ſcribit, interfuſiſſe, et hanc eſſe veram rationem, cur non altius ſilum hiſtoriæ ſuæ inciperat. Ex omnibus quoque ſequentibus narrationibus nulla eſt, in qua abſentem Evangeliiſtam noſtrum ſtatuiamus fuiſſe, niſi forte excipere velis illa, quæ in palatio Annæ et Caiaphæ acciderunt. Cap. xviii. 13. . . 17. De quibus tamen res eſt dubia, quia definiri accurate nequit, annon diſcipulus, qui Petrum in Palatium Caiaphæ introduxerit, ipſe Evangeliiſta noſter fuerit. Sed licet illa præſens non perceperit, a Petro tamen, ſocio intimo, ſtatim proculdubio audivit. Et forte per ejus relationem excitatus eſt, ut ad Prætorium Pilati ſummo mane advolaret, atque ita cum reliquis mulieribus Jeſum ad crucem ſequeretur. . . Ex quo patet, quanta cum emphafi præ ceteris Apoſtoliſ et Evangeliiſtis dicere potuit: Quæ audivimus, quæ vidimus. 1 Jo. i. 1. 2. *Lamp. Proleg. l. 2. cap. 4. num. vi.*

(l) *Mark xvi. 19. Luke xxiv. 50. . . 53. Acts i. 1. . . 12.*

(m) *Acts i. 12. . . 26.*

(n) *Acts ii. 1. . . 13.*

From what St. *Paul* says in the second chapter of the epistle to the *Galatians* we perceive, that *John* was present at the Council of *Jerusalem*: of which an account is given *Acts* xv. Which Council was held in the year 49. or 50. or thereabout. And it may be reckoned probable, that till that time *John* had staid in the land of *Israel*, and had not been abroad in any Gentil countreys.

I would add, that though no miracles are related to be done by St. *John*, beside those, which have been here taken notice of; I reckon it very probable, that many miracles, beside those particularly mentioned by the historian, were wrought by him, and other Apostles, during their stay in *Judea*. This may be inferred from general expressions of St. *Luke* in several places. *And many signs and wonders were done by the Apostles.* *Acts* ii. 43. *And with great power gave the Apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus.* *ch.* iv. 33. *And by the hands of the Apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people.* *ch.* v. 12. *Comp.* iv. 29. 30.

From the book of the Revelation. *ch.* i. 9. we learn, that St. *John* was for a while in the island called *Patmos*, where he was favored with visions and revelations.

Thus far we have endeavored to collect the historie of this Apostle from the New Testament.

II. From ecclesiastical historie we learn, that St. *John* lived to a great age, and that in the later part of his life he resided *His age.* in *Asia*, particularly at *Ephesus*, the chief city of that countrey.

Concerning his abode in *Asia* we have divers testimonies of good credit. *Irenæus* in (o) two places of his work against Heresies, both (p) cited by *Eusebe*, says, that *John* the Apostle lived in *Asia* till the time of *Trajan*. [Who succeeded *Nerva* in the year of Christ 98.] *Eusebe* (q) understands *Clement* of *Alexandria* to speak to the like purpose. *Origen* also says, that (r) *John* having lived long in *Asia*, died at *Ephesus*. *Polycrates*, Bishop of *Ephesus* about 196. is an unexceptionable witness, that (s) *John* was buried in that city. *Jerome* (t) in his book of Illustrious Men, and in his books against *Jovinian*, says, "that the Apostle *John* lived in *Asia*, to the time of *Trajan*. And dying at a great age, in the sixty-eighth year after our Lord's passion, was buried near the city of *Ephesus*." Supposing our Lord to have been crucified in the year 32. of the vulgar æra, which (u) seems to have been *Jerome's* opinion, sixty-eight years will reach to the year 100. or the third of *Trajan*. At which year of that Emperour the death of St. *John* is placed by *Jerome* in his (x) Chronicle.

What was *John's* age, when called by Christ, we are not informed.
Baronius

(o) *Iren. adv. Haer. l. 2. cap. 22. n. v. p. 148. ed. Mass. et l. 3. cap. 3. p. 178.*

(p) *Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 23. in.*

(q) *Vid. Euseb. ibid.*

(r) *Ap. Euseb. l. 3. cap. 1.*

(s) *Ap. Euseb. l. v. cap. 24. in.*

(t) *See Credib. Vol. x. p. 100. and 101.*

(u) *Vid. Basnag. Ann. 101. num. ii.*

(x) *P. 165, ex ed. Scalig.*

Baronius (y) thought he might then be about 22 years of age. Having been with Christ three years, he was about 25 years of age when our Lord was crucified. *Tillemont* (z) supposes St. *John* to have been about 25 or 26 years of age when called to be an Apostle. *Lampe* (a) thinks, that he was about the same age with our Saviour. For my part, I cannot persuade myself, that any of Christ's Apostles, when called to attend upon him, that they might be his witnesses to the world, were much under the age of thirty. If it hence follows, that *John* was a hundred years of age, or thereabout, when he died, it is not at all incredible, nor unlikely.

III. As it is an allowed point, that *John* dwelt in *Asia* in the later part of his life; we may be reasonably desirous to know, when he settled in that countrey. And for determining this, the books of the New Testament may afford good hints. For (b) in all St. *Luke's* historie of the preaching and travels of *Paul*, particularly in *Asia*, no mention is made of *John*. Which may induce us to think, that he was not there at that time. Nor are there any salutations sent to *John* in any of St. *Paul's* epistles, writ at *Rome*: several of which were sent to *Ephesus*, or other places, not very remote from it: as the epistle to the *Ephesians*, the second epistle to *Timothie*, probably, at *Ephesus*, the epistle to the *Colossians*, and the epistle to *Philemon*, at *Colosse*.

I will now observe the opinions of some learned moderns. *Baronius* thought, that (c) this Apostle did not come to reside in *Asia*, until after the death of St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*. *Du Pin* says: We (d) do not exactly know, when he came into *Asia*. Perhaps it was about the year 70. *Tillemont* was of opinion, that (e) St. *John* did not come to reside in *Asia*, till about the year 66. But he supposeth, that upon some occasion, he had before that been in that countrey, without making a stay there. Which last, as I apprehend, is said without any good authority. Mr. *Lampe* was of opinion, that (f) *John* did not leave *Judea*, till after the death of *James*, called the Less, and but a short time only, before the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

To me it seems not unlikely, that St. *John* came into *Asia*, about the time that the war broke out in *Judea*, in the year 66. or a short time before,

(y) *Ann.* 101. num. ix.

(z) *S. Jean l'Evangélisse. art. x. et note xv. Mem. Tom. i.*

(a) Quare nihil impedit, quo minus ejusdem ferme ætatis cum servatore nostro fuerit. *Prolegom. in Jo. l. i. cap. 2. num. i. not. (a)*

(b) "In the division of provinces, which the Apostles made among themselves, *Asia* fell to his share, though he did not presently enter into his charge. Otherwise, we must have heard of him in the account, which St. *Luke* gives of St. *Paul's* several journeys into, and residence in those parts." *Cave's Life of St. John. §. iv.*

(c) *A. d.* 97. num. ii.

(d) *Du Pin Diff. Prel. l. 2. ch. 2. §. vi.*

(e) *St. Jean. art. iv.*

(f) Post ejus (*Jacobi Minoris*) excessum neminem ex τῷ δούλῳ grege et constantius et diutius Hierosolymis substituisse nostro Apostolo: ita ut vix exiguo ante exordium intervallo, inde se avelli pateretur. *Proleg. l. i. cap. 2. n. xv. p. 29.*

fore, when, probably, St. *Peter* and *Paul* had been before crowned with martyrdom.

As St. *John* staid a good while in *Palestine*, it may be reasonably concluded, that the virgin *Marie* did not go with him to *Ephesus*, as (*g*-*Baronius*, and some others have thought, but died, before he went thither) Which was the opinion of (*b*) *Cave*, and (*i*) *Basnage*.

IV. St. *John* having had a long life, many things have been said of him, some true, others false. Most of them have been already taken notice of in several chapters of this work. It may not be improper to recollect them here, with some remarks.

*His Historie
from other
Writers.*

1. *Apollonius*, who wrote against the *Montanists*, and flourished about the year 211. says, in a fragment, preserved by *Eusebe*, "That (*k*) by the divine power *John* raised up a dead man to life at *Ephesus*." Which miracle is also taken notice of by (*l*) *Sozomen*, and (*m*) *Nicephorus*, and may have been really done. But if we had had a more circumstantial historie of it, and if it had been mentioned by some other early writers, beside *Apollonius*, it would have been more credible.

2. There was a book forged with the title of the *Travels of Paul and Thecla* by a Presbyter, who was deposed for so doing, as related by *Tertullian*. *Jerome* says, that he was a Presbyter in *Asia*, and that he was convicted before St. *John* of being the author of it, and for that reason was deposed. Of this matter we have already spoken distinctly already, and therefore refer to what was then (*n*) said.

3. It is also related of our Apostle, that going to bathe at *Ephesus*, and perceiving, that *Cerinthus*, or, as others say, *Ebion*, was already in the bath, he came out again hastily, and would not make use of the bath. The probability of which account was examined (*o*) formerly.

4. It is said, that by order of the Emperour *Domitian* St. *John* was cast into a caldron of boyling oyl at Rome, and came out again, without being hurt. The (*p*) truth of which storie likewise has been considered by us.

5. *Polycrates*, Bishop of *Ephesus* in the later part of the second centurie, says, that *John* was Christ's High-Priest, wearing on his forehead a golden plate. Which account (*q*) has been considered, and the judgments of divers learned men upon it alleged.

6. *Eusebe* has a storie, from a work of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, of a young man in a city of *Asia*, not far from *Ephesus*, who after having been instructed

(*g*) *A. d.* 44. *n.* xxix.

(*b*) "Probable therefore it is, that he dwelt in his own house at *Jerusalem*, at least till the death of the blessed Virgin." *Cave's Life of St. John*, §. iv.

(*i*) *Vid. Basnag. Ann.* 46. *num.* xxxviii.

(*k*) *See ch.* 31. *num.* iv. *Vol.* iii. *p.* 16.

(*l*) *Soz. l.* 7. *cap.* 27. *p.* 750.

(*m*) *Niceph. l.* 4. *cap.* 25.

(*n*) *See ch.* 27. *vol.* ii. *p.* 641. . . 643. and *ch.* 29. *p.* 698. &c.

(*o*) *See ch.* 6. *vol.* i. *p.* 190. 191. note (B) the second edition, and *ch.* 114. *vol.* x. *p.* 108.

(*p*) *See ch.* 27. *vol.* ii. *p.* 604. note (E) the second edition, and *ch.* 114. *vol.* x. *p.* 108.

(*q*) *See ch.* 114. *vol.* x. *p.* 104. . . 107.

fructus in the Christian Religion took to evil courses, and became profligate: but nevertheless was afterwards brought to repentance by our Apostle. This account is inserted at large by *Eusebe* (r) in his Ecclesiastical Historie. It has been repeated in like manner by *Simeon Metaphrastes* in his Life of St. *John Chrysostom* (s) has referred to it. It is also briefly told in the (t) Paschal Chronicle. I have already taken some notice of this (u) storie. *S. Basnage* (x) thinks it to be a fable, or feigned apologue, composed to convey useful instruction. Mr. *Lampe* (y) is favorable to this history. And, perhaps, it may be true, abating some circumstances. Which are not seldom added to such accounts, to render them the more entertaining.

7. *Jerome* has given an account of St. *John's* method of preaching, when he was of a great age, and was not able to make a long discourse. This (z) was taken notice of by us in a proper place. Nor is the truth of it, though related by *Jerome* only, disputed, either by (a) *Lampe*, or (b) *Le Clerc*.

8. It is generally supposed, that (c) *John* is one of those Apostles, who lived a single life. It is said by (d) *Tertullian*, and *Jerome*. Which last affirms, that (e) ecclesiastical history assures us of it. And he makes it the ground of all the peculiar privileges of this Apostle.

9. Another

(r) *L. 3. cap. 23.*

(s) *Ad Theodor. laps. T. i. p. 31. ed. Bened.*

(t) *Chr. Pasch. p. 251. D.*

(u) *See ch. 114. vol. x. p. 107. 108.*

(x) Apologo quam historia videtur esse propior. . . . Ac sane nescimus, si vera historia est, cur Clemens *μῦθος, fabula*, nomen ipsi primum imposuerit. Fabula fuit ratione rei significantis, veritasque respectu rei significatæ, quæ mentibus proponebatur, nempe eximii pastoris officium, ac vis pœnitentiæ. Non insolens erat antiquis, uti apologis ejusmodi ad informandos mores. . . . Si cui tamen placet de Joanne Clementis narrationem veram historiam esse, quia sic veteribus visum, de hac re quidem contendere nolumus. *Basn. ann.*

97. num. x.

(y) *Prolegom. l. i. cap. v. num. iii. . . . ix.*

(z) *Vol. x. p. 103.*

(a) Licet enim Hieronymus solus hujus narrationis auctor sit, nihil tamen occurrit, quod non cum more Joannis, ut cum ratione Ecclesiæ ejus temporis apprime convenit. *Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. v. n. xi.*

(b) *H. E. ann. 99. num. i.*

(c) *Vid. Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. i. num. xiii.*

(d) Joannes Christi spado. *De Monog. cap. 17. p. 688.*

(e) Talem fuisse eunuchum, quem Jesus amavit plurimum, Evangelistam Joannem, ecclesiasticæ credunt historiæ: qui recubuit super pectus Jesu: qui, Petro tardius ambulante, elatus virginitatis alis cucurrit ad Dominum: qui in secreta divinæ se nativitatæ immergens, ausus est dicere: In principio erat Verbum, &c. *In Is. cap. LVI. Tom. 3. p. 410.*

Joannes vero noster, quasi aquila, ad superna volat, et ad ipsum Patrem pervenit, dicens: In principio erat Verbum, &c. Exposuit virginitas, quod nuptiæ scire non poterant. Et ut brevi sermone multa comprehendam, doceamque, cujus privilegii sit Joannes, imo in Joanne virginitas: a Domino virgine, mater virgo virgini discipulo commendatur. *Adv. Joann. l. i. T. 4. P. 2. p. 169. Vid. et ad. Princip. virg. ep. 96. al. 16. ib. p. 780. f.*

9. Another thing said of *John*, is, that he was banished into *Patmos*, an island of the Mediterranean Sea, not far from the coast of *Asia*. And, if he is the writer of the book of the Revelation, which we do not now dispute, the thing is unquestioned. But I have deferred the consideration of this particular, till now, because learned moderns are not agreed about the time of it.

V. I shall therefore first put down the accounts of ancient authors, and then observe the opinions of learned men of later times.

The time, when he was banished to Patmos.

Irenæus says of the revelation, “that (f) it was seen no long time ago, but almost in our age, at the end of the reign of *Domitian*.” And though *Irenæus* does not say, that *St. John* was then in *Patmos*, yet since he supposeth him to be the person, who had the revelation, he must have believed him to be then in *Patmos*, as the book itself says. ch. i. 9.

Clement, of *Alexandria*, in his book, entitled, *Who is the rich man that may be saved*, as cited by *Eusebe*, speaks (g) of “*John*’s returning from *Patmos* to *Ephesus*, after the death of the tyrant.” By whom, it is probable, he means *Domitian*.

Tertullian, in his *Apology*, speaks of *Domitian*, as (h) having banished some Christians, and afterwards giving them leave to return home: probably intending *St. John*, and some others. In another work he says, “that (i) *John* having been sent for to *Rome*, was cast into a vessel of boiling oyl, and then banished into an island:” in the time of *Domitian*, as is most probable.

Origen, explaining *Matt. xx. 23.* says: “*James* (k) the brother of “*John*, was killed with a sword by *Herod*. And a Roman Emperour, “as tradition teaches, banished *John* into the island *Patmos* for the “testimonie, which he bore to the word of truth. And *John* himself bears “witness to his banishment, omitting the name of the Emperour, by “whom he was banished, saying in the Revelation: *I John, who also am “your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience “of Jesus Christ, was in the isle of Patmos, for the word of God, and for the “testimonie of Jesus Christ.* And (l) it seems, that the Revelation was “seen in that island.”

Victorin, Bishop of *Pettaw* about 290. again and again says, that (m) *John* was banished by *Domitian*, and in his reign saw the revelation.

Eusebe,

(f) See cap. 17. Vol. i. p. 379.

(g) Επειδὴ γὰρ τῷ τυράννῳ τελευταίῳ, ἀπὸ τῆς πατρὸς τῆς νύκτα μετῴθηεν εἰς τὴν ἔρησον. κ. λ. *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 23. p. 92.*

(h) Tentaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate. Sed qua et homo facile ceptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. *Apol. cap. 5.*

(i) . . . habes Romam, . . . ubi Apostolus Joannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur. *De Pr. Haer. cap. 36. p. 245.*

(k) *Comm. in Matt. T. i. p. 417. Huet.*

(l) Καὶ εἶκε τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐν τῇ νύκτι τεθεωρημέναι. *Ibid. C.*

(m) See Vol. v. p. 223.

Eusebe, giving an account of *Domitian's* persecution, says : “ In (*n*) this persecution, as it is said, *John*, the Apostle and Evangelist, being still living, was banished into the island *Patmos* for the testimonie of the word of God.”

Epiphanius, as formerly (*p*) shewn, says : “ *John* prophesied in the isle of *Patmos*, in the reign of *Claudius*.” And in another place, then only referred to, he says : “ *John* wrote his Gospel in his old age, when he “ was more than ninety years old, after his return from *Patmos*, which “ (*q*) was in the time of *Claudius Cæsar*.”

Ferome, in his book of Illustrious Men, as (*r*) formerly cited, says : “ *Domitian* in the fourteenth year of his reign raising the second persecution after *Nero*, *John* was banished into the island *Patmos*, where he wrote the Revelation.” And in another work, also cited (*s*) formerly, he says again : “ *John* was a Prophet, as he saw the Revelation in the island *Patmos*, where he was banished by *Domitian*.” And I shall now transcribe below (*t*) in his own words, without translating them, his comment upon Matt. xx. 23. where he speaks of St. *John's* having been banished into *Patmos* : but does not name the Emperour, by whom he was banished.

Sulpicius Severus says, “ that (*u*) *John*, the Apostle and Evangelist, was banished by *Domitian* into the island *Patmos* : where he had visions, and where he wrote the book of the Revelation.”

Arethas, in his Commentarie upon the Revelation, supposed to be writ in the sixth centurie, says, upon the authority of *Eusebius*, that (*x*) *John* was banished into *Patmos* by *Domitian*.

Isidore, of *Seville*, near the end of the sixth centurie, says : “ *Domitian* (*y*) raised a persecution against the Christians. In his time the Apostle *John* having been banished into the island *Patmos* saw the Revelation.”

We may now make a remark or two.

I. All these testimonies are of use, whether they name the island, where *John* was banished, or the Emperour, by whom he was banished, or not. They all agree, that St. *John* was sent thither by way of punishment, or restraint, for bearing witness to the truth. Which confutes

(*n*) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 18.*

(*p*) *Vol. viii. p. 311.*

(*q*) . . . τὴν ἐπὶ κλαυδίου γενομένην καίσαρος. *Haer. 51. num. xii.*

(*r*) See *Vol. x. p. 100.*

(*s*) *P. 102.*

(*t*) Quæritur, quomodo calicem martyrii filii Zebedæi, Jacobus videlicet et Joannes, biberint : quum scriptura narret Jacobum tantum Apostolum ab Herode capite truncatum : Joannes autem propria morte vitam finierit. Sed si legamus ecclesiasticas historias, in quibus fertur, quod et ipse propter martyrium sit missus in ferventis olei dolium, et inde ad suscipiendam coronam Christi athleta processerit, statimque relegatus in Patmon insulam sit, videbimus, martyrio animum non defuisse, et bibisse Joannem calicem confessionis. *Comm. in Matt. Tom. 4. P. i. p. 92.*

(*u*) See *Vol. xi. p. 11.*

(*x*) Εξόριστον δὲ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἐν πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ ὑπὸ δομειτιανῶ, ἐνσέβιος ὁ παμφίλος ἐν τῇ χρονοκῶ αὐτῶ βιβλίῳ παρατίθεται. *Andr. in Apoc. ap. Occum. Tom. 2. f. 654. D.*

(*y*) *Vol. xi. p. 377.*

futes the opinion of *Lightfoot*, "that (z) *John* travelling in the ministrie " of the gospel, up and down, from *Asia* westward, comes into the isle " *Patmos*, in the *Icarian* sea, an island about thirty miles compass. And " there on the Lord's day he has these visions, and an angel interprets to " him all he saw."

2. All these writers, who mention the time of the Revelation, and of the banishment, say, it was in the time of *Domitian*, and that he was the Emperour, by whom *St. John* was banished: except *Epiphanius*, who says, it was in the time of *Claudius*. As he is singular, it should seem, that he cannot be of any great weight against so many others.

Nevertheless, as some learned men, particularly *Grotius*, have paid great regard to *Epiphanius* in this point; it is fit, we should consider, what they say.

Says *Grotius* in a tract, entitled A Comment upon divers texts of the New Testament, relating to Antichrist: particularly, upon the tenth verse of the xvii. chapter of the Revelation: "*John* (a) began to be illuminated with divine visions in the island *Patmos*, in the time of *Claudius*. Which was the opinion of the most ancient Christians. See "*Epiphanius* in the Heresie of the *Alogians*. *Claudius*, as we learn from " *Acts* xviii. 2. commanded all Jews to depart from *Rome*. Under the " name of Jews, Christians also were comprehended, as has been observ- " ed by many learned men. And it cannot be doubted, but many Go- " vernours of the Roman provinces followed that example. So there- " fore *John* was driven from *Ephesus*."

That argument was long ago examined by (b) *David Blondel*, who says, 1. It is not true, that the most ancient writers said, that *St. John* was sent into *Patmos* by *Claudius*. It is *Epiphanius* only, who says so. He is altogether singular. There are no ancients, either before or after him, who have said this. 2. As *Epiphanius* is singular, he ought not to be regarded. 3. There was no persecution of the Christians in the reign of *Claudius*. There is no proof from any ancient monuments, that Christians, as such, suffered banishment under that Emperour. It is allowed, that (c) *Nero* was the first Roman Emperour, who persecut- ed

(z) *Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i, p. 341.*

(a) *Cæpit autem Joannes in Patmo esse, et Dei visus illuminari Claudii temporibus, quæ vetustissimorum Christianorum est sententia, non Domitiani, ut volunt alii. Vide Epiphanium in Hæresi Alogorum. Claudius Judæos, sub quorum nomine tunc et Christiani censebantur, ut multis viris doctis observatum est, Roma pepulerat, Act. xviii. 2. Quod exemplum non dubium est, quin imitati sint multi Præsides Romanorum provinciarum. Ita Epheso expulsus Joannes, Grot. Commentatio ad loca quædam N. T. quæ de Antichristo agunt, aut agere putantur. Opp. Tom. 3.*

(b) *Des Sibylles. l. 2. ch. iii. p. 145. . . . 148. à Charenten. 1649.*

(c) *Consultite commentarios vestros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hanc sectam, cum maxime Romæ orientem, Cæsariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ etiam gloriatur. Tertull. Ap. cap. v.*

Nerone imperante. . . Qui dignus exstitit, qui persecutionem in Christianos primus inciperet. Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sacr. l. 2. cap. 39.

Nam primus Romæ Christianos suppliciis et mortibus affecit, P. Oros. l. 7. cap. 7.

Vid. et Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 25. p. 67.

ed the Christians. 4. The edict of *Claudius* only banished the Jews from *Rome*. It did not affect the Jews in the provinces, as appears from the New Testament itself, particularly, Acts xviii. and xix. It is manifest from the historie in the Acts, that in the reign of *Claudius*, in other parts of the Empire, out of *Rome*, the Jews enjoyed as full liberty, as they did before. *Paul* and *Silas*, *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, dwelled quietly at *Corinth*: where the men of their nation had their synagogue, and assembled in it according to custom, without molestation. 5. Nor could the Governours of provinces banish either Jews or Christians out of their governments, without order from the Emperour. And that they had no such order, is apparent. Neither Jews nor Christians were molested by them at *Ephesus*, as may be perceived from the historie in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts. That they were not molested by them at *Corinth*, appears from the preceeding chapter. 6. St. *John* could not be banished from *Ephesus* by *Claudius*, or the Governours under him. For he was not in that city during the reign of that Emperour, nor in the former part of the reign of *Nero*, as has been shewn. He did not come thither, till near the end of the reign of the last mentioned Emperour. Therefore he could not sooner be banished from *Ephesus*.

These observations, if I am not mistaken, are sufficient to confute the opinion of *Grotius*.

Sir *Isaac Newton* was of opinion, that (B) St. *John* was banished into *Patmos*, and that the Revelation was seen in the reign of *Nero*, before the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

“*Eusebius*, says (d) he, in his Chronicle, and Ecclesiastical Historie follows *Irenæus* (who said, the Apocalypse was writ in the time of *Domitian*): But afterwards in his Evangelical Demonstration he conjoins the banishment of *John* into *Patmos*, with the deaths of *Peter* and *Paul*.”

To which I answer, first, that (e) the Ecclesiastical Historie was not writ before the Evangelical Demonstration, but after it. For the Demonstration

(B) Sir *Isaac Newton*'s opinion is much the same with that of *John Hentenius* of *Mechlin*, confuted by *David Blondel* in the same work, and in the next chapter to that, in which he confuted *Grotius*. *Hentenius* and *Newton* argue much alike. It may be suspected, that *Newton* incautiously borrowed some of his weak arguments. Says *Blondel*: “*Jean Hentenius* en sa preface sur le Commentaire d' *Arethas*. . . a le discours, qui suit: Il me semble, que *Jean* . . . a esté relegué par *Neron* en *Patmos* au mesme temps que celui là a tué dans *Rome* . . . *Pierre* et *Paul*. *Tertullien*, voisin des temps des mesmes Apostres, assure cela mesme en deux lieux. *Eusebe* aussi traite la mesme chose au livre de la Demonstration Evangelique, combien qu'en ses Chroniques, et en l'Histoire Ecclesiastique il dit que cela est arrivé sous *Domitien*: ce que aussi *Saint Hierome* et plusieurs autres suivent. Mais à ces livres cy, comme esris és années precedentes, si grande autorité n'est pas attribuée, qu'à celui de la Demonstration Evangelique, veu qu'il a esté depuis, et plus corréctement élaboré. *Blondel* des Sibylles, l. 2. ch. iv. p. 148, 149.

(d) *Newton*'s Observations upon the Apocalypse of St. *John*. ch. i. p. 236.

(e) See in this work Vol. viii. p. 47. *Vales.* Annot. in *Euseb.* p. 8. 9. *Fabric.* Bib. Gr. l. 5. cap. iv. Tom. 6. p. 57. . . . 59.

monstration is referred to at the end of the second chapter of the first book of the Ecclesiastical Historie. Secondly, *Eusebius* in his Demonstration is not different from himself in his Ecclesiastical Historie. In his Demonstration, having spoken of the imprisonment of all the Apostles at *Jerusalem*, and of their being beaten, and of the stoning of *Stephen*, the beheading of *James* the son of *Zebedee*, and the imprisonment of *Peter*, he adds: "*James* (f) the Lord's brother, was stoned, *Peter* was crucified at *Rome* with his head downward, and *Paul* was beheaded, and *John* banished into an island." But he does not say, that all these things happened in the time of one and the same Emperour. It is plain, that it is not his design to mention exactly the time of the sufferings of all these persons. Nothing hinders our supposing, that the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* were put to death by order of *Nero*, and *John* banished by *Domitian*, many years afterwards, agreeably to what himself writes in his Chronicle and Historie.

It follows in Sir *Isaac Newton*. "And (g) so do *Tertullian*, and *Pseudo-Prochorus*, as well as the first author, whoever he was, of that very "ancient fable, that St. *John* was put by *Nero* into a vessel of hot "oyl."

I place below (b) the words of *Tertullian*, to which Sir *Isaac* refers. And I answer: It is true, that *Tertullian* speaks of the death of *Peter* and *Paul*, and of *John*'s being cast into boiling oyl, and then banished, all together. But he does not say, that all happened in the same reign. St. *John*'s banishment is the last thing mentioned by him. And, probably, it happened not, till after the death of *Peter* and *Paul*. It is likely, that *Tertullian* supposed it to have been done by the order of *Domitian*. For in another place he speaks of the persecution of that Emperour, as (i) consisting chiefly in banishments. "... and *Pseudo-Prochorus*." What place of *Prochorus*, who pretended to be one of the seven deacons, and is called by *Baronius* (k) himself a great liar, Sir *Isaac Newton* refers to, I do not know. But in his historie of St. *John* he is entirely against him. For (l) he particularly relates the sufferings, which St. *John* underwent in the second persecution of the Christians, which was raised by *Domitian*. That Emperour sent orders to the Proconsul at *Ephesus*,

(f) ... καὶ πέτρος δὲ ἐπὶ ῥώμης κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταυρεῖται παῦλος τε ἀποτέμνεται, ἰωάννης τε ἡσσω παραδίδοται. *Dem. Ev. l. 3. p. 116.*

(g) *As before*, p. 236.

(b) *Ista quam felix ecclesia, ubi Petrus passioni Dominicæ adæquatur; ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur: ubi Apostolus Joannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur. De Prascri. cap. 36. p. 245.*

(i) *Tentaverat et Domitianus . . . sed quâ et homo, facile ceptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. Apol. cap. 5.*

(k) *in multis mendacissimus hic auctor fuisse convincitur. An. 92. num. i.*

(l) *Secundam vero persecutionem Domitianus excitârat, cujus temporibus Joannes Ephesi morabatur. Imperator autem Domitianus epistolam misit Ephesum ad Proconsulem civitatis. . . Proch. de Vit. Joan, cap. 8. Ap. Bib. Patr. Lugd. T. 2.*

Ephesus, to apprehend the Apostle. When the Proconsul had got St. *John* in his power, he informed *Domitian* of it. Who then commanded the Proconsul to bring him to *Rome*. When (m) he was come, the Emperour would not see him, but ordered him to be cast into a vessel of scalding oyl, and he came out unhurt. Then *Domitian* commanded the Proconsul to have St. *John* back again to *Ephesus*. Some time (n) after that, by order of the same *Domitian*, *John*, and others at *Ephesus*, were banished into *Patmos*. *Domitian* (o) being dead, they returned to *Ephesus* with the leave of his successor, who did not persecute the Christians. So *Pseudo-Prochorus*.

Since the great *Newton* has been pleased to refer to such a writer, I shall take notice of another, of the like sort. I mean *Abdias*, who assumed the character of the first Bishop of *Babylon*. What he says, is to this purpose: that (p) *John*, who survived the other Apostles, lived to the time of *Domitian*, preaching the word to the people in *Asia*. When *Domitian's* edict for persecuting the Christians was brought to *Ephesus*, and *John* refused to deny Christ, or to give over preaching, the Proconsul ordered, that he should be drowned in a vessel of boiling oyl. But *John* presently leaped out unhurt. The Proconsul would then have set him at liberty, if he had not feared to transgress the Emperour's edict. He therefore banished *John* into *Patmos*, where he saw and wrote the Revelation. After the death of *Domitian*, his edicts having been abrogated by the Senate, they who had been banished, returned to their homes. And *John* came to *Ephesus*, where he had a dwelling, and many friends.

Then follows an account of St. *John's* visiting the churches in the neighborhood of *Ephesus*. Where is inserted also the storie, formerly taken

(m) Audiens autem Domitianus de adventu ejus, noluit impius Cæsar videre faciem Apostoli. Et jussit, ut Proconsul duceret ad Portam Latinam, et in ferventis olei dolium illum vivum dimitti. &c. *Ib. cap. 10.*

(n) *Ibid. cap. 14.*

(o) Mortuo autem Domitiano, qui nos transmiserat in exilium, successor ejus non prohibebat Christianos. Et cum audisset de bonitate et sanctimonia Joannis, quodque fuisset injuste a prædecessore suo exilio relegatus, per literas nos revocavit ab exilio. *Ib. cap. 45.*

(p) Est igitur et hoc ipsum amoris Salvatoris in beatum Joannem indicium non vulgare, quod vitâ reliquos omnes superaverit, et, ut dictum est, ad Domitiani Imperatoris ætatem usque in Asia verbum salutis populis adnuntiavit. . . . Cui Proconsul loci cum edictum Imperatoris, ut Christum negaret, et a prædicatione cessaret, legisset, Apostolus intrepide respondit. . . . Ad cujus responsionem motus Proconsul jussit eum velut rebellem in dolio ferventis olei demergi. Qui statim ut conjectus in æneo est, veluti athleta unctus, non adustus, de vase exiit. Ad quod miraculum Proconsul stupefactus, voluit eum libertati suæ reddere. Et fecisset, nisi timuisset edictum Cæsaris. Mitiores igitur pœnam cogitans, in exilium eum relegavit, in insulam, quæ dicitur Patmos. In qua et Apocalypsin, quæ ex nomine ejus legitur, et vidit, et scripsit. Post mortem autem Domitiani, quia omnia ejus decreta Senatus infringi jusserat, inter ceteros, qui ab eo relegati fuerant, et ad propria remeabant, etiam sanctus Joannes Ephesum rediit, ubi et hospitium, et multos amicos habebat. *Abd. Hist. Apostol. cap. v. ap. Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p. 533. . . 536.*

taken notice of, concerning the young man, as related by *Eusebius* from *Clement of Alexandria*: and as happening, not after the death of *Nero*, but of *Domitian*.

Newton proceeds: "as well as the first author, whoever he was, of that very ancient fable, that *John* was put by *Nero* into a vessel of hot oyl, and coming out unhurt, was banished by him into *Patmos*. Though this story be no more than a fiction, yet it was founded on a tradition of the first Churches, that *John* was banished into *Patmos* in the days of *Nero*."

Who was the first author of that fable, I do not know. But it does not appear, that *Tertullian*, the first writer who has mentioned it, thought it to be in the time of *Nero*. He might mean, and probably did mean, *Domitian*, the same who banished *John* into an island. As did also, the two writers just taken notice of, *Prochorus* and *Abdias*, to whom we were led by *Sir Isaac*. *Jerome*, who (q) in his books against *Jovinian*, mentions this storie, as from *Tertullian*, according to some copies, says, it was done at *Rome*, according to others, in the time of *Nero*. However in the same place, as well as elsewhere, *Jerome* expressly says, that *John* was banished into *Patmos* by *Domitian*. And (r) in the other place, where he mentions the casting St. *John* into boiling oyl, he says: "And presently afterwards he was banished into the island *Patmos*." Therefore that other trial, which St. *John* met with, was in the same reign, that is, *Domitian's*. And indeed *Jerome* always supposes St. *John's* banishment to have been in that reign: as he particularly relates in the ninth chapter of his book of *Illustrious Men*. Let me add, that if the storie of St. *John's* being put into a vessel of scalding oyl be a fable, and a fiction, it must be hazardous to build an argument upon it.

It follows in *Newton*: "*Epiphanius* represents the Gospel of *John* as written in the time of *Domitian*, and the Apocalypse even before that of *Nero*." I have already said enough of *Epiphanius* in considering the opinion of *Grotius*. However, as one would think, *Sir Isaac Newton* had little reason to mention *Epiphanius*, when he does not follow him. He says, that St. *John* was banished into *Patmos* in the time of *Claudius*: *Sir Isaac*, not till near the end of the reign of *Nero*.

"*Arethas*, says (s) *Sir Isaac*, in the beginning of his Commentarie quotes the opinion of *Irenæus* from *Eusebius*, but does not follow it. For he afterwards affirms, that the Apocalypse was written before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and that former Commentators had expounded the sixth seal of that destruction."

To

(q) Vidit enim in Patmos insula, in qua fuerat a Domitiano principe relegatus, Apocalypsin. . . Refert autem Tertullianus, quod Romæ, [al. a Nerone] missus in ferventis olei dolium purior et vegetior exierit, quam intravit. *Adv. Jovin. l. i. Tom. 4. p. 169.*

(r) Sed si legamus ecclesiasticas historias, in quibus fertur, quod et ipse propter martyrium sit missus in ferventis olei dolium, et inde ad suscipiendam coronam Christi athleta processerit, statimque relegatus in Patmos insulam sit. &c. *Comm. in Matt. xx. 23. Tom. 4. P. i. p. 92.*

(s) As before, p. 236.

To which I answer. *Arethas* does indeed say, that (t) some interpreters had explained things under the sixth seal, as relating to the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Vespasian*. But they were some only, not the most. Yea, he presently afterwards says, that the most interpreted it otherwise. Nor does he say, that any of those Commentators were of opinion, that the Apocalypse was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. *Arethas* seems to have been of opinion, that things, which had come to pass long before, might be represented in the Revelation. Therefore immediately before that passage, explaining Rev. vi. 12. 13. he says: "What (u) is the opening of the sixth seal? It is the cross and death of the Lord, followed by his resurrection, desirable to all faithful and understanding men. And lo, there was a great earthquake; manifestly denoting, says he, the signs that happened during the crucifixion, the shaking of the earth, the darknesse of the sun, the turning the moon into blood. For when it is full moon, being the fourteenth day, how was it possible, that the sun should be eclipsed by it's interposition?"

However, I must not conceal what he says afterwards, in another chapter of his (x) Commentarie. He is explaining Rev. vii. 4. . . . 8. "These, says he, who instructs the Evangelist, will not partake in the calamities inflicted by the *Romans*. For the destruction caused by the *Romans* had not fallen upon the Jews, when the Evangelist received these instructions. Nor was he at *Jerusalem*, but in *Ionia*, where is *Ephesus*. For he staid at *Jerusalem* no more than fourteen years. . . . "And after the death of our Lord's mother, he left *Judea*, and went to *Ephesus*, as (y) tradition says: where also, as is said, he had the revelation of future things." But how can we rely upon a writer of the sixth centurie for the particulars, that *John* did not stay at *Jerusalem* more than fourteen years: that he left *Judea* upon the death of our Lord's mother, and then went to *Ephesus*: when we can evidently perceive from the historie in the Acts, that in the fourteenth year after our Lord's ascension, there were no Christian converts at *Ephesus*; and that the church at *Ephesus* was not founded by St. *Paul*, till several years afterwards? What avails it, to refer to such passages as these? Which when looked into, and examined, contain no certain assurances of any thing. And Sir *Isaac Newton* himself says; "It (z) seems to me, that *Peter* and *John* staid with their churches in *Judea* and *Syria*: till the *Romans* made war upon their nation, that is, till the twelfth year of *Nero*," or A. D. 66.

We

(t) Τινὲς δὲ τὰυτα εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Ὀυεσπασιανῆς γινομένην πολιορκίαν ἐξέλαβον πάντα τὰ εἰρημὴν τεροπολογήσαντες. Οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν, κ. λ. *Areth. cap.* 18. p. 709. A.

(u) Τίς δὲ ἡ λύσις τῆς ἑκτῆς σφραγίδος; Ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ θάνατος, οἷς ἡ κολλήθηται ἡ ἑκταῖα πᾶσι πιστοῖς τέ καὶ αἰσθητοῖς ἀνάσσει, κ. λ. *Cap.* 18. p. 708. C. D.

(x) *Cap.* κικ. 713. 714.

(y) . . . ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἔφεσεν μετασῆναι αὐτὸν λόγος. καὶ ἔν, ὡς εἰρηται, κ. λ. *Ibid.* p. 714. in.

(z) *As before*, p. 243.

We proceed with this great man's arguments, who adds: "With (a) the opinion of the first commentators agrees the tradition of the churches of Syria, preserved to this day in the title of the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, which title is this: *The Revelation, which was made to John the Evangelist by God in the island Patmos, into which he was banished by Nero Cæsar.*" But how comes it to pass, that the tradition of the churches of Syria is alleged here, when the Apocalypse was not generally received by them? Moreover in the titles of the books of the New Testament received by them, there are manifest errors. Nor (b) can we say, when the Syriac version of the Apocalypse was made. Nor (c) is it impossible, that the authors of that title might mean Domitian by Nero. It is not a greater error, than that of supposing the epistle of James to have been writ by James the son of Zebedee.

Again, says the celebrated Newton: "The (d) same is confirmed by a story told by Eusebius out of Clemens Alexandrinus, and other ancient authors, concerning a youth, whom St. John some time after his return from Patmos committed to the care of the Bishop of a certain city. This is a story of many years, and requires, that John should have returned from Patmos rather at the death of Nero, than at that of Domitian."

But, first, if this be only a feigned storie, or apologue, as some have thought, contrived to convey moral instruction; circumstances ought not to be strained, nor the truth of historie be founded upon it. Secondly, we must take the storie, as it is related by Clement, and other ancient authors. Clement placeth it after the death of the tyrant, by whom John had been banished. And Eusebe (e) supposeth him to mean Domitian. Thirdly, if St. John lived in Asia two, or three, or four years, after his return from Patmos, that is time enough for the events of this storie.

Sir Isaac adds in the same place: "And John in his old age was so infirm, as to be carried to church, dying, above ninety years old: and therefore could not be then supposed able to ride after the thief.

Nevertheless

(a) P. 236. 237.

(b) Ad Neronis imperium hoc exilium Syrus refert. Verum incerta est quam maxime hujus versionis ætas, nulloque gaudet socio. *Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. 4. §. vii.*

Quapropter nihil in hisce est, quod Syrum ab erroris culpa liberare possit: quemadmodum nec supra erat, quod Epiphanium in nomine Claudii tuetur. Illud tantummodo adnotatum volo, Syriacam Apocalypseos versionem haud æqualem ceterorum librorum interpretationi videri, uti nec primi codices in Europam adlati appositam habuerunt, quam demum Ludovicus de Dieu MDCXXVII. in lucem primum produxit. &c. *Ch. Cellarius de septem ecclesiis Asiæ, num. xvii. p. 428.*

(c) Sed forsitan aliquis, honoris interpretis Syri sollicitus et cupidus, posset in illius gratiam asserere, illum non Neronem, sed Domitianum, alterum Neronem, seu portionem Neronis, ut vocatur Tertulliano, &c. *Le Moyne. Var. Sacr. Tom. 2. p. 1019.*

(d) As above. p. 237.

(e) H. E. l. 3. cap. 23.

Nevertheless in the original account, which we have of this affair, St. John is expressly called (*f*) an old man. Sir Isaac therefore has no right to make him young. For that would be making a new storie. If a man allows himself so to do, and argues upon it; the necessarie consequence is, that he deceives himself, and others.

Upon the whole, I see not much weight in any of these arguments of Sir Isaac Newton. And must adhere to the common opinion, that St. John was banished into *Patmos*, in the reign of *Domitian*, and by virtue of his edicts for persecuting the Christians, in the later part of his reign. Says Mr. Lampe: "All (*g*) antiquity is agreed, that St. John's banishment was by order of *Domitian*."

How long he was there. VI. We should now enquire, when St. John was released, or how long his banishment lasted.

According to *Tertullian*, *Domitian's* persecution (*h*) was very short, and the Emperour himself, before he died, recalled those whom he had banished. *Hegesippus* likewise, that (*i*) *Domitian* by an edict put an end to the persecution, which he had ordered.

Eusebe says, "that (*k*) after the death of *Domitian*, John returned from his banishment." And before, in another chapter of the same book, he said more largely: "After (*l*) *Domitian* had reigned fifteen years, *Nerva* succeeded him, and the Roman Senate decreed, that "the honourable titles bestowed upon *Domitian* should be abrogated, "and moreover, that they who had been banished by him might return "to their homes, and repossess their goods, of which they had been "unjustly deprived. This we learn from such as have writ the historie of those times. Then therefore, as our ancestors say, the Apostle "John returned from his banishment, and again took up his abode at "*Ephesus*."

Ferome, in his book of Illustrious Men, says: "When (*m*) *Domitian* had been killed, and his edicts had been repealed, by the Senate, because of their excessive cruelty, John returned to *Ephesus* in the time of the Emperour *Nerva*."

I place below a passage of (*n*) the martyrdom of *Timothie* in *Photius*, and another (*o*) of *Suidas*, saying, that after *Domitian's* death, when *Nerva* was Emperour, St. John returned from his banishment.

This

(*f*) . . . ἐπιλαθόμενος τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῆ . . . τί με φέυγεις . . . τὸν γυμνὸν, τὸν γέροντά; προσελθόντα δὲ τὸν γέροντα περιέλαβεν. κ. λ. *Clem. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 23. p. 93.*

(*g*) Tota antiquitas in eo abunde consentit, quod Domitianus exilii Joannis auctor fuerit. *Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. 4. §. viii.*

(*h*) . . ceptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. *Apol. cap. v. vid. Supr. p. 355. note (h).*

(*i*) . . . καταπύσσει δὲ διὰ προσάγματος τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωγμὸν. *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 20. p. 90. B.*

(*k*) . . ἀπο τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν δομετιανῆς τελευτῆς ἰσπανελθὼν φυγῆς. *Euf. H. E. l. 3. cap. 23. in.*

(*l*) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 20. p. 90. B. C.*

(*m*) See Vol. κ. p. 100.

(*n*) Νέεσα δὲ τῷ ῥωμαϊκῷ κράτει τὸ σκῆπτρον ἀναδεδιγμένου, ὁ θεόλογος ἰωάννης τῆς ὑπεροχῆς φυγῆς ἀφθεῖς καταγέται πρὸς ἑφῆσον, ἧς καὶ πρῶτον ἀπὸ δομετιανῆς πεφυγάντο. *Ap. Phot. Cod. 254. p. 1404.*

This is also agreeable to the general accounts in (p) *Dion Cassius*, and (q) the Author of the Deaths of Persecutors.

Indeed, *Hegesippus* and *Tertullian*, as before observed, intimate, that the persecution of *Domitian* ended before his death. But it is very remarkable, that *Eusebius*, (r) having quoted both of them, gives a different account, as we saw just now. And, as learned men have observed, it is a great prejudice to their authority in this point, that *Eusebius* does not follow them, but presently afterwards differs from them.

It seems probable therefore, that St. *John* and other exiles, did not return from their banishment, untill after the death of *Domitian*. Which (s) is the opinion of *Basnage*, and likewise of (t) *Cellarius*.

Domitian (u) is computed to have died Sept. 18. A. D. 96. after having reigned fifteen years, and some days. *Nerva* (x) died the 27. day of Jan. 98. after having reigned one year, four months, and nine days. Therefore *Trajan* began his reign Jan. 27. A. D. 98.

If the persecution of *Domitian* began in the fourteenth year of his reign, and St. *John* was sent to *Patmos* that year, and restored in the beginning of the reign of *Nerva*, his (y) exile could not last more than two years, perhaps not much above a year.

If St. *John's* life reached to the third year of the reign of *Trajan*, which is the opinion of *Cave* (z) and many others, he lived three years after his return from *Patmos*: if it reached to the fourth year of *Trajan*, as (a) *Basnage* thought, he must have lived four years after his return.

Or, in other words: if St. *John* returned about the end of the year 96.

or

(o) *Vid. Suid. voce Νέεζας.*

(p) Καὶ ὁ νεβουὰς τὲς τι κηνομένης ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ ἀφῆκε, καὶ τὲς φεύγοντας κατήγαγε.
κ. λ. *Dio. l. 62. in. p. 769.*

(q) *De M. P. cap. 3.*

(r) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 20.*

(s) *Utrum Domitianus decretum revocarit, difficilis quæstio est. Sic enim antiquorum nonnullis visum. Hegesippus . . . Hegesippo assentitur et Tertullianus . . . Contra vero nobilis historicus Dio, qui rerum Romanarum Hegesippo peritior erat, et Tertulliano, disertissime testatur, Nervæ indulgentia revocatos fuisse Christianos: Nerva autem eos qui damnati erant impietatis absolvit, exulesque restituit. Neque alia mens Lactantio de Mort. Perf. cap. 3. Basnag. ann. 96. num. iv.*

(t) *Cellar. de septem ecclesiis Asia. cap. xvii. . . xx.*

(u) *Basnag. ann. 96. n. xiii.* (x) *Basn. A. D. 98. i. Pagi ann. 98. ii.*

(y) In alterum tantum annum ad summum duravit, quando *Nerva* succedens *Domitiano* exules revocavit, et cum eis *Joannem*, uti ex vetustiorum fide refert *Eusebius*. l. 3. *H. E. cap. 20. . . Quæ quidem eo majorem fidem merentur, quia ipse Dio, seu ex eo Xiphilinus, revocationem exulum Christianorum Nervæ tribuit. Lampe Prol. l. 1. cap. 4. §. ix. Vid. et Cellar. ubi supra cap. xvii.*

(z) Interfecto *Domitiano* *Ephefum* rediit ann. Chr. 97. in qua, ut et in regionibus circumvicinis, reliquum vitæ transegit, et . . . anno Chr. 100. *Trajan* 3. juxta *Eusebium* et *Hieronymum*, anno uno aut altero centenariorum major. . . in Domino placide obdormivit. *Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 16.*

(a) Ceterum cum ex antiqua traditione haustum videatur, *Joannem* senio confectum, 68. post passionem anno mortuum esse, quæ in 33. ætate nostræ incidit, probabilis est conjectura, *Joannem* anno labente finem hujus lucis invenisse. *Basn. A. 101. n. ii.*

or the beginning of 97. and did not die, till the year 101. he lived four years in *Asia*, after his return from *Patmos*. If he died in the year 100. he lived three years after his return.

VII. Having now said of *St. John* all that is needful by way of historie, we come to his writings, of which there are five generally ascribed to him : a Gospel, three Epistles, and the Revelation : two of which, the Gospel, and the first Epistle, are universally received as genuine.

Now I speak of the Gospel only. And here in the first place I shall recite the accounts of the ancients, but chiefly such, as concern the time when it was writ. Omitting many other testimonies, as not necessary to be mentioned now, though very valuable in themselves. After which we will observe the judgements of learned moderns concerning the same point : I mean, the time, when it was writ.

Irenæus having spoken of the Gospels of *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, adds : “ Afterwards (b) *John* the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon his breast, he likewise published a Gospel, whilst he dwelled at *Ephesus* in *Asia*.”

In another place he says : “ *John* (c) the disciple of the Lord declaring this faith, and by the publication of the Gospel designing to root out the errour, which had been sown among men by *Cerinthus*, and long before by those who are called *Nicolaitans*. . . . thus began in the doctrine, which is according to the gospel : *In the beginning was the Word*.”

In another place of the same ancient writer are these expressions : “ As (d) *John* the disciple of the Lord assures us, saying : *But these are written, that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name*. [ch. xx. 30.] Foreseeing these blasphemous notions, that divide the Lord, so far as it is in their power.”

In the preceding passage *Irenæus* speaks, as if *St. John's* Gospel was writ after the rise of *Cerinthus*, and other heresies. But here he seems to say, that it was writ before them, and foreseeing them. In like manner afterwards, in the same chapter, he says of *Paul* : “ as (e) “ he

(b) See *Vol. i. p. 354*.

(c) Hanc fidem annuntians Joannes Domini discipulus, volens per Evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho infeminatus erat hominibus errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur Nicolaitæ, qui sunt vultio ejus, quæ falso cognominatur scientia Sic inchoavit in ea quæ est secundum evangelium doctrina. *In principio erat Verbum. &c. Adv. Har. l. 3. cap. xii. p. 188. Bened.*

(d) . . . quemadmodum Joannes Domini discipulus confirmat, dicens : *Hæc autem scripta sunt, ut credatis, quoniam Jesus est Filius Dei, et ut credentes vitam æternam habeatis in nomine ejus* : providens has blasphemias regulas, quæ dividant Dominum, quantum ex ipsis attinet, ex altera et altera substantia dicentes eum factum. *Adv. Har. l. 3. cap. 16. n. 5. p. 206.*

(e) quemadmodum ipse ait : *Simul autem Christus mortuus est, immo et resurrexit*. . . Et iterum : *Scientes quoniam Christus resurgens a mortuis, jam non moritur*. Prævidens enim et ipse per Spiritum subdivisiones malorum magistrorum, et omnem ipsorum occasionem dissensionis volens abscindere, ait quæ prædicta sunt. *Ibid. n. 9. p. 207.*

“ he says : *It is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen, who is at the right hand of God.* Rom. viii. 34. And again, *Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead, dies no more.* vi. 9. For he also foreseeing by the Spirit the divisions of evil teachers, and being desirous to cut off from them all occasion of dissension, says what has been just quoted.”

Clement, of *Alexandria*, speaking of the order of the Gospels, according to what he had received from Presbyters of more ancient times, says : “ Last (f) of all *John* observing, that in the other Gospels those things were related, which concern the humanity of Christ, and being persuaded by his friends, and also moved by the spirit of God, he wrote a spiritual Gospel.” Here it is supposed, not only, that St. *John* wrote the last of the four, but likewise, that he had seen the Gospels of the other three Evangelists.

Origen (g) speaks of all the four Gospels in our present order, that is, *Matthew's* first, and *John's* last.

A long passage of *Eusebe* concerning St. *John's* Gospel may be seen vol. viii. p. 90 . . . 96. It cannot be omitted here. But it shall be abridged. “ And that it has been justly placed by the ancients the fourth in order, and after the other three, may be made evident. . . . For *Matthew* delivered his Gospel to the *Hebrews*. . . . And when *Mark* and *Luke* also had published the Gospels according to them, it is said, that *John*, who all this while had preached by word of mouth, was at length induced to write for this reason. The three first written Gospels being now delivered to all men, and to *John* himself, it is said, that he approved them, and confirmed the truth of their narration by his own testimonie, saying : There was only wanting a written account of the things done by Christ, in the former part, and near the beginning of his preaching. . . . And, certainly, that observation is true. . . . ”

Epiphanius (h) speaks of St. *John's* Gospel, as the last of the four. He also says, that St. *John* wrote it, after he had long declined so doing through humility, when he was ninety years of age, and when he had lived in *Asia* many years, after his return thither from *Patmos*, in the time of the Emperor *Claudius*. He moreover says in several places, that this Gospel was occasioned by the errors of the *Ebionites*, the *Cerinthians*, and other heretics.

According to (i) the *Syrian* churches, St. *John* wrote his Gospel at *Ephesus*.

My readers are again referred to the noble passage (k) of *Theodore*, Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, concerning the four Gospels, and to the remarks upon it.

Jerome, in his book of *Illustrious Men*, says : “ *John* (l) the Apostle wrote a Gospel at the desire of the Bishop of *Asia*, against *Cerintus*, and other heretics, and especially the doctrine of the *Ebionites*, then springing

(f) See Vol. ii. p. 475.

(h) See Vol. viii. p. 306, 307.

(k) Vol. ix. p. 493 . . . 497.

(g) See Vol. iii. p. 235, 236.

(i) See Vol. ix. p. 217.

(l) Vol. x. 98.

“ springing up, who say, that Christ did not exist before his birth of
 “ *Marie*. For which reason he was obliged to declare his Divine nati-
 “ vity. Another reason of his writing is also mentioned. Which is,
 “ that after having read the volumes of *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, he
 “ expressed his approbation of their historie, as true: but observed, that
 “ they had recorded an account of but one year of our Lord’s ministrie,
 “ even the last, after the imprisonment of *John*, in which also he suffered.
 “ Omitting therefore [very much] that year, the historie of which had
 “ been writ by the other three, he related the acts of the preceding
 “ time, before *John* was shut up in prison. As may appear to those,
 “ who read the four Evangelists. Which may be of use, to account for
 “ the seeming difference between *John* and the rest.”

According to (m) *Augustin*, St. *John* is the last of the four Evan-
 gelists.

Chrysostom (n) assigning the reasons of St. *John*’s writing his Gos-
 pel, supposeth, that he did not write till after the destruction of *Je-
 rusalem*.

Paulinus says: “ it (a) had been handed down by tradition, that *John*
 “ survived all the other Apostles, and wrote the last of the four Evan-
 “ gelists, and so as to confirm their most certain historie.” And he
 observes, “ that (p) in the beginning of St. *John*’s Gospel all heretics
 are confuted, particularly, *Arius*, *Sabellius*, *Marcion*, and the *Mani-
 cheans*.”

Cosmas of *Alexandria*, says, “ that (q) when *John* dwelled at *Ephesus*,
 “ there were delivered to him by the faithfull the writings of the other
 “ three Evangelists. Receiving them he said, that what they had writ
 “ was well writ: but some things were omitted by them which were
 “ needfull to be related. And being desired by the faithfull, he also pub-
 “ lished his writing, as a kind of supplement to the rest, containing such
 “ things as these: the wedding at *Cana*, the historie of *Nicodemus*, the
 “ woman of *Samaria*, the nobleman, [or Courtier, *John* iv. 46. . . 54.]
 “ the man blind from his birth, *Lazarus*, the indignation of *Judas*, at
 “ the woman that anointed the Lord with ointment, the *Greeks* that
 “ came to *Jesus*, his washing the disciples feet, and suitable instructions
 “ upon several occasions, and the promise of the Comforter, and concern-
 “ ing the Deity of Christ, expressly, and clearly, at the beginning, and
 “ premising that, as the foundation of his work. All which things had
 “ been omitted by the rest.”

Isidore of *Seville*, says, that (r) *John* wrote the last in *Asia*.

Theophylact computed, that (s) St. *John* wrote about two and thirty
 years after Christ’s ascension.

Euthymius, that (t) it was not writ, untill many years after the de-
 struction of *Jerusalem*.

Nicephorus Calisti says, that (u) *John* wrote last of all, about six and
 thirty years after the Lord’s ascension to heaven.

VIII. Having

(m) Vol. x. p. 228.

(n) Vol. xi. p. 43.

(o) Vol. xi. p. 268. 269.

(p) P. 424.

(q) Vol. x. p. 315. 320. 321.

(b) P. 44.

(r) Vol. xi. p. 367.

(t) P. 438.

(u) P. 442.

VIII. Having seen these testimonies of the ancients to St. John's Gospel, and the time of it, I would now observe the judgements of learned moderns. *Judgements of Moderns about the Time of it.*

According to (x) Mill's computation St. John wrote his Gospel at Ephesus, in the year of Christ 97. about one year before his death.

Fabricius (y) speaks to the like purpose.

Le Clerc (z) likewise placeth the writing of this Gospel in the year 97.

Mr. Jones argues, that (a) it was writ about the year 98. and not before 97.

The late Mr. Wetstein thought, that (b) this Gospel might be writ about the year 32. after our Lord's ascension: and dislikes the supposition, that it was writ by St. John in decrepit old age.

Basnage (c) was inclined to think that this Gospel was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem. His reasons will be alleged, and considered by and by.

Mr. Lampe was of opinion, that (d) this Gospel was writ in the later part of the reign of Nero, before the destruction of Jerusalem.

IX. I shall now propose an argument concerning the date of this Gospel. *That it was writ before the Destruction of Jerusalem.*

There are two considerations, principally, which lead me to think, that St. John's Gospel was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem, or about the time of that event. These I shall first mention, and then take notice of divers others, observable in learned moderns.

i. It is likely, that St. John wrote in a short time after the other Evangelists. Their Gospels were soon brought to him. And if he thought fit to confirm them, or to write any thing by way of supplement, he would do it in a short time. The first three Gospels, very probably, were writ and published before the end of the year 64. or in 65. at the farthest. If they were brought to St. John in 65. or 66. he would not defer more, or not much more, than a year, or two, to publish his historie of Jesus, and make the account compleat.

I do

(x) Et quidem Ephesum ab exilio reversus Joannes uno ante mortem anno scripsit Evangelium. *Mill. Prol. num. 181.*

(y) Evangelium Græce edidit Ephefi, omnium postremus, jam nonagenario major, cum e Patmo reversus esset post Domitiani necem, quæ anno 96. contigit. *Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. T. 3. p. 139.*

(z) *Hist. E. An. 97. num. i.*

(a) *New and full Method. Vol. 3. p. 139.*

(b) Hinc etiam consequitur, Evangelium Joannis non ab eo decrepito, et fere centenario, et post mortem Clementis, sed diu antea fuisse editum, adeoque inscriptionem Codicum Græcorum, qui illud Evangelium anno tricesimo secundo post ascensionem Christi, scriptum fuisse testantur, ad verum propius accedere: præcipue cum ratio nulla sit, cur Joannes inscriptionem in tam longum tempus differre debuerit. *West. Proleg. ad duas Clement. Ep. sub fin.*

(c) *Ann. 97. num. xii.*

(d) Putem ergo non contemnendas esse rationes, quæ ante excidium Hierosolymitanum Evangelium nostrum sub extremis forte Neronis temporibus conscriptum esse persuadent, *Proleg. l. 2. cap. 2. num. ix.*

I do not presume to say exactly the year, in which this Gospel was writ. But I think, it might be writ, and published, in the year 68.

This argument offered itself to Mr. *Whiston's* thoughts, and is thus expressed by him: "That (e) occasion of *John's* writing his Gospel, "mentioned by the ancients, viz. the bringing the other three Gospels "to him, and his observing their deficiency, as to the acts of Christ before the Baptist's imprisonment, does much better agree with this "time, just after the publication of those Gospels, than with that above "thirty years later, to which it's writing is now ordinarily ascribed."

And is it not a strange supposition, that all the other three Gospels should have been writ by the year 60. or thereabout, and St. *John's* not till the year 97. or 98. that is, more than thirty years after the others? When likewise he must have been of a very great age, and scarcely fit for such a work as this.

2. The second consideration is the suitableness of St. *John's* Gospel to the circumstances of things before the overthrow of the Jews, or about that time.

Mr. *Lampe* has observed, that (f) the great design of St. *John* in writing his Gospel seems to have been, to shew, how inexcusable the Jews were in not receiving Jesus as the Christ, and to vindicate the Providence of God in the calamities already befallen, or now coming upon them. If that appear to be the design of St. *John* in writing his Gospel, it will very much strengthen the supposition, that it was writ, before the destruction of *Jerusalem* was compleated.

St. *John* says ch. xx. 31. *These things are written, that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.* That is, "This historie has been writ, that they "who believe, may be confirmed in their faith, and that all others, who "yet believe not, may believe in Jesus, as the Christ, the Son of God, "and obtain that life, which he promisseth to those, who believe in him, "and obey him."

That is the design of all the Evangelists. And their histories are a sufficient ground and reason of this belief. But St. *John's* Gospel contains an ample confirmation of all that they have said, with valuable additions, and more plain and frequent assurances, that Jesus is not only a Prophet, and messenger of God, but the Christ, the Son of God, or that great Prophet, that should come into the world: whereby all are rendered inexcusable in rejecting him, and especially the Jews, among whom he preached, and wrought many miracles, and whom he often

called

(e) *Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions*, p. 38. 39.

(f) Totam porro æconomiam hujus Evangelii ita esse digestam, ut ad convincendos ac ἀναπειρώμενους reddendos Judæos spectaret, capite sequenti ostendimus. *Prolegom. in Joan. l. 2. cap. 3. §. ii.*

Imminens etiam Judææ perniciēs occasionem maxime opportunam conscribendo libro dabat, in quo Joannis animus erat hujus ipsius judicii imminētis æquitatem defendere, et tentare, an Judæi ex hoc Reipublicæ naufragio magno agminē in Asiam enatantes, ad recipiendum unicum mundi Salvatorem hoc medio permoveri possint. *Ibid. l. 2. cap. 2. §. xv. Vid. et l. 2. cap. 3. num. iii. not. (b).*

called to receive him, as the Christ. This (g) runs through St. John's Gospel from the beginning to the end, or near the end, of the twelfth chapter.

Even in the introduction he says. ch. i. 7. *John came for a witnesse, to bear witnesse of the light, that all men through him might believe.* 8. *He was not that light. But was sent to bear witnesse of that light.* 9. *That was the true light, which lighteth every man, that cometh into the world.* "That is, he was designed to be an universal blessing: And he has done "all that was fit to be done, to enlighten all men in the knowledge of "God, and true religion." Ver. 14. *And we beheld his glorie, we his disciples, and all who impartially attended, beheld his glorie, the glorie, as of the only begotten of the Father:* that is, the glorie peculiar to the promised Messiah. Again, at ver. 18. he styles him *the only begotten son.* Here St. John may be supposed to declare his present faith, or to make a profession of the faith, which he had at the time of his writing. Having so done, he proceeds in the historie. Ver. 19. 20. *And this is the record of John, when the Jews sent Priests and Levites from Jerusalem, to ask him, Who art thou?* He answered, that he was not the Christ, but his harbinger, or fore-runner, the person spoken of by *Isaiah.* And he declares the transcendent greatnesse of him, who was about to appear, and was already among them. ver. 21. . . 28. Then at ver. 29. *The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith: Behold the lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world.* Undoubtedly, by that character meaning the Messiah, and understood by all, so to mean. See also ver. 30. 31. 32. 33. Then at ver. 34. *And I saw, and bare record, that this is the Son of God:* or the Christ. And ver. 35. 36. *Again, the next day after John stood, and two of his disciples. And looking upon Jesus, as he walked, he saith: Behold the lamb of God.* He tells every body, that Jesus is the Christ, though not always in the same terms. And, to finish our account of *John* the Baptist. In ch. iii. 25. . . 36. is the last testimonie, bore by him to Jesus. And it is very strong, and full. He declares, he was not himself the Christ, *but was sent before him.* To him, says he, *God giveth not the Spirit by measure. The Father loveth the Son, and hath put all things into his hands. . . He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life. And he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life. But the wrath of God abideth on him.*

Having

(g) Priora duodecim capita evidentissime ea commemorant, quæ severum et tremendum illud Dei in Judæos judicium defendunt. Talia enim facta et dicta continuo ordine proponunt, quæ non in obscuro angulo, sed coram tota gente Judaica edita sunt, nullamque exceptionem patiuntur. . . Atque hæc est ratio, cur Joannes secundum festa Judæorum historiam evangelicam digerat. Inde enim innotescit, Iesum ea diligenter frequentasse, atque in iis publice coram toto populo Judaico se satis superque manifestasse. Istud enim Evangelistæ nostro plane privum est, ut ea potissimum narret, quæ a Domino nostro Hierosolymis, quin in ipso templo gesta atque dicta sunt: paucis tantum interjectis, quæ cum etiam Judæam, Samariam, Galilæam, radiis gloriæ suæ cœlestis abunde illustrasse, atque ita nullam partem regionis Judæorum vacuum reliquisse, probant. *Lampe. Ibid. l. 2. cap. 4. num. xxxiii. xxxiv.*

Having gone through the Baptist's testimonie, as here recorded, we look back to ch. i. 4. . . . 42. where *Andrew* finds his brother *Simon*, and says to him : *We have found the Messiah*. Then ver. 45. . . . 51. *Philip* findeth *Nathanael*, and saith to him : *We have found him, of whom Moses in the Law, and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth*. *Nathanael* likewise is convinced, and says : *Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God. Thou art the King of Israel*. So writes *St. John*, shewing, that the pious, and well disposed among the Jews, readily received *Jesus* as the *Christ*. And thereby shewing likewise the great unreasonableness, and extreme perverseness of those who did not believe in him after all the proofs, which he set before them in the course of his most powerful ministrie. As the Evangelist most justly says, near the conclusion of this part of his Gospel. ch. xii. 37. *But though he had done so many miracles among them, yet they believed not on him*. And see what follows there.

Ch.ii. 11. After the account of the miracle at *Cana*. *This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glorie* : that is, the glorie of the *Messiah*. *And his disciples believed on him* : or were confirmed in their belief, that he was the *Christ*.

Soon after this *Jesus* went up to *Jerusalem*, at a *Passover*, and cleared the temple, saying : *Make not my Father's house an house of merchandise*. ch. ii. 13. . . 17. By the work itself, and by his words, manifesting himself to be the *Messiah*. I omit other things in the remaining part of that chapter, which an attentive reader will take notice of.

Then, ch. iii. 1. . . 21. is the historie of *Nicodemus*, who, whilst *Jesus* was this time at *Jerusalem*, made him a private visit. He immediatly professeth faith in him, as a *Prophet*. But our Lord tells him plainly, that he was the *Messiah*, and demands a suitable regard from him. He likewise sets before *Nicodemus* the nature of his design, for preventing, or for removing all worldly expectations from him. He likewise intimates the call of the *Gentils*, and the judgements coming upon the *Jewish* People, if they should persist in unbelief. For, says he, *as Moses lift up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up : that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life*. . . . For God sent not his Son, the *Messiah*, into the world, to condemn the world : but that through him the world, *Gentils* as well as *Jews*, might be saved. And what there follows.

Jesus going through *Samaria* from *Jerusalem*, in his way to *Galilee*, meets with a woman of that countrey. ch. iv. 19. *The woman saith unto him : Sir, I perceive, that thou art a Prophet*. . . And ver. 25. 26. *The woman saith unto him : I know, that the Messiah cometh, or is soon to appear*. . . *Jesus saith unto her : I that speak unto thee am he*. . . . The woman left him, and went into the city, and saith unto the men : *Come, see a man that hath told me all things that ever I did. Is not this the Christ?* Afterwards, ver. 42. *Many of that place said unto the woman : Now we believe, not because of thy saying. For we have seen him ourselves, and know, that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world*. Here is another instance of our Lord's freely declaring himself to be the *Christ*, and of his accepting a profession of faith in himself, as such. And the ready faith of these *Samaritans* aggravates the continued unbelief of the *Jews*, on whom more culture had been bestowed.

Ch. v. 1. *After this there was a feast of the Jews. And Jesus went up to Jerusalem.* By many this is thought to be the passover. By others it is reckoned some other feast between the last mentioned and the next Passover of our Lord's ministrie. However that may be, at this season our Lord healed the lame man at the pool of *Bethesda*, on the Sabbath-day, and bid him carry his bed, and go home. *Therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the Sabbath-day.* But Jesus answered them: *My Father worketh hitherto: And I work.* ver. 16. 17. The Jews charge him with blasphemie. Our Lord vindicates himself, and claims the character of the Messiah in high terms. And assures them, *that all judgement had been committed unto the Son*, meaning himself, the Messiah: *that all men might honor the Son, even as they honor the Father.* ver. 21. . . 23. And, for proof, he refers to their scriptures, the testimonie of *John*, and the works, which he had wrought among them, in the Father's name. ver. 24. . . . 47.

Ch. vi. 1. . . 3. We perceive, our Lord to be in *Galilee*, whither he had gone from *Judea*. Then at ver. 4. *And the Passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh.* After which follows the miracle of the five loaves and two fishes, for feeding five thousand. *Then, those men, when they had seen the miracle, which Jesus did, said: This is of a truth that Prophet, which should come into the world:* or the expected Messiah. Their notion of the kingdom, belonging to that character, being worldly and carnal, and they looking for worldly advantages, *would have come, and taken him by force, to make him a King.* So that our Lord found it needful to depart into a mountain himself alone. The disciples in the mean time took shipping, and he came to them walking upon the sea. When they had received him, *immediately the ship was at the land, whither they were going.* ver. 14. . . . 21. The people having been disappointed, came to him as soon as they could at *Capernaum*. Where our Lord takes an opportunity to reprove their carnal temper, and instructs them in the design of the Messiah, and the nature of his kingdom. And still taking upon himself that character, and requiring faith in him as such, he says: *I am the bread of life. . . And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life. . . I am the living bread, which came down from heaven. If any man eat this bread, he shall live for ever. And the bread that I will give him is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. . . Many therefore of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him.* But Peter, in the name of the Twelve, and possibly, in the name also of some others, followers of Jesus, said: *To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,* ver. 22. . . 69.

Ch. vii. 1. 2. *After these things Jesus walked in Galilee.* For he would not walk in *Judea*, because the Jews sought to kill him. Now the Jews feast of *Tabernacles* was at hand. . . 14. Now about the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the temple, and taught. Ver. 25. 26. *Then said some of them of Jerusalem. . . Do the rulers know indeed, that this is the very Christ? Ver. 31. And many of the people believed on him, and said: When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these, which this man has done? Ver. 37. 38.*

In the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood, and cried: If any man thirst, let him come to me, and drink. . . . He speaks of himself in the character of the Messiah, and calls on all men to come to him, as such, and receive the great blessings, which he is able to bestow. And at ver. 40. 41. *Many of the people therefore, when they heard this saying, said: This is the Prophet. Others said: This is the Christ.*

Ch. viii. 12. . . . 23. Our Lord is still at Jerusalem. And at ver. 12. *Then spake Jesus unto them, saying: I am the light of the world: claiming the character of the Messiah, and declaring also the advantages of believing in him, and the sad consequence of not receiving him.* Ver. 21. *Then said Jesus again unto them. I go my way, and ye shall seek me, and shall die in your sins.* Ver. 24. *I said therefore unto you, that ye shall die in your sins. For, if ye believe not, that I am he, the Messiah, ye shall die in your sins: that is, ye will bring upon yourselves heavie judgements and calamities.* Ver. 47. *He that is of God, heareth God's words. Ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God. . . .* Ver. 56. *your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day. . . .* Does not our Lord in all this propose himself to them, as the Messiah, require their faith in him, as such, and plainly intimate the calamities, that would befall them, if they should continue to reject him?

Nor is there any inconsistency in what is here observed, and the accounts of the other Evangelists. After Peter had made a profession of his faith, it is said Matt. xvi. 20. *Then charged he his disciples, that they should tell no man, that he was the Christ.* And compare Mark viii. 30. and Luke ix. 21. Nevertheless, he was not unwilling to be thought of in that character. When Simon Peter had said by way of answer to the question that had been put to the disciples, *thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God: our Lord was greatly pleased, and pronounced him blessed upon that account.* And he was desirous, that all should receive him, as the Messiah. It was the design of his own, and his forerunner's preaching, as recorded in all the Evangelists, the first three, as well as St. John. They called upon all men to repent, *for the kingdom of heaven, or of God, by the Messiah, is at hand.* So Mark i. 14. 15. And himself says: Matt. xii. 28. *If I cast out demons by the Spirit of God, then is the kingdom of God come unto you.* And Luke xvii. 21. *Behold, the kingdom of God is among you, or in the midst of you, not within you, as we render it.* But he tells them, that the kingdom of the Messiah was already begun to be set up among them. When our Lord was baptized, *there came a voice from heaven, saying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Or, this is the Messiah. As recorded by all the first three Evangelists. Matt. iii. 17. Mark i. 11. Luke iii. 22. And in them our Lord accepts applications to him, and confessions of faith in him, in the character of *the Son of David, and the Son of God, both which are the same as the Messiah.* Of the former there are many instances. Of the later I mention one. Matt. xiv. 33. *Then they that were in the ship, came, and worshipped him saying; Thou art the Son of God.* And when he entered into Jerusalem, he accepted the acclamations of the multitude, which cried: *Hosanna to the Son of David: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord.* Matth. xxi. 1. . . . 16. Mark xi. 1. . . . 11. Luke xix. 28. . . . 40.

He sometimes laments the small successe of his preaching, and that so few received him. But acquiesceth in the event. As in Luke vii. 31. . . . 35. Matth. xi. 16. . . . 26. Luke x. 21. . . . 24. And he even expresseth a surprize, that the Pharisees, and others, did not discern the signs of the time. Matt. xvi. 1. . . . 4. Mark viii. 11. . . . 13. Luke xii. 54. . . . 57. And every one may easily perceive the reason, why he did not allow the disciples, or some others, to say publicly, that he was the Messiah. For considering that the Jewish People in general, and the disciples, themselves, expected a worldly kingdom and worldly advantages from the Messiah; there needed some discretion, lest men should have been led to make tumults and disturbances, which might have been offensive to the magistrate. But when our Lord spoke of himself, as the Messiah, he always inculcated the true design of his coming, and gave assurances of spiritual and heavenly blessings, and such only.

Our Lord still continues at *Jerusalem*. Ch. ix. 1. . . . 41. is the historie of the man blind from his birth, whom our Lord healed, anointing his eyes with clay, moistened with his spittle. *And it was the Sabbath-day, when Jesus made the clay, and opened his eyes.* The man being brought before the Pharisees, and examined by them, said, that he who had opened his eyes was a Prophet. *And they cast him out.* *Jesus heard, that they had cast him out.* *And when he had found him, he said unto him: Doeſt thou believe on the Son of God?* He answered, and said: *Who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him?* *Jesus said unto him: Thou haſt both ſeen him, and it is he that talketh with thee.* *And he ſaid: Lord, I believe, and he worſhipped him.* All this needs no comment. Afterwards at ver. 39. . . . 41. are intimations given to the Pharisees of the sad consequences of rejecting him. And indeed in this historie the bad temper of the Jewish Rulers is very manifest.

Ch. x. Our Lord speaks of himself as *the true shepherd*, or the Messiah. Ver. 11. *I am the good shepherd.* *The good shepherd giveth his life for the ſheep.* Ver. 16. *And other ſheep I have, which are not of this fold.* Ver. 22. . . . 24. *And it was at Jerusalem the feaſt of the Dedication.* *And it was winter.* *And Jesus walked in the temple in Solomon's porch.* *Then came the Jews round about him, and ſaid unto him: How long doeſt thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Chriſt, tell us plainly.* *Jesus answered them: I told you, and ye believed not.* *The works that I do in my Father's name bear witneſſe of me.* A very proper answer, certainly. And what follows to ver. 38. deserves to be consulted.

Ch. x. 39. . . . 42. *Therefore they ſought again to take him, but he eſcaped out of their hand.* *And went away beyond Jordan, unto the place, where John at firſt baptized.* *And there abode.* *And many reſorted unto him, and ſaid: John did no miracle.* *But all things, that John ſpake of this man, were true.* *And many believed on him there.*

I ſuppoſe this retreat of our Lord to a place beyond Jordan, to be the ſame that is mentioned Matth. xix. 1. and Mark x. 1. upon which ſome remarks were made (b) many years ago. What paſſed during that interval in that countrey, is recorded Matt. xix. 1. . . . to xx. 1. . . . 16. and Mark x. 1. . . . 31. Nor was St. Luke unacquainted with this retreat.

(b) See the *Vindication of our Saviour's three Miracles of raiſing the dead.* Ch. i. p. 18. . . . 22. *firſt ed.* p. 32. . . . 37. *2d edit.*

treat. For he has inserted in his Gospel at ch. xviii. 15. . . . 30. some of the same discourses, which are in the other two Evangelists, whilst our Lord was there. I say, I suppose, that St. John and the other Evangelists speak of one and the same recess. But St. John seems to mention more particularly the occasion of it, in the verses just recited.

In this place, and interval, our Lord lived somewhat more privately, than he had done before. He received all who came to him, either for instruction, or to be healed by him. But he did not go about the cities and villages of *Judea*, preaching publicly, as he had done for some while before.

I always supposed, that our Lord's living thus, in that place, at no great distance from *Jerusalem*, had in it a kind design. He intended thereby to afford to the Jewish People, especially, their Priests and Rulers at *Jerusalem*, an opportunity to consider, and calmly reflect upon all the wonderful things that had happened among them in the space of a few years, the preaching and baptism of *John*, and all the things said and done by himself in the course of his ministrie, particularly, the miracles which he had wrought among them, the claims, which he had made of being the promised Messiah, whom all ought to receive, and the intimations that had been given of impending ruin and miserie.

Here our Lord waited, willing to rest the proof of his mission upon the testimonies, that had been given to it. And if the Rulers of the Jewish People had now come, and solemnly owned him in the character he bore, and with which God had clothed him, how joyfully would they have been received ! But they were not so disposed. *Great multitudes* of the people came to him there, and *he healed them*. The *Pharisees also came unto him*. But it was *tempting him*. Matth. xix. 1. 2. 3. Mark x. 1. 2.

But beside what is recorded by the other Evangelists, St. John assures us, that in this interval our Lord came to *Bethanie*, about fifteen furlongs, or two miles, from *Jerusalem*, and there raised *Lazarus* to life. ch. xi. 1. . . . 44. *Then many of the Jews which came to Marie, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on him*: that is, that he was the Christ. But *some of them went their way to the Pharisees, and told them, what things Jesus had done*. ver. 45. 46. *Then gathered they a Council*. . . . *Then from that day forth, they took counsel together, for to put him to death*. ver. 47. . . 53. This shews, that they were inflexible, and not to be gained by any considerations.

It follows in ver. 54. *Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews: but went thence into a country near the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim*. And there continued with his disciples. Which (*) I suppose, was not far from the place, from which our Lord came last. And from this city, called *Ephraim*, our Lord came to *Bethanie* again, by the way of *Jericho*, a short time before the next Passover, as related by the other Evangelists. We proceed.

Says St. John ch. xi. 55. . . 57. *And the Jews Passover was now at hand*.

(*) *Vid. Reland. Palest. l. i. cap. 56. Tom. i. p. 377. et Lensfant sur S. Jean, ch. xi. ver. 54.*

hand. . . Now both the Chief-Priests and the Pharisees had given a commandment, that if any knew where he was, he should shew it, that they might take him. That is a proof of a determined purpose to accomplish their evil designs against Jesus.

The whole following xii. chapter of this Gospel, deserves attentive regard. I must transcribe a part, though it adds to the length of these extracts. Then Jesus, six days before the Passover, came to Bethanien, where Lazarus was, who had been dead, whom he raised from the dead. xii. i. Much people of the Jews therefore knew, that he was there. And they came not for Jesus sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also, whom he had raised from the dead. But the Chief-Priests consulted, that they might put Lazarus also to death: because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away, and believed on Jesus. ver. 9. . . 11. And here is an account of some Greeks, or Gentils, who were desirous to see Jesus. ver. 20. . . 22. Whose readinesse, accompanied with humility, may be reasonably understood to cast a reflection upon the pride and obstinacie of those, who were unmoved by the most powerful arguments, and the most gracious invitations. The remainder of that chapter, from ver. 35. to 50. is a most proper conclusion of this part of the Gospel, in which are these things very observable. Then Jesus said unto them: Yet a little while the light is with you. Walk while ye have the light, lest darknesse come upon you. . . While ye have the light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light. . . But though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him: that the saying of Esaias might be fulfilled. . . Jesus cried, and said: He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me. I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me, should not abide in darknesse. . . I have not spoken of myself. But the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should speak. And I know that his commandment, is life everlasting. Whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak.

Then in the xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. and xvii. chapters our Lord instructs and comforts, prays with and for his disciples: shewing (i) tokens of the tenderest affection, and the most faithful concern for those, who had paid a due regard to the evidences of his mission, and adhered to him under difficulties and discouragements. So begins the next, that is, the thirteenth chapter: Now before the feast of the Passover, when Jesus knew, that his hour was come, that he should depart out of the world unto the Father: having loved his own, which were in the world, he loved them unto the end.

And indeed it was very natural for the Evangelist, who had largely shewn the unreasonableness, and the aggravated guilt of the Jews, who did not believe in Jesus, but rejected him, to give also a particular account of our Lord's kind acceptance of those who believed in him, and persevered in their faith.

So that the design of shewing, how inexcusable the Jewish People were,

(i) Sicut vero haecenus severitatem Domini in Judæos defendit Evangelista, ita in sequentibus a capite xiii. ad finem usque fidelitatem Christi illibatam, quam discipulis suis addixit, ex ultimis verbis adserit. Hæc intentio haud obscure addiscitur ex nova, quæ alteri hujus Evangelii parti præfigitur, præfatiancula. cap. xiii. 1. . . . *Lamp. Prol. l. 2. c. 4. num. xxxvi.*

were, in rejecting Jesus, and of vindicating Divine Providence in the calamities brought upon them, is what produced the whole order and economie of this Gospel.

The two following chapters, the xviii. and xix. contain the account of our Lord's prosecution, condemnation, death, and interment. In the two last chapters the xx. and the xxi. are the accounts of our Lord's resurrection, and the evidences of it, with many tokens of kind regard for his disciples who had followed him in the time of his abode on this earth, and were now to be his witnesses in the world, and to preach, under many difficulties, the same doctrine, which he had taught.

There is another thing which may induce us to think, that one great design of St. John in writing his Gospel was to shew the unreasonableness, and the great guilt of the Jews, in rejecting Jesus: that in his Gospel are inserted more instances of their attempts upon our Lord's life, than in the other Gospels. Some such things there are in them. Accounts of the Pharisees consulting, how they might destroy Jesus, may be seen in Matt. xii. 14. Mark iii. 6. Luke vi. 11. beside their last attempt: when they were permitted to accomplish their evil design. But there are more such instances in St. John's, than in any of the other Gospels. As John vii. 1. *After these things Jesus walked in Galilee. For he would not walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him.* However, he came up to Jerusalem at the next feast of Tabernacles. ver. 2. And their designs were renewed. Ch. vii. 25. *Then said some of them at Jerusalem: Is not this he, whom they seek to kill? . . . Ver. 31. 32. And many of the people believed on him, and said: When the Christ cometh, will he do more miracles, than these, which this man has done? The Pharisees heard, that they murmured such things concerning him. And the Pharisees and Chief-Priest sent officers to take him.* But the officers, overcome by the excellence of his discourses, could not persuade themselves to apprehend him. For which they were reproached by the Council in a most outrageous manner. But Nicodemus strove to allay their resentment. ver. 45. . . . 52. And ch. viii. 20. *These words spake Jesus, in the treasury, as he taught in the temple. And no man laid hands on him, because his time was not yet come. . . Ver. 37. I know, that ye are Abraham's seed. But ye seek to kill me, a man which has told you the truth, which I have heard of God. This did not Abraham.* Ver. 59. *Then took they up stones to cast at him. . . . And ch. x. 39. 40. Therefore they sought again to take him: but he escaped out of their hand. And went away beyond Jordan.* And when our Lord proposed to go to Bethanie, upon occasion of the sickness and death of Lazarus, the disciples go unwillingly, and would have dissuaded him from that journey, being apprehensive of the imminent danger therein both to him and themselves. ch. xi. 7. . . . 16. See likewise ver. 45. . . 57. All these are things quite omitted by the other Evangelists. As is also what is said. ch. xii. 10. 11. And in their last persecution of Jesus before Pilate there are some very aggravating particulars mentioned by St. John, which the other Evangelists have not taken notice of. See ch. xviii. 29. . . . 32. xix. 1. . . 15.

Our blessed Lord, preparing his disciples for afflictions, reconciling their minds to them, and encouraging them to endure them patiently, says, ch. xv. 21. . . . 24. *All these things will they do unto you for my name's*

name's sake, because they know not him that sent me. If I had not come, and spoken unto them, they had not had sin. But now they have no excuse for their sin. He that hateth me, hateth my Father also. If I had not done among them the works, which no other man did, they had not had sin. But now have they both seen, and hated both me and my Father. That is a strong but just and true representation of the heinousness of the guilt of the Jewish people. For which reason I could not forbear to allege it here, though it should be thought out of place.

And now having, as I suppose, shewn this design of the Evangelist, let me mention an observation, or two, by way of corollarie.

First. We see the reason of St. John's recording the miracle of raising Lazarus, omitted by the other Evangelists. There was no necessity, that they should mention it. For without it they have recorded sufficient evidences of our Lord's mission and character. Nor was it possible, without an improper prolixity, to record all our Saviour's discourses and miracles, as St. John himself has observed. Moreover the first three Evangelists have chiefly insisted upon the most public part of our Lord's ministrie. For which reason this miracle did not come so directly in their way. But St. John could not omit it. His design necessarily led him to relate this great miracle, done so near Jerusalem, and with all it's circumstances. For it manifestly shews the perverse and incorrigible temper of the Jewish Priests and Rulers.

Secondly. None ought any more to make a question, whether our Lord twice cleansed the temple, or once only. It was cleansed by him at the time of his last Passover, as related by the first three Evangelists. But it was very proper for St. John to record that done at the first Passover of our Lord's ministrie: it affording an alarming evidence of his being the expected Messiah, which should have been taken notice of by the Jewish Rulers at Jerusalem. It was an early and open claim of the character of the Messiah. And their neglecting that, and so many other claims and evidences of the same great truth afterwards, manifests the obstinacie of their unbelief. Which was fitly shewn by this Evangelist.

I now proceed to some other arguments.

3. One argument, that St. John's Gospel was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem, is taken from ch. v. 2. *Now there is at Jerusalem, by the sheep-market, or Sheep-Gate, a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches.*

On this passage insist both (k) *Basnage* and (l) *Lampe*. St. John does not

(k) Porro quod tam sero scriptum Joannis Evangelium tradamus, id ex sententia potius veterum, quam ex rei veritate fecimus. Ex ipso quippe Evangelio nascitur argumentum ad existimandum, lucem prius aspexisse, quam Hierosolyma overteretur. *Est*, inquit, *Hierosolymis ad portam ovium piscina*. Stetisse ergo videtur urbs sancta, Joanne ea verba scribente. Secus, non præsens, est, sed præteritum adhibuisset. *Basn. An. 97. n. xii.*

(l) Habetur igitur hic non tantum mentio *portæ ovium*, tanquam tunc adhuc existantis, cum scriberet Evangelista, sed etiam ædificii ex quinque porticibus constantis, quales structuræ post dirutam a Romanis Hierosolymam illic frustra essent quæsitæ. Licet enim piscinam superesse velint itineraria, portæ tamen ac muri solo æquata erant. Inde igitur colligimus, stetisse urbem sanctam, Joanne

not say, as they observe, *There was*, but *there is*. And though the pool might remain, it could not be said after the ruin of the city, that the *five porches* still subsisted.

Mr. *Whiston* argues in this manner. "St. *John* (*m*) speaking of the "Pool of *Bethesda* in the present tense better agrees to the time here assigned, A. D. 63. before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, when that "Pool and Porch were certainly in being, than to the time afterwards, "when probably both were destroyed."

Dr. *Whitby* likewise was somewhat affected by this text, and says: "If *there is* be the true reading, as the consent of almost all the *Greek* "copies argues, it seems to intimate, that *Jerusalem* and this Pool "were standing, when St. *John* wrote his Gospel: and therefore, "that it was written; as *Theophylact*, and others say, before the destruc- "tion of *Jerusalem*, and not, as the more ancient Fathers thought, long "after."

But Mr *Jones*, beside other things, says, "that (*n*) in all probability "the Pool was not filled up, but was still in the same state, after the "destruction of *Jerusalem*, as before." To which, however, it might be answered, that supposing the Pool not to have been filled up, it would not be reasonable to think, that the *porches* and the *gate* still subsisted after the destruction of the city. But then Mr. *Jones* adds: "Supposing the Pool was destroyed, and St. *John* to have known it, "there is no impropriety in using the verb *is*: nothing being more "common among writers, than to use verbs in the present tense, to de- "note the preterperfect."

Having represented this argument, as it has appeared to divers learned men, I leave every one to judge of it.

4. In ch. xxi. 18. 19. Christ foretells, that *Peter* would die by martyrdom. Then it is added; *This spake he, signifying, by what death he should glorify God*. Some may hence argue, that (*o*) *Peter* was not yet dead, when this was writ: or that St. *John* did not then know of it. But others may be of opinion, that (*p*) though *Peter* had suffered martyrdom a good while before, and St. *John* knew it very well; yet he was not obliged to take notice of it, but might write as he does.

Indeed, I am of opinion, that St. *John* could not take notice of *Peter*'s death. It was not a thing within his province. As an Evangelist, he wrote the historie of our Saviour, not of his Apostles.

5. A

Joanne ea verba scribente. Secus non præsens est, sed præteritum adhibuisset. *Lamp. Prol. l. 2. cap. 2. num. xi.*

(*m*) *Essay on the Constitutions. ch. i. p. 38.*

(*n*) *New and Full Method. vol. 3. p. 141.*

(*o*) Post Petri martyrium editum esse Joannis Evangelium consensus est Patrum omnium. Fit tamen in ea re scrupulus. Petro Christus mortem diserte portendit. cap. xxi. 18. . . Quæ si scripta sunt, jam misso ad mortem Petro, injici de ea re mentio debebat, ut et completi oraculi cognitio caperetur, et martyri Christi laus sua concederetur. *Basnag. Exercit. p. 384.*

(*p*) Locus ex Joh. xxi. 18. non magni in hac causa momenti est. Nullam enim video necessitatem, cur mortem Petri commemoret, si vel actu notitiam ejus habuisset. quia sic per se satis veritas prædictionis Iesu innotuisset, &c. *Lamp. ib. d. 2. c. 2. §. xiii.*

5. A like argument may be taken from the following verses. 20. 21. 22. *Peter seeing John, saith to Jesus: Lord, and what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him: If I will, that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad, that this disciple should not die. Yet Jesus said not unto him, he shall not die; but if I will that he tarry, till I come, what is that to thee? If by Christ's coming be here intended the overthrow of Jerusalem, as many think, it may be supposed reasonable by some to expect, that St. John should have taken some notice of it here, if he wrote after that event. Nevertheless, I humbly apprehend, that this is not an argument of much weight. I do not think, that as an Evangelist he was obliged to give an account of the fulfilment of Christ's prediction, though he had been a witness of it.*

6. *This is the disciple, that testifieth these things, and wrote these things. And we know, that his testimonie is true.* By these last words Mr. Lampe (q) supposeth, to be meant some Jews, then living in Asia, who were eye witnesses of our Lord, and his ministrie: which might well be, if St. John's Gospel was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem: but would not be reckoned likely, if it was writ not before the year of the vulgar epoch 97. or 98. They who confirm the testimonie of another, ought to have the same certain knowledge of the thing testified, as he who speaks, or writes. But after the destruction of Jerusalem, it is not reasonable to think, there were many to bear witness to things done forty or fifty years before. These Jews, eye-witnesses of our Lord, Mr. Lampe supposeth to have been believers of that nation, who accompanied John into Asia when he left Judea.

I have thought it proper, not to omit this argument of that learned writer. But it depends upon his interpretation of this verse. Which is not certain. For some have supposed, that (r) it is the church of Ephesus, which here speaks. And others think it be (s) St. John himself. The change of number and person, of *we* for *I*, is no valid objection. So 1 John i. 1. . . . 5. *That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes. . . . 3. ep. 12. Yea, and we also bear record. And ye know, that our record is true.* And St. Paul 1 Thess. ii. 18. *Wherefore we would have come unto you, even I Paul, once and again. But Satan hindered us.* Chrysostom (t) and Theophylact (u) understood St. John to speak here of himself,

(q) *Ibid.* l. 2. cap. 2. num. ix.

(r) *Et scimus.*] Loquitur ecclesia Ephesina. Scimus, aiunt, fide dignum, ex vitæ scilicet puritate, et miraculis ab eo editis. Grot. in loc.

(s) "The Evangelist had said before ch. xix. 35. *He knoweth, that he says true.* Here in this place he changeth the person, saying: *We know, that his testimonie is true.*" Lightfoot upon John xxi. 24. vol. 2. p. 627. See likewise Whitby, Lensant, and Doddridge upon the place.

(t) Καὶ διδά, φησιν, ὅτι ἀληθὴ ἐστὶν ἃ λέγει. . . Καὶ πᾶσι δὲ παρῶν, καὶ ἐξ ὧν συν-
εργούμεθα ἀπολιμπάνετο, καὶ τὰς μνῆρας ἀνεχέμεθα. Chrys. hom. 88. al. 87. T. 8.
p. 538. C. D. E.

(u) Καὶ διδά, φησιν, ὅτι ἀληθὴ λέγει. τῆς ἐκ. πληροφορηθεὶς ἔγραψα, ἃ ἔγραψα,
ἅτε πᾶσι παρῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἐξοχτοῖς, καὶ τοῖς λογικοῖς, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι, καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τὴν
ἀνάστασιν. Ἀγαπήτος γὰρ ἦμας, καὶ οὐκ ἀπελιμπανήμεν, ὥστε παρῶν ἵσταμαι, καὶ
περὶ ἡμῶν λέγω, ὅτι ἀληθὲς. Theophyl. in Jo. Tom. i. p. 847.

self, as an eye-witnesse, who had been present at almost every thing, related by him in his historie.

7. It is said: "The three epistles of St. *John* do ever suppose, the Gospel of St. *John* to have been written long before, and to be well known by those to whom he wrote. And they are written with a constant view and regard to the contents of the same Gospel." That is an argument (x) of Mr. *Whiston*, which, with what he adds by way of confirmation, is referred to the reader's consideration.

8. Some have argued for an early date of this Gospel, or at least, that it was writ before the Revelation which was seen in *Patmos*, because (y) it is said at the beginning of that book, ch. i. 1. 2. . . . *Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things, which he saw.* They suppose, that therein St. *John* refers to his Gospel, and what he had writ in it. But to me the most reasonable account of those words appears to be that, which (z) was given formerly: That they are most properly understood of that very book, the Revelation, and the things contained in it. The writer there says, very pertinently, in his introduction, that in that book he had discharged the office, assigned him: having therein faithfully recorded the word of God, received from Jesus Christ, and all the visions, which he had seen.

9. Once more, it is argued from inscriptions, at the end of this Gospel, in divers manuscripts, that it was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*: it being there said, that this Gospel was writ in the time of *Nero*, at thirty years, or about two and thirty years after our Saviour's ascension. Upon these insisted (a) Mr. *Wetstein* in a passage quoted from him some while ago. Upon them likewise insists (b) Mr. *Lampe*.

For my own part, I lay not any stress at all upon these inscriptions, at the end of *Greek*, or *Arabic*, or other manuscripts of the New Testament, writ in the ninth, or tenth centurie, or later. They (c) are of

(x) See his *Commentary upon St. John's three Catholic Epistles*. p. 8. &c.

(y) Ipsum porro audiamus Evangelistam idem non obscure, uti nobis videtur, subindicantem, quando Apoc. i. 2. se ita circumscribit: ὁς ἠκούσθη τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. . . Et versu 9. . . Plurimi optimi interpretes in eo consentiunt, quod in his verbis ad Evangelium respiciatur, licet in modo demonstrandi differant &c. *Lamp. Prol. l. 2. cap. 2. §. viii.*

(z) See Vol. iv. p. 703.

(a) See before, p. 387.

(b) Accedit multarum glossarum et versionum in id consensus, quod sub Nerone Evangelium sit exaratum. Licet enim autoritates hæ sequioris ævi sint, ob earum tamen frequentiam et harmoniam valde est credibile, quod in antiquiori traditione fundatæ sint. . . Id tamen observavi discrimen, ut quædam numero rotundo XXX post Christi adscensionem, aliæ XXXII nominent. *Lampe ibid. l. 2. cap. 2. num. xii. Vid. et num. xiv.*

(c) Neque ordo, qui nunc receptus est epistolarum, sequitur ordinem temporis, neque antiqua sunt illa, quæ sub finem sunt addita, ad significandum, unde et per quos missæ sunt. . . et illæ in fine annotationeulæ seræ sunt, ex conjectura, aut tenui fama. *Grot. Contin. in loca quædam, N. T. sub in. Tom. 3.*

no authority. For there is no proof, that this account was derived from the testimonie, or tradition of ancient authors. The early date of the Gospels was popular. Some having without reason determined the time of writing the other Gospels at eight, or ten, or fifteen years after our Lord's ascension, pitched upon the year 30. or 32. for the time of St. *John's* Gospel. But it was done upon no other ground and foundation, but mere fanſie and conjecture.

X. It is upon the two first mentioned arguments, that I chiefly relye. However, there are objections, which deserve to be considered. Objections.

1. Obj. *Chrysostom* was of opinion, that St. *John* did not write, till after the destruction of *Jerusalem*. For in a homilie upon Matth. xxiv. he says: “*John* (d) writes not of any of these things, lest it should be thought, that he took an advantage from the event. For he was living a good while after the destruction of *Jerusalem*. But the other Evangelists, who died before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and saw none of those things, record these predictions.”

To which I answer, that St. *John's* omitting our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of *Jerusalem*, which are recorded by the other Evangelists, is no proof, that he did not write, untill after they were fulfilled. For if he wrote at the time supposed by us, when that event was near; it is very likely, that he would omit these predictions: especially, having observed, that they were sufficiently recorded already. And we plainly see, that it is not St. *John's* method, to repeat what had been recorded before. However, he has inserted in his Gospel divers expressions, containing warnings and intimations of the miseries coming upon the Jewish People, if they did not receive the Lord Jesus as the Messiah. *John* the Baptist may be supposed to intend this in words, recorded John iii. 36. Our Lord intimates it in his discourse with *Nicodemus*. iii. 18. 19. and upon divers other occasions, already taken notice of by us, in this Gospel. ch. viii. 12. 21. 24. ix. 39. . . . 41. xii. 35. 36.

2. Obj. Mr. *Whiston* in (e) his Short View of the Harmonie of the Evangelists, says, “that St. *John* useth the Roman or *Julian* beginning of the day in his Gospel, the same that we use at present, and reckons the hours from midnight and noon. He refers to *John* i. 39. xix. 14. and xx. 19. Which he reckons an argument, that St. *John* wrote his Gospel long after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the period of the Jewish polity, at *Ephesus*, a place remote from *Judea*, and under the Roman government.”

To which I answer, 1. It does not appear to me, that St. *John* computes the hours of the day after the Roman, but after the Jewish manner. 2. Supposing St. *John* to have used the Roman method of computation, it does not follow, that he wrote after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the period of the Jewish polity. We allow, that St. *John's* Gospel was writ at *Ephesus*, at a distance from *Judea*. And, if he thought fit, he might use the Roman way of reckoning, especially, when the period

(d) See Vol. x. p. 321.

(e) P. 115. 116.

period of the Jewish commonwealth was near, though not quite accomplished.

Thus I have endeavoured to solve this objection. What was Mr. *Whiston's* own solution; I do not know. But I suppose, that he afterwards overcame this difficulty. For in his later writings he maintains a very different sentiment concerning the date of St. *John's* Gospel, pleading, that it was writ about the year of Christ 63. a good while before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. So he argues in his Essay upon the Apostolical Constitutions, published in 1711. and in his Commentarie upon St. *John's* Epistles, published in 1719. His Harmonie of the four Evangelists was printed at *Cambridge* in the year 1702.

3. Obj. It is farther objected, that many ancient writers speak of a late date of St. *John's* Gospel, and that he wrote with a design to confute divers heretics: who cannot be supposed to have appeared, till after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the overthrow of the Jewish People.

To which I answer, that this may have been owing to a mistaken apprehension. Many heretics, they saw, might be confuted by St. *John's* Gospel. Therefore they concluded, that he did not write, till after they had appeared in the world: whilst the truth might be no more than this, that such and such heretics might be confuted out of his Gospel: though they had not appeared in the world, till long after. *Paulinus* says, "that (f) in the begining of St. *John's* Gospel all heretics are confuted, particularly, *Arius*, *Sabellius*, *Photinus*, *Marchion*, and the *Manicheans*." And in Mr. *Wetstein's* preface to St. *John's* Gospel, writ not long ago, in our time, are these expressions. Having before quoted *Irenaeus*, he adds: "Which (g) if they be compared with those things, which *Carpocrates*, *Menander*, *Cerdo*, *Saturninus*, *Basilides*, *Valentin*, and *Marchion*, have said of angels, and æons: among whom were *Charis Grace*, *Alethea Truth*, *Monogenes Only begotten*, *Logos Word*, *Zoe Life*: it must be manifest, that *John* so opposed his doctrine to them, as to use the forms of expression, received by them." Surely, this is very incautious, and inaccurate. Must it not be so, to say, that St. *John* opposed those heretics, most of which are heretics of the second centurie? If St. *John's* gospel be genuine, it must have been writ before the end of the first centurie. Yea, Mr. *Wetstein* says, it was writ at about two and thirty years after Christ's ascension. How then could St. *John* oppose them, or write against them, but in the way of prophetic, or prevention? But to say, he opposed his doctrine to them, or wrote against them, does not seem very proper. And if the ancient writers speak not more accurately, than this learned modern; an argument taken from them, upon this head, cannot be of much weight.

It

(f) See Vol. xi. p. 44.

(g) Quæ si comparentur cum iis, quæ *Carpocrates*, *Menander*, *Cerdo*, *Saturninus*, *Basilides*, *Valentinus*, et *Marcion* de angelis et æonibus, inter quos erant *Charis*, *Alethea*, *Monogenes*, *Logos*, *Zoe*, item de Christo, non vere, sed *δοκῶσα* passio, tradiderunt: satis manifestum erit, Joannem doctrinam suam illis ita opponere, ut loquendi formulis apud illos receptis utatur. *Wetst. Test. Gr. Tom. i. p. 832.*

It is the testimonie of *Irenaeus*, which ought principally to be regarded by us, upon account of his antiquity, and his having been acquainted with *Polycarp* in the early part of his life. He says, as before transcribed, "that by the publication of his Gospel *John* designed to root out the errour that had been sown among men by *Cerinthus*." But it is observable, that in another place, also transcribed above, he says: "*John* foreseeing those blasphemous notions, that divide the Lord, so far as it is in their power," wrote his Gospel. For this passage I am indebted to Mr. *Whiston*, who argues, that St. *John*'s Gospel was writ about the year 63. and before this Apostle's three epistles. "Nor," says (b) he, shall I need to support this observation from any other argument, than that from *Irenaeus*, who supposeth this Gospel, and St. *Paul*'s epistle to the *Romans*, ancients, and these epistles later, than the rise of the heresie of *Cerinthus*." Referring to the passage of *Irenaeus*, before taken notice of by us.

If then we put together the several passages of *Irenaeus*, he does not contradict the supposition of an early date of St. *John*'s Gospel: or, that it was writ before the rise of those heresies, which may be confuted by it.

It may be judged presumptuous to oppose the prevailing opinion of learned men, who have supposed, that some heretics were particularly struck at in the beginning of this Gospel. Nevertheless Mr. *Lampe*, (i) whom I have often quoted, has presumed to oppose this opinion, and has largely argued, that St. *John* did not write against *Cerinthus*, or other heretics in his Gospel. And though another learned German (k) has since writ against Mr. *Lampe*, I cannot say, that he has confuted him.

I shall therefore take the liberty of mentioning some thoughts relating to this matter, which offer themselves to my mind.

First: To me it seems below an Evangelist, to write against heretics in the historie of his Lord and Master. Nor do any of the Evangelists enter into a particular account of things after our Lord's ascension. St. *John* proceeds no farther than his resurrection, and the evidences of it, without particularly mentioning his ascension. Nor has St. *Matthew* proceeded any farther. However, undoubtedly, it is implied in what they write, that our Lord was raised up to an endless life, and to universal

(b) *Commentarie upon St. John's epistles. p. 8.*

(i) Nos ut salva, quam viris magnis. . . debemus, existimatione, libere animi sensa proferamus, an Evangelio suo Joannes controversiam tractare, hæreticosque in Ecclesia sui ævi ullos refutare voluerit, dubitamus admodum. Neque enim id titulus generalis Evangelii libro præfixus admittit, neque id commode per librum ad methodum historię compositum fieri potuit, neque illius rei vel vola vel vestigium ullum apparet: quod tamen et scriptoribus elenchticis in more constanti positum est, et e re admodum erat, ut eo certius tela ferirent, et eo evidentius argumentorum patesceret robur. *Lampe Prolegom. in Joann. l. 2. cap 3. num. xiii. Vid. ib. num. xiv. xv. xvi. et seq.*

(k) G. L. Oederus de scopo Evangelii S. Jo. Ap. certissime Hæresi Cerinthi et Ebionis oppositi. Adversus V. C. Fr. Ad. Lampe. Lipsæ 1733.

verfal power in heaven and on earth. St. Mark ch. xvi. 19. and St. Luke xxiv. 50. 51. relate our Saviour's afcenfion to heaven.

This has oftentimes appeared to me exceeding remarkable, that none of the Evangelifts fhould in their Gospels give an account of the preaching of the Apoftles after our Lord's afcenfion, and the defcent of the Holy Ghofl upon them. Take the earlieft date of the Gospels, that can be thought of, or affigned by any: all muft allow, that before any of them were writ, many miracles had been performed by the Apoftles, and many converts muft have been made from among Jews, if not alfo from among Gentils: and many promifes of our Lord muft have been accomplifhed. And we can perceive from their Gospels, that they had a knowledge of fuch things. Neverthelefs there is no particular account of them in any of the Gospels. St. *Mark* is the only Evangelift, that has faid any thing in his Gospel of the miniftric of the Apoftles. And he enters not into any detail. His whole account is in a few words only, the laft verfe of his Gospel.

Confidering this method of all the Evangelifts in their histories of our Lord and Saviour, it appears to me probable, that though St. *John* had not writ his Gospel before the year 96. or 97. as fome have fupposed; he would not have taken notice of heretics, or vouchsafed to argue with them. St. *John* did not write the hiftorie of the Apoftles, as is evident. How then could he take notice of heretics?

Secondly. Another thing of no fmall moment is this. I fee nothing of this kind in the reft of St. *John's* Gospel. Why (*l*) then fhould we imagine, that there is any fuch thing in the introduction? If St. *John's* Gospel is not writ againft heretics, why fhould the beginning of it be fo? What St. *John* fays in the introduction, appears to me agreeable to the main defign of his Gospel, as it has been before largely reprefented. He therein fhews, that Jesus came, and acted by the authority of God, the Creator of the world, the God, and fupreme Lawgiver of the Jewifh People. The (*m*) eternal word, reafon, wifdom, power of God, which is God himfelf, by which the world had been made, by which he dwelled among the Jews in the tabernacle, and the temple, dwelled,

(*l*) Ex quibus clare, ut putamus, patet, in prologo compendium contineri rerum, quas Evangelifta toto Evangelio demonftrare volebat, nempe Iefum non tantum effe Filium Dei et redemptorem mundi. Ver. 1. . . 4. Sed etiam qua talem ita plene in mundo demonftratum effe, ut ab una parte Judæi plane rediti fuerint ἀναπολόγητοι. ver. 4. . . 11. ab altera autem fideles fufficiens fidei firmamentum acceperint. ver. 12. . . 18. *Lamp. Prolog. l. 2. cap. 4. num. xxv.*

(*m*) Quæris veram hujus nominis interpretationem, de qua variæ exftant eruditorum virorum fententiæ? Non vindico mihi ejus rei arbitrium: tantum, quod hic fentio, modeste, falva diffidentium exillimatione et amicitia, profero. Vertendum effe hoc nomen *Ratio*, vel *Sapientia Dei*: etfi receptam phrafim *Sermonis Dei*, in verfione retinendam cenfuerim. . . Conftat cuique, prologum Evangelii legenti, alludere Joannem in toto illo prologo . . . ad caput octavum Proverbiorum Salomonis, . . . ut proinde talem eligere oporteat interpretationem, quæ affinis fit voci *Sapientia*. *Vitring. in Apoc. cap. xix. ver. 13. p. 1109.*

(n) dwelled, and resided in Jesus, in the fullest manner: so (o) that we his disciples, and others who believed in him, saw, and clearly discerned him to be the promised Messiah, the great Prophet, that should come into the world.

The Apostles in their addresses to the Jewish People never fail to give assurances, that Jesus Christ had acted by the authority of the one true God, the God of their ancestors. So Acts ii. 22. *Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles . . . which God did by him in the midst of you.* And iii. 13. *The God of Abraham, of Isaac, and Jacob, The God of our fathers, has glorified his Son, Jesus. . .* See also ver. 22. . . 26. ch. v. 30. *The God of our fathers has raised up Jesus. . .* The epistle to the Hebrews begins in this manner: *God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the Prophets, has in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.*

Indeed, this is necessarie for the satisfaction of all men, both Jews and Gentils. For there is no other God, but one, even the God of the Patriarchs and Prophets. Nor can any true revelation come from any, but him.

In all the Gospels our Lord ascribes all his miracles, and all his authority, to the one God, *his father, who is in heaven.* Matt. xii. 28. *If I cast out demons by the Spirit of God, then is the kingdom of God come unto you.* Luke xi. 20. *If I by the finger of God cast out demons, no doubt the kingdom of God is come unto you.* Matt. xi. 27. *All things are delivered unto me by my Father. . .* Comp. Luke x. 22. Matt. xii. 13. *Every plant, which my heavenly Father has not planted, shall be rooted up.* Matt. xvi. 27. *For the Son of man shall come in the glorie of his Father. . .* Comp. Mark viii. 38. And the like in many other places.

But in none of the Gospels does our Lord so frequently, and expressly, ascribe all his authority to God the Father, as in St. John's Gospel: thereby plainly shewing the guilt of those, who did not receive him. John v. 19. *The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do. . .* Ver. 30. *I seek not my own will, but the will of the Father, who hath sent me.* Ver. 36. 37. *But I have greater witness, than that of John. For the works, which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me. . .* I am come in my Father's name. And ye receive me not. . . And at ver. 45. . . 47. our Lord appeals to Moses and his writings, which were allowed to be of divine original, as bearing testimonie to him. Then ch. vi. 27. . . him hath God the Father sealed. vii. 16. *I am not alone. But I, and the*

(n) Ut celebratissimo loco legitur: Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. Quod recte redditur: *Et Verbum, sive sermo, homo factus est, sive humanam naturam induit.* Et ἐξ ἑργων νόμος ὁ δικαιωθείσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ: i. e. *homo quisquam.* Rom. iii. 20. ut Pl. cxliv. 22. al. cxlv. 21. καὶ ἐυλογεῖτω πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Pearson. Prolegom. ad version. lxx. Cantab. p. 13.

(o) "We saw his glorie, as what became the only begotten Son of God. He did not glitter in any worldly pomp and grandeur, according to what the Jewish nation fondly dreamed their Messiah would do: but he was decked with the glorie of holiness, grace, truth, and the power of miracles." Lightfoot's Exercitationes upon St. John, vol. 2. p. 521.

the Father that sent me. x. 36. Say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world: Thou blasphemest: because I said, I am the Son of God? And, to add no more. ch. xi. 41. 42. When he wrought that great miracle of raising Lazarus from the dead, Jesus lift up his eyes, and said: Father, I thank thee, that thou hast heard me. And I knew, that thou hearest me always. But because of the people which stand by, I said it, that they may believe, that thou hast sent me.

Agreeable to all this is the introduction, where, beside other, are these expressions: *He came to his own. And his own received him not. . . The Word was made flesh, and dwelled among us. . . And we saw his glorie, the glorie, as of the only begotten of the Father. . . The law was given by Moses. But grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. No man hath seen God at any time. The only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has declared him.* So ends the introduction. And it was what St. John has largely and fully shewn in his Gospel.

But it will be asked: Whence came it to pass, that St. John made use of that term, *the Word*?

I answer: I am of opinion, that it was not out of regard to *Philo*, or any Platonic writers. But I suppose, this (*p*) way of speaking to have been very common with the Jewish People, and, perhaps, more especially with those of them, who were most zealous for the law, and most exempt from foreign, and philosophical speculations. Who by *the Word*, or *the Word of God*, understood, not a spirit, separate from God, and inferior to him, but God himself, as St. John (*q*) does.

Numb.

(*p*) Plerique observant, similem locutionem frequenter occurrere in Paraphrasibus Chaldaicis, quæ veterum Hebræorum catechesin, et antiquas loquendi formulas, exhibent. Quoties de Deo nobiscum conversante sermo est, toties vero Targumistæ, pro Deo, vel Jehova, substituerunt verbum *Jehovæ*. Pro exemplo hæc paucula ex innumeris sunt. Gen. xxi. 20. *Deus fuit cum illo.* Onkelos. *Verbum Domini fuit illi auxilio.* Ib. comm. 22. *Deus est tecum.* Onkelos. *Verbum Domini enim tibi subsidio.* Deut. xx. 1. *Ne timeto ab eis. Nam Deus tuus tecum est.* Onkelos. . . *eo quod Jehova Deus tuus, Verbum ejus auxilio tibi est, quod eduxit te ex terra Ægypti.* Num. xi. 22. *Eo quod reprobasti Jehovam.* Onkelos. *Eo quod fastidisti Verbum Domini, cujus Shechinah Divina Majestas habitat in vobis.* Exod. xvi. 8. *Non contra nos murmurationes vestre, sed contra Jehovam.* Onkelos. . . *sed contra Verbum Jevæ.* Infinita sunt similia. Unde colligitur, receptum eo tempore Hebræis fuisse, ut Deum, quatenus cum populo suo agit, Verbum vocaverint: cui ea attribuerunt, quæ Dei sunt. *Whitf. Miscell. Sacr. Tom. 2. p. 88. 89. Exercit. iii. περί τῆς λόγῃς, §. ii.*

(*q*) Omnia igitur talia conscribere volens discipulus Domini, et regulam veritatis constituere in Ecclesia quia est unus Deus Omnipotens, qui per verbum suum omnia fecit, et visibilia, et invisibilia: significans quoque, quoniam per Verbum, per quod Deus perfecit conditionem, in hoc et salutem his qui in conditione sunt, præstitit hominibus: sic inchoavit in ea, quæ est secundum Evangelium, doctrina: *In principio erat Verbum.* Iren. l. 3. cap. xi. in *Massuet.*

Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia, non a primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a Virtute quadam valde separata, et distante ab ea Principatitate, quæ est super omnia. *Id. l. 1. cap. xxv. al. 26. in.*

Deus

Numb. xxiii. 3. *How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed? or, how shall I defy, whom the Lord has not defied?* Upon which verse Patrick says: "In the Jerusalem Targum this verse is thus paraphrased: *How shall I curse the house of Israel, when the Word of the Lord has blessed them? Or, how shall I diminish the familie of Israel, when the Word of the Lord has multiplied them?*"

It is well known, that in the Chaldee Paraphrases, it is very common, to put *Mimra Jehovah, the Word of the Lord*, for *Jehovah*, or *God*. When those Paraphrases were made, is not certain: whether before, or after the time of our Saviour. But their great antiquity is generally allowed. And it is very probable, that this way of speaking was common, and much used before. "It is likely, says a learned friend, that *Mimra Jehovah* was used before the Paraphrases were committed to writing, because it would be an unreasonable thing to use a phrase, which the common people did not understand. For it is supposed, that the Paraphrases were chiefly made for them."

Let me add, that the use of this phrase, *the Word of God*, or *the Word of the Lord*, as equivalent to *God* himself, seems to be founded in the original language of the Old Testament. In behalf of which I would allege the following texts. Gen. i. 1. *In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.* Ver. 3. *God said: Let there be light. And there was light.* Comp. Ps. xxxiii. 6. *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.* And Ps. cv. 19. *Untill the time that his Word came: the Word of the Lord tried him.*

When St. John says ch. i. 1. 2. 3. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God. And the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him. And without him was not any thing made that was made.* He seems to allude to (r) what Solomon says of Wisdom in the book of Proverbs, particularly, the eighth chapter. And how Wisdom ought to be understood, as spoken of by Solomon, was shewn formerly, if I may be allowed to say so, in (s) a discourse upon Prov. viii. 17. Moreover the beginning of St. John's Gospel should be compared with the beginning of his first Epistle, particularly, ch. i. ver. 1. 2.

According to the account now given, what St. John says at the beginning, is a very proper introduction of his Gospel: where he largely shews the guilt of those, who rejected the manifestation (t) of the Wisdom, the Word, the Will of God, in the person of Jesus.

Upon the whole, I see no reason to think, that, in the introduction to his Gospel, St. John opposed any Christian heresies, or had any regard to them.

Consequently,

Deus autem totus existens mens, et totus existens logos, quod cogitat, hoc et loquitur: et quod loquitur, id et cogitat. Cogitatio enim ejus logos, et logos mens, et omnia concludens mens, ipse et Pater. *Id. l. 2. cap. xxviii. n. 5. p. 157.*

(r) See the passage of Vitringa quoted just now, at note (m) p. 164.

(s) See Sermons upon various subjects, p. 113. &c.

(t) See ch. xliiii. vol. 4. p. 602. . . 604.

Consequently, the foregoing argument, that St. *John's* Gospel was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or about the time of that event, remains intire.

*Observations upon
this Gospel.*

XI. I shall now mention some observations upon this Gospel.

1. There is no need to shew here, particularly, from the Gospel itself, as we did of the former Evangelists, that St. *John* did not write his Gospel, till after converts had been made from among Gentils: because it is allowed by all, that St. *John* did not write, till after the other Evangelists, about the time of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or afterwards: before which time the Apostles must have left *Judea*, to go abroad, and preach to Gentils. Nevertheless one signal passage may be here taken notice of, which is not far from the begining of this Gospel. Ch. i. 11. 12. 13. *He came to his own, and his own received him not: but as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name. Which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.* That is, "he came to the Jews, and first appeared, and taught among them, and they generally rejected him. But upon all who believed in him, whether Jews or Gentils, of whatever countrey, or nation, or people, they were, he bestowed the privilege of being the people of God, and all the blessings appertaining to them."

2. *Eusebe* says: "The (t) other three Evangelists have recorded the actions of our Saviour for one year only, after the imprisonment of *John* the Baptist." *Jerome* speaks to the like purpose in his book of Illustrious Men, just now (u) transcribed. But it should have been said "one year, and somewhat more:" meaning the time and actions of our Lord's most publick ministrie. For it seems to me, that the ancients supposed our Lord's ministrie to have lasted, in the whole, somewhat more than two years. As was shewn Vol. iii. p. 136. . . 138. *Eusebe* indeed computed (x) our Lord's ministrie to have consisted of three years and a half: and supposed St. *John's* Gospel to have in it four Passovers. He seems to have been the first Christian, who advanced that opinion. And he is now generally followed by harmonizers of the Gospels, and by ecclesiastical historians. Sir *Isaac Newton* (y) however computes five Passovers in our Saviour's ministrie: as does likewise Dr. *Edward Wells* in his Historical Geographie of the New Testament. And others may be of the same opinion, or make more. But none of these opinions appear to me to have any foundation in the Gospels. The opinion of *Eusebe*, and those who follow him, is much more probable, than theirs, who yet farther enlarge the number of the Passovers of our Saviour's ministrie. The first Passover in St. *John* is that mentioned by him ch. ii. 13. At ch. v. 1. it is said: *After this there was a feast of the Jews. And Jesus went up to Jerusalem.* They who follow *Eusebe*, and make four Passovers in our Lord's ministrie, reckon this feast to be a Passover. But they who compute his ministrie to have lasted only two years, and somewhat more, suppose this to be some other feast, possibly, the feast of Tabernacles, next succeeding the Passover, mentioned

(t) See vol. viii. p. 93.

(x) See vol. viii. p. 138.

(u) See before, p. 145.

(y) *Observations upon Daniel*. p. 156. 157.

mentioned ch. ii. 13. At ch. vi. 4. *And the Passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh.* This, according to different computations, is either the second or the third Passover in our Lord's ministrie. The third, or, according to others, the fourth, is that mentioned by all the Evangelists, at which our Lord suffered. It is mentioned by St. John ch. xi. 55. and xii. 1.

3. St. John has omitted the greatest part of those things, which are recorded by the other Evangelists. Which much confirms the testimony of ancient writers, that the first three Gospels were written, and published among the faithful, before St. John wrote: that they were brought to him, and that he affirmed the truth of their relations, but said, that some discourses and miracles of our Saviour were omitted by them, which might be usefully recorded.

Indeed, there is little or nothing in his Gospel, which is not new and additional, except the account of our Saviour's persecution, death, and resurrection, where all four coincide in many particulars: though even here also St. John has divers things peculiar to himself. In St. John's Gospel is no account of our Saviour's nativity, nor of his baptism by John: though, undoubtedly, it is there supposed, and referred to. He takes no notice of our Saviour's temptation in the wilderness, nor of the call, or names of the twelve Apostles, nor of their mission, in our Saviour's life time, nor of our Lord's parables, or other discourses of his, recorded by them, nor of our Saviour's journeys, of which they give an account, nor any of those predictions, relating to the desolations of *Jerusalem*, which are in *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*. Nor has he any miracles recorded by them, excepting only, that one of the multiplication of small provision for feeding five thousand, with the extraordinarie circumstances of the return to *Capernaum* from the countrey, where that miracle had been wrought. ch. vi. 4. . . . 21. And it is likely, that this miracle was recorded by him, for the sake of the discourses, to which it gave occasion, and which follow there. ver. 22. . . . 71.

However, it should be observed, that he has one thing recorded by all the Evangelists, *Peter's* striking a servant of the High-Priest, and cutting off his ear. ch. xviii. 10. *Then Simon Peter having a sword, drew it, and smote the High-Priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. The servant's name was Malchus.* Which, as St. Luke informs us, Jesus touched, and healed. ch. xxii. 51. *Peter's* action is mentioned by all the three Evangelists. Matt. xxvi. 51. Mark xiii. 47. Luke xxii. 51. But St. John alone mentions *Peter* by name, and the name of the servant. I thought proper to take notice of this, though St. John does not particularly mention the miracle of healing.

St. John likewise, ch. ii. 14. . . 22. gives an account of our Lord's cleansing the temple at his first Passover, when he went to *Jerusalem*. All the other Evangelists have a like account of our Lord's cleansing the temple at his last Passover. Matt. xxi. 12. 13. Mark xi. 15. 16. Luke xix. 45. 46. But I suppose them to be quite different actions, and that our blessed Lord twice cleansed the temple, as already shewn.

4. Though the first three Evangelists have not particularly recorded our Saviour's several journeys to *Jerusalem*, as St. John has done, but have

have only given a particular account of his preaching there at his last Passover, they were not unacquainted with them.

This may be concluded from divers things in their histories. To those, who came to apprehend him, our Lord said : *I sat daily with you teaching in the temple, and ye laid no hold on me.* Matt. xxvi. 55. And compare Mark xiv. 49. Luke xxii. 53. And among the accusations brought against him by the Jewish Rulers before Pilate, they say : *He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee to this place.* Luke xxiii. 5. Peter preaching at Jerusalem, soon after our Lord's ascension, says : *Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and signs : which God did by him in the midst of you, as yourselves also know.* Acts ii. 32. And at the house of Cornelius, in Cesarea : *That word, you know, which was published throughout all Judea, and began from Galilee.* Acts x. 37. . . *And we are witnesses of all things, which he did, both in the land of the Jews, and at Jerusalem.* ver. 39. And it appears from their histories, that our Lord's fame had early reached Jerusalem. Many attended him in Galilee, from thence, and from other parts. Says St. Matthew : *And there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan.* iv. 25. Comp. Mark iii. 7. 8. Again : *And the Scribes, which came from Jerusalem, said : He has Belzebul. . .* Mark iii. 22. . . 30. Compare Matt. ix. 34. Luke xi. 14 . . . 26. *Then came to Jesus Scribes, and Pharisees, which were of Jerusalem.* Matt. xv. 1. Compare Mark vii. 1. And says St. Luke, ch. v. 17. *And it came to pass on a certain day, as he was teaching, that there were Pharisees, and Doctors of the Law sitting by, which were come out of every town of Galilee, and Judea, and Jerusalem. And the power of the Lord was present to heal them.* And in every one of the evangelists we may meet with Scribes and Pharisees, opposing our Lord, watching his words and actions, cavilling with him, and reflecting upon him, and his disciples.

Moreover in St. Luke, ch. ix. 51. . . 56. is an account of a remarkable incident, when our Lord was going from Galilee through Samaria, to Jerusalem, at one of their feasts : supposed by (z) some to be the feast of Tabernacles, by others (a) the feast of Dedication, preceding his last Passover. See likewise Luke xiii. 22. and xvii. 11.

However, after all, I do not think it was needful, that our Lord should go often to Jerusalem, or that all his journeys thither, and discourses there, should be recorded. It was indeed highly expedient, that his ministræ should be public. So it might be, without going often to Jerusalem. John the Baptist was a man of great reputation, though he never went up to Jerusalem during the time of his shewing Luke i. 80. himself unto Israel, that we know of. And it is manifest from the first three Evangelists, as well as from St. John, that our Lord's ministræ was very public, and well known in all parts of Judea, and the regions round about, and to men of all ranks therein. In them we find our Lord to have been notified before-hand by John the Baptist. He sent out once his twelve Apostles, and then seventy other

(z) Vid. Clerc. Harmon. p. 234. 235.

(a) See Dr. Doddridge's Family Expositor. Sect. 127. Vol. 2. p. 183.

other disciples, *two by two, to go before him, and prepare men for him, in every city and place, where he should come.* In them we find him teaching in synagogues, in cities, and villages, and desert places, crouded by throngs, attended by multitudes of people, and miraculously feeding at one time five thousand, at another four thousand men, beside women and children.

It was fit, that our Lord's ministrie should be very public. It is manifest from all the four Evangelists, that it was so. Which cannot but be the ground of great satisfaction to us.

5. The genuinneſſe of the xxi. or last chapter of St. John's Gospel ought not to be contested.

Grotius indeed was of opinion, that (b) St. John concluded his Gospel with the words which are at the end of the xx. chapter: and that what is in the xxi. chapter was added after St. John's death by the church of Ephesus.

Against that opinion the general, or (c) even universal consent of manuscripts and versions is a great objection. For it is very probable, that this Gospel was published before St. John's death. And if there had been an edition without this chapter, it is very likely, that it would have been wanting in some copies. To which may be added, that we do not find, that any of the ancient Christian writers ever made a question, whether this chapter was composed by St. John, or by another. Finally, (d) the stile is St. John's. In chapter xix. 35. *And he that saw it bare record. And his record is true. And he knoweth, that he says true.* Here xxi. 24. *This is the disciple, which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things. And we know, that his testimonie is true.* Compare likewise ver. 7. and 20. The last words of the chapter, at ver. 25. are these: *And there are also many other things, which Jesus did: the which if they should be*

(b) Omnino arbitror, quæ hic sequuntur conclusionem esse totius operis, et ibi finisse Johannem librum, quem edidit. At sicut caput ultimum Pentateuchi, et caput ultimum Josuæ post Mosis et Josuæ mortem additum est a Synedrion Hebræorum: ita et caput quod sequitur post mortem Johannis additum ab Ecclesia Ephesina, hoc maxime sine, ut ostenderetur impletum quod de longævitate ac non violenta morte Johannis Dominus prædixerat. &c. *Grot. ad Joh. xx. 30.*

(c) Ceterum in tanto codicum et versionum consensu, eoque prorsus universali, cogitari non debebat, caput hoc ab Ecclesia demum Ephesina accessisse. Quis enim negare tuto potest, Evangelium Johannis ante ipsius obitum, adeoque ante additum hoc, quod creditur, supplementum accessisse? Et quis crediderit, vel sic omnes codices in exhibendo isto capite tam constanter consentire potuisse? *Wolf. in Joh. cap. xxi. in.*

(d) Rejicimus hic sententiam eorum, qui ab alia manu, quam ipsius Johannis Evangelistæ hoc caput esse adjectum putant. Nam ita clare stilum redolet Apostoli, ut si aliquis alius id adjecisset, non sine impostura istud facere potuisset. Neque enim se Joannem vocat, sed more suo discipulum, quem Iesus amabat. ver. 7. 20. Tum hæc addit: *Hic est discipulus ille, qui de his testatur, et hæc scripsit.* ver. 24. Quæ defendi non possunt a mendaciò, si quisquam alius præter Apostolum hoc caput adjecisset. Adde, quod diligentissimi circa tales circumstantias Patres, Eusebius, Hieronymus, atque alii, non ita plene silentio id involvissent. &c. *Fr. Lamp. in Jo. Evang. cap. xxi. Tom. 3. p. 720. 721. Vid. et Mill. Proleg. num. 249. 250.*

be written every one, I suppose, that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. Which clause evidently is from the same person, who wrote ver. 30. and 31. of ch. xx. Here the Evangelist seems to check himself, and to determine, not to proceed any farther. For if he should attempt to commit to writing every thing which Jesus had said and done, he should never come to an end.

Says Dr. *Whitby* upon ch. xx. 31. "Some think, that St. *John* here ended his Gospel, and that the following chapter was written by some other hands. But these words give no ground for that imagination: since other Apostles, after they seem to have concluded their epistles, add some new matter: as may be seen in the conclusions of the epistles to the *Romans*, and to the *Hebrews*." See Rom. ch. xv. and xvi. Heb. xiii. 21. . . . 25. I would likewise refer to Mr. *Lenfant's* note upon ch. xxi. 24. Who also asserts the genuineness of this last chapter.

C H A P. X.

The Question considered, whether any one of the first three Evangelists had seen the Gospels of the others, before he wrote.

HERE I shall in the first place mention the different sentiments of learned moderns concerning this point. And then I intend to consider the merits of the question.

Calvin (a) in the preface to his Harmonie of the Gospels of *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, declares it to be his opinion, that St. *Mark* was so far from having abridged St. *Matthew's* Gospel, that he thinks he had never seen it. Which he also supposes to have been St. *Luke's* case.

This likewise must have been the opinion of *Basnage*. For he supposeth (b) St. *Luke's* to have been the first written of all the Gospels. Consequently this Evangelist could not borrow either from St. *Matthew*, or St. *Mark*.

Mr. *Whiston* in (c) his Harmonie of the four Evangelists called St. *Mark* the epitomizer of St. *Matthew*. Mr. *Jones*, in his Vindication of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, well, and largely argued against that opinion.

Mr. *Dodwell* declared his opinion upon this subject after this manner: "That (d) none of the first three Evangelists had seen the others Gospels."

(a) Mihi certe magis probabile est, et ex re ipsa conjicere licet, numquam librum Matthæi fuisse ab eo inspectum, cum ipse suum scriberet: tantum abest, ut in compendium ex professo redigere voluerit. Idem et de Luca judicium facio. *Calvin. argum. in Evangel. &c.*

(b) *Basn. Ann. 60. num. xxxi.*

(c) *P. 102.*

(d) Sic latuerant in illis terrarum angulis, in quibus scripta fuerant, Evangelia, ut ne quidem resciverint recentiores Evangelistæ, quid scripissent de iisdem rebus antiquiores. Aliter foret ne tot essent *ἐναντιοφάνη* quæ fere a prima usque canonis constitutione eruditorum hominum ingenia exercuerint. Certe S. Lucas si genealogiam illam Domini in Matthæo vidisset, non aliam ipse, nihilque fere habentem commune, produxisset, ne quidem minima consilii tam diversi edita ratione. S. Matthæus, qui solus e nostris Luca

“pels. Otherwise there could not have been in them so many seeming
 “contradictions, which have exercised the thoughts of inquisitive men
 “almost ever since the forming of the canon of the New Testament.
 “Certainly, if St. *Luke* had seen the genealogie of our Lord, which is
 “in St. *Matthew*, he would not have published another so very differ-
 “ent, without assigning any reason for it. . . St. *Matthew* is the only
 “one of our Evangelists, who wrote before St. *Luke*. . . St. *John* did
 “not write till long after St. *Luke*. Nor did *Mark* write till after St.
 “*Luke*, if he wrote his Gospel in the same year that he finished the Acts
 “of the Apostles. Which seems to me very probable. For the Acts
 “are the second book of the same work. As is evident from what
 “himself says Acts i. 1. St. *Luke*’s Gospel therefore was writ in the
 “second year of the Apostle *Paul*’s imprisonment at *Rome*. For
 “so far the historie of the Acts reaches. But St. *Mark* seems not
 “to have writ untill after the death of St. *Peter*, or not long before
 “it.” This then is the order of the four Evangelists, according to Mr.
Dodwell: *Matthew* the first, *Luke* the second, *Mark* the third, and *John*
 the fourth.

How Mr. *Le Clerc* argued on the same side, was seen (e) formerly.

On the other hand, *Grotius* says, it (f) is manifest from comparing
 their Gospels, that *Mark* made use of *Matthew*.

Mill has spoken largely to this point in his Prolegomena. He says,
 “it (g) was not the design of St. *Mark*, to make an abridgement of
 “St. *Matthew*’s Gospel, as some have supposed. For he does not al-
 “ways follow St. *Matthew*’s order, as an abridger would have done.
 “And he is oftentimes more prolix in his histories of the same thing
 “than St. *Matthew*, and has inserted many additional things, and some
 “of great moment for illustrating the evangelical Historie. . . Nay (h)
 “so far was *Mark* from intending to abbreviate St. *Matthew*’s Gospel,
 “that

erat antiquior, ipse erat ἀντίπτης. . . S. Joannes Luca longo erat intervallo
 in scriptione junior. Junior etiam S. Marcus, si quidem S. Lucas eo scrip-
 ferit anno Evangelium, quo Acta terminavit Apostolorum. Quod ego sane
 puto verisimillimum. Sunt enim Acta δεύτερος; ejusdem operis λόγος, cujus
 πρώτος λόγος ipse suum agnoscit Evangelium. Act. i. 1. . . . Ita quo anno scrip-
 tum est a S. Luca Evangelium secundus fluxerit Apostolo Paulo annus capti-
 vitatis Romanæ. Eo enim usque Actorum historia perducta est. S. autem
 Marcus, seu post obitum Petri, seu non multo antea, scripsisse videtur. *Dodw.*
Diff. Iren. i. num. xxxix.

(e) See Vol. x. p. 231. . . 235.

(f) Usum esse Marcum Matthæi Evangelio apertum facit collatio. *Grot.*
ad Marc. cap. i. ver. 1.

(g) Ipsam Evangelii structuram quod attinet, neutiquam Marco institutum
 fuit, quod nonnullis videtur, Evangelium Matthæi in epitomen redigere.
 Præterquam enim quod servatum a Matthæo ordinem non ubique sequatur,
 quod sane epitomatoris foret, in ejusdem rei narratione Matthæo hand raro
 prolixior est, ac plurima passim inserta habet, eaque subinde magni ad eluci-
 dandam historiam momenti. *Proleg. num. 103.*

(h) Imo certe adeo nihil Marco erat in animo de abbreviando Mat-
 thæi Evangelio, ut haud desint magni nominis auctores, qui existimant,
 a Marco ne quidem visum fuisse Evangelium Matthæi. . . Ceterum con-
 trarium erincit, Evangelium imprimis Matthæi et Marci quod attinet,
 istorum phrasæos, ipsiusque contextus similitudo. *Ibid. n. 107.*

“that there have been men of great fame, as *Calvin*, and our *Dodwell*, “who were of opinion. that *St. Mark* and *Luke* had never seen *Matthew’s* Gospel. However, *Grotius* was of a different opinion. And “indeed the great resemblance of the stile and composition of these two “Evangelists manifests the truth of it.”

Of *St. Luke* *Mill* says: “Nothing (i) is more evident, than that he “made use of the Gospels of *Matthew* and *Mark*. For he has borrow- “ed from them many phrases and expressions, and even whole para- “graphs word for word.”

But there is not sufficient foundation for such strong assertions, in the account which *Mill* himself gives of the time of writing the first three Gospels. For, according to him, *St. Matthew’s* Gospel was published in (k) the year 61. *St. Mark’s* (l) in 63. *St. Luke’s* (m) in 64. Which is but one year later. Nor has *Mill* made it out, that *St. Mark’s* was published so soon as the year 63. For he owns, that it was not writ, till after *Peter’s* and *Paul’s* departure from *Rome*. Which could not be, till after the year 63. How then could *St. Luke* make so much use of *St. Mark’s* Gospel, as is pretended?

I allege but one author more, relating to this point. *Mr. Wetstein* says, that (n) *Mark* made use of *Matthew*. And of *St. Luke* he says, “that (o) he transcribed many things from *Matthew*, and yet more from *Mark*.”

But may I not say, that before *Mr. Wetstein* asserted such things, he should have given at least some tolerable account of the times, when the Evangelists wrote, and that *St. Mark* was prior in time to *Luke*? Which I do not perceive him to have done. *St. Matthew’s* Gospel, indeed, he supposes to have been writ (p) in the eighth year after our Lord’s ascension. But of *St. Luke* he observes, that (q) ecclesiastical writers say, he published his Gospel at about fifteen, or as others about two and twenty years after our Saviour’s ascension. His account of *St. Mark* is, “that (r) he was with *Peter* at *Babylon*. Thence he came “to *Rome*, and was with *St. Paul* during his captivity there. Col. iv. “10. Philem. 23. Then he went to *Colosse*. Afterwards at the desire of “the

(i) Certe evulgatum fuisse illud post editionem Evangeliorum Matthæi et Marci, ex collatione trium horum inter se luce clarius apparet. Nihil scilicet evidentius, quam D. Lucam Evangeliorum Matthæi et Marci ipsius ἐνσεις, phrases et locutiones, imo vero totas pericopas, in suum nonnunquam αὐτο-λεξεί traduxisse. *Ib. num. 116.*

(k) *Proleg. num. 61.*

(l) *Ibid. num. 101.*

(m) *Ibid. num. 112.*

(n) *De Marco ap. T. Gr. T. i. p. 552.*

(o) Lucam multa ex Matthæo, ex Marco plura descripsisse, ex collatione patet. *De Luca ibid. p. 643.*

(p) *Ibid. p. 223.*

(q) *Ibid. p. 643.*

(r) Postea videtur Petro adhæsisse, et cum eo Babylone fuisse. 1. Pet. v. 13. Inde Romam venit, Paulumque captivum invisit. Col. iv. 10. Philem. 23. Inde ad Colossenses abiit, a quibus rogatu Pauli Romam rediit. 2. Tim. iv. 11. ubi Evangelium conscripsisse, et Matthæum quidem in compendium redegisse, nonnulla vero, quæ a Petro audiverat, adjecisse dicitur. *Ibid. p. 551.*

“ the Apostle he came to him thence to *Rome*. 2 *Tim.* iv. 11. Where “ he is said to have writ his Gospel, abridging St. *Matthew*, and adding some things, which he had heard from *Peter*.” A very fine character of our Evangelist, truly ! But according to this account of St. *Mark*’s travels, and of the place where his Gospel was writ, it could not be published before the year 64. or 65. How then could St. *Luke* make use of it, if he wrote so soon as *fifteen*, or *two and twenty years* after Christ’s ascension ?

I proceed now to speak more distinctly to the merits of the question.

1. It does not appear, that any of the learned ancient Christian writers had a suspicion, that any of the first three Evangelists had seen the others histories, before they wrote.

They say indeed, “ that when the three first written Gospels had been delivered to all men, they were also brought to St. *John*, and that he confirmed the truth of their narration : but said, there were some things omitted by them, which might be profitably related :” or, “ that he wrote last, supplying some things, which had been omitted by the former Evangelists.” After this manner speak (s) *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, (t) *Epiphanius*, (u) *Theodore* of *Mopsuesstia*, and (x) *Jerome*. Not now to mention any others. *Augustin* indeed about the end of the fourth centurie, or the beginning of the fifth, supposeth (y) the first three Evangelists not to have been totally ignorant of each others labours, and considers *Mark*’s Gospel as an abridgement of St. *Matthew*’s. But, as (z) formerly observed, so far as I know, he is the first, in which that opinion is found. Nor does it appear, that he was followed by succeeding writers.

2. It is not suitable to the character of any of the Evangelists, that they should abridge, or transcribe another historian.

St. *Matthew* was an Apostle, and eye-witnesse. Consequently, he was able to write of his own knowledge. Or, if there were any parts of our Lord’s ministrie, at which he was not present, he might obtain information from his fellow-apostles, or other eye-witnesses. And as for other things, which happened before the Apostles were called to follow him, concerning his nativity, infance, and youth : as *Augustin* (a) says, these the Apostles might know from Christ himself, or from his parents, or his friends and acquaintance, who were to be depended upon.

St. *Mark*, if he was not one of Christ’s seventy disciples, was an early Jewish believer, acquainted with all the Apostles, *Peter* in particular, and with many other eye-witnesses. Consequently, well qualified to write a Gospel. *Mill* (b) himself has been so good, as to acknowledge this.

St. *Luke*,

(s) See *Vol.* viii. p. 92.

(u) *Vol.* ix. p. 404.

(y) *Vol.* x. p. 229.

(a) See *Vol.* x. p. 227.

(t) P. 307.

(x) *Vol.* x. p. 98. 99.

(z) P. 236.

(b) Marcus ille, quisquis fuerit, ad Evangelium conscribendum abunde instructus accedebat. Si enim filius fuit Mariæ, civis istius Hierosolymitanæ. . . ei sane jam a tempore conversionis tam frequens intercesserat, ac plane familiare

St. *Luke*, if he was not one of Christ's seventy disciples, nor an eye-witnesse, was a disciple, and companion of the Apostles, especially, of *Paul*, as is universally allowed. And he must therefore have been well qualified to write a Gospel. Moreover, as (c) has been shewn, it is manifest from his introduction, that he knew not of any authentic historie of Jesus Christ, that had been yet written. And he expressly says of himself, *that he had perfect understanding of all things from the very first*, and he professeth to write of them to *Theophilus in order*. After all this to say, that he transcribed many things from one historian, and yet more from another, so far as I am able to judge, is no less than a contradiction of the Evangelist himself.

3. The nature and design of the first three Gospels manifestly shew, that the Evangelists had not seen any authentic written historie of Jesus Christ.

This is one of the observations of *Le Clerc* relating to this point : "We (d) can scarcely doubt, whether St. *John* had seen the other three Gospels. For as he is said to have lived to a great age, so it appears from his Gospel itself, that he took care not to repeat things related by them, except a few only, and those necessarie things. But I do not see how it can be reckoned certain, that *Mark* knew of *Matthew's* having writ a Gospel before him : or that *Luke* knew, that they two had writ Gospels before him. If *Mark* had seen the work of *Matthew*, it is likely, that he would have remained satisfied with it, as being the work of an Apostle of Christ, that is, an eye-witnesse, which he was not." And what there follows.

I must enlarge upon this observation. I forbear to insist now on the genealogies, which are in St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* only. But I say, that the writings of all and each one of these three Evangelists contain an entire Gospel, or a compleat historie of the ministrie of Jesus Christ : or, to borrow St. *Luke's* expressions, Acts i. 1. 2. a historie of *all that Jesus both did and taught, untill the day, in the which he was taken up to heaven*. For in all and every one of them is the historie of our Lord's forerunner, his baptism, preaching, and death, and of our Lord's being baptized by him : when by a voice from heaven he was proclaimed to be the Messiah. Then follows our Lord's temptation in the wilderness. After which is an account of our Lord's preaching, and his beginning to gather disciples, the choice of the twelve Apostles, and their names : and our Lord's going over the land of *Israel*, preaching the doctrine of the kingdom, attended by his twelve Apostles, in synagogues, and in cities and villages, working all kinds of healing and saving miracles, upon all sorts of persons, in all places, in the presence of multitudes, and

familiaire cum ipsis Apostolis commercium, ut vix aliqua ætatis suæ pars ipsorum consortio vacaret : ita ut quotidie ab illis petere licuerit de dictis ac factis Domini παραδόσεις, quas conferret in commentarium. Sane, quisquis fuerit hic Marcus, apud Veteres plane convenit, fuisse eum D. Petri comitem et interpretem : ipsumque comitatum fuisse Romam usque. . . adeo ut ex Apostoli *πνευστομενοις* acceperit necesse sit plenissimam et exactissimam historiæ totius evangelicæ cognitionem. *Mill Proleg. n. 102.*

(c) See before, p. 31. 32.

(d) See Vol. x. p. 233. 234.

and before Scribes, and Pharisees, as well as others. A particular mission of his Apostles, in the land of *Israel*. Our Lord's transfiguration on the mount, when there appeared *Moses* and *Elias* talking with him, and there came a voice from heaven, saying: *This is my beloved Son. Hear him.* His going up to *Jerusalem*, and making a public entrance into the city, then cleansing the temple, where he often taught the people, and preached the gospel, and openly asserted his authority and character: keeping the passover with his disciples, and instituting a memorial of himself: his last sufferings, and death, with the behaviour of *Judas*, the traitor, *Peter*, and the rest of the disciples: his burial, resurrection, with the evidences of it, and the general commission to his Apostles, to preach the Gospel in all the world, and to all sorts of persons therein.

Here are all the integrals of a Gospel. And they are properly filled up. And all these things are in all and every one of the first three Evangelists. Which shews, that they did not know of each other's writings. For it cannot be thought, that they should be disposed to say the same things over and over, or to repeat what had been well said already. St. *John*, who had seen the other three Gospels, has little in common with them. Almost every thing in his Gospel is new and additional. So it would have been with every other writer in the like circumstance.

And if St. *Matthew's* Gospel had been writ at about eight, or fifteen, or twenty years after our Lord's ascension, and had become generally known among the faithful: (as it certainly would, soon after it was writ) it is not improbable, that we should have had but two Gospels, his and St. *John's*. Or if there had been several, they would all, except the first, have been in the manner of supplements, like St. *John's*, not entire Gospels, like those of the first three Evangelists.

This consideration appears to me of great moment, for shewing that our first three Evangelists are all independent witnesses. Indeed it seems to me to be quite satisfactorie, and decisive.

4. There are in these three Gospels, as was observed just now by Mr. *Dodwell*, many seeming contradictions: which have exercised the skill of thoughtfull men to reconcile them. This is another argument, that these Evangelists did not write by concert, or after having seen each other's Gospels.

5. In some histories, which are in all these three Evangelists, there are small varieties and differences, which plainly shew the same thing. I shall allege two or three instances only.

1.) In Matth. viii. 28. . . . 34. Mark v. 1. . . 20. Luke viii. 26. . . . 40. is the account of the cure of the demoniac, or demoniacs, in the country of the *Gadarens*. It is plainly the same historie, as appears from many agreeing circumstances. Nevertheless there are several differences. St. *Matthew* speaks of two men. St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* of one only. In *Mark* alone it is said, that the man *was always night and day in the mountains, crying, and cutting himself with stones*. And he alone mentions the number of the swine that were drowned. He likewise says, that the man besought our Lord much, that he would not send them away out of the country. St. *Luke* says: the demons besought him, that he

would

would not command them to go out into the deep, or abyſſe. Surely theſe Evangelists did not abridge, or tranſcribe each other's writings.

2.) In Matt. xvii. 1. . . . 13. Mark ix. 1. . . . 13. Luke ix. 28. . . . 36. are the accounts of our Lord's tranſfiguration on the mount. Where St. *Matthew* ſays: *his face did ſhine as the ſun, and his raiment was white as the light.* St. *Mark*: *And his raiment became ſhining, exceeding white as ſnow, ſo as no fuller on earth can whiten them.* St. *Luke*: *And as he prayed, the faſhion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment was white and glittering.* It is plain, I think, that none had ſeen what the other had writ. In the deſcription of the ſplendour of our Lord's perſon, and garments, each one follows his own phanſie. In St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* are compariſons. But they are different. In St. *Luke* there is no compariſon at all.

3.) The third inſtance ſhall be what follows next in all the three Evangelists, after our Lord was come down from the mount. Matt. xvii. 14. . . 21. Mark ix. 14. . . 29. Luke ix. 37. . . 42. In this hiftorie of the healing the young man, who had the epilepſie, where St. *Mark* is more particular and prolix, than the other Evangelists, there are many differences. I take notice of a very few only. In St. *Matthew* the father of the child ſays: *Lord, have mercie on my Son. For he is lunatic, and ſore vexed.* And the healing him is thus related. *And Jeſus rebuked the demon. And he departed out of him. And the child was cured from that very hour.* In St. *Mark* the father of the child ſays to our Lord: *Maſter, I have brought unto thee my ſon, who has a dumb ſpirit.* And when our Lord healed him, *he rebuked the foul ſpirit, ſaying unto him: Thou dumb and deaf ſpirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him.* And what follows. In St. *Luke* the father ſays: *Maſter, I beſeech thee, look upon my ſon. For he is my only child.*

Certainly, he who obſerves theſe things, muſt be ſenſible, that theſe hiftorians did not borrow from each other. There are many other like inſtances. To mention them all would be endleſs.

I ſhall add a conſideration or two more, which muſt be allowed to be of ſome weight in this queſtion.

6. There are ſome things in St. *Matthew's* Goſpel, very remarkable, of which no notice is taken either by St. *Mark*, or St. *Luke*.

I intend, particularly, the viſit of the Magians, with the cauſes of it, and it's circumſtances, and then the conſequences of it, our Saviour's flight into *Egypt*, and the ſlaughter of the infants at *Bethlehem*, and near it. Matt. ii. The dream of *Pilate's* wife. ch. xxvii. 19. the affair of the Roman guard at the ſepulchre. xxvii. 11. . . 15. an earthquake, rending of rocks, and the reſurreſtion of many ſaints, who came out of their graves, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many. ch. xxvii. 51. . . 53.

Theſe are as extraordinarie things, as any in the Goſpels. And if St. *Mark*, or St. *Luke*, had writ with a view of abridging, or confirming St. *Matthew's* hiftorie, ſome, or all of theſe things, would have been taken notice of by them. It is alſo very obſervable, that St. *Luke* has no account of the miracle of feeding four thouſand with ſeven loaves and a few little fiſhes, which is in Matt. xv. 32. . . 39. Mark viii. 1. . . . 9.

And what has been just now said of *St. Matthew*, particularly, may be also applied to *St. Luke*, supposing his to have been the first written Gospel. For in him also are many remarkable things, not to be found in the other Gospels. And if *St. Matthew*, or *St. Mark* had writ with a view of abridging or confirming *St. Luke's* historie, those things would not have been passed over by them without any notice.

7. All the first three Evangelists have many things peculiar to themselves. Which shews, that they did not borrow from each other, and that they were all well acquainted with the things, of which they undertook to write a historie.

Many such things are in *Matthew*, as is well known to all. I therefore need not enlarge on them. And a few of them were just now taken notice of.

St. Mark likewise has many things peculiar to himself, not mentioned by any other Evangelist. A catalogue of them was made by us (e) formerly, though far from being compleat.

The same is true of *St. Luke*. As much was observed by *Irenaeus*, who says, "there are many, and those necessarie parts of the Gospel, which we know from *Luke* only." His brief enumeration of those things was transcribed by us into this Work (f) long ago. Let me also rehearse them here somewhat differently. His general introduction, the birth of *John* the Baptist, and many extraordinarie things, attending it. The *Roman* census made in *Judea*, by *Cyrenius*, or before that made by *Cyrenius*, which brought *Joseph* and *Marie* from *Nazareth* to *Bethlehem*, the mean circumstances of our Lord's nativity, the notification of it to shepherds by an angel, his circumcision, *Marie's* purification at the temple, the prophecies of *Simeon*, and *Anna* there, our Lord's going up to *Jerusalem* at the age of twelve years. Ch. ii. The names of the Emperour and other Princes, in whose time *John* the Baptist and our Lord began to preach, and our Lord's age at that time, a genealogie different from *Matthew*. Ch. iii. In *St. Luke* are also divers miracles, not recorded elsewhere. A numerous draught of fishes. ch. v. 4. . . 9. The cures of *Marie Magdalen*, *Joanna*, wife of *Chuza*, *Herod's* steward, and *Susanna*. ch. viii. 2. 3. giving speech to a dumb man. ch. xi. 14. a woman healed in a synagogue of an infirmity, under which she had labored eighteen years. ch. xiii. 10. . . 17. a man cured of the drop sic on a sabbath day, in the house of a Pharisee. ch. xiv. 1. . . 4. Ten lepers cured at once. ch. xvii. 12. . . 19. the ear of *Malchus* healed. ch. xxii. 50. . . 5. the son of a widow of *Naim* raised to life, in the sight of multitudes, when he was carried out to burial. ch. vii. 11. . . 17. a miracle of resurrection, related by no other Evangelist. In him alone is the mission of the seventy disciples. ch. x. 1. . . 20. Divers beautiful parables spoken by our Lord, which are not to be found elsewhere: the parable of the good Samaritan. ch. x. 25. . . 37. the parable of the lost piece of silver, and the prodigal son. ch. xv. 8. . . 32. of the unjust steward. xvi. 1. . . 12. the rich man and *Lazarus*. 19. . . 31. the importunate widow. xviii. 1. . . 8. the Pharisee and Publican, that went up to the temple to pray. ver. 9. . . 14. To *St. Luke* also are peculiar

our

(e) See before p. 74.

(f) Vol. ii. p. 357. . . 360.

our Lord's entertainment at the house of a Pharisee, where came in the woman that was a sinner. ch. vii. 36. . . 50. his entertainment at the house of *Martha*. x. 38. . . 42. the historie of *Zaccheus*. xix. 1. . . 10. our Lord's agonie in the garden. xxii. 43. 44. the penitent thief on the crosse. xxiii. 39. . . 43. and a particular account of the two disciples going to *Emmaus*. xxiv. 13. . . 35.

All these, and many other things, which I omit, are peculiar to *St. Luke*. And did he transcribe many things from *St. Matthew*, and yet more from *St. Mark*?

Mill's argument, taken from the similitude of stile and composition, to prove, that these Evangelists had seen each other's writings, appears to be insufficient. And himself allows, that (*g*) two authors writing upon the same subject in the Greek language may easily agree very much in expression.

I have insisted the more upon this point, because I think, that to say, the Evangelists abridged, and transcribed each other, without giving any hint of their so doing, is a great disparagement to them. And it likewise diminisheth the value and importance of their testimonie. Said *Mr. Le Clerc*, before quoted, "They (*b*) seem to think more justly, who say, that the first three Evangelists were unacquainted with each other's design. In that way greater weight accrues to their testimonie. "When witnesses agree, who have first laid their heads together, they are suspected. But witnesses, who testify the same thing separately, without knowing what others have said, are justly credited."

This is not a new opinion, lately thought of. Nor has it been taken up by me, out of opposition to any. I have all my days read, and admired the first three Evangelists, as independent, and harmonious witnesses. And I know not how to forbear ranking the other opinion among those bold, as well as groundless assertions, in which critics too often indulge themselves, without considering the consequences.

(*g*) Verum quidem est, eum esse linguæ hujus, quæ Evangelistis in usu erat, Hellenisticæ genium eam indolem, ut in unum ferme eundemque dicendi characterem, quoties de una eademque materia agitur, sese efformet : ita ut diversi in hoc genere scriptores, unum idemque aliquod argumentum particulare tractantes, stilo ac sermonis tenore haud absimili usuri essent. &c. *Prol. num. 108.*

(*b*) See *Vol. x. p. 235.*

C H A P. XI.

S T. P A U L.

I. *His Historie before his Conversion, and his general Character.* II. *The Time of his Conversion.* III. *Observations upon his Conversion, and the Circumstances of Things at that Time in Judea.* IV. *His Age at the Time of his Conversion.* V. *When he was made an Apostle.* VI. *The Historie of his Travels, and Preaching: particularly, from the Time of his Conversion and Apostleship to his coming from Damascus to Jerusalem, the first Time, after his Conversion.* VII. *From his coming first to Jerusalem to his being brought to Antioch by Barnabas.* VIII. *to his coming up to Jerusalem with the Contributions of the Christians at Antioch.* IX. *to his coming to the Council at Jerusalem about the Year 49.* X. *to his coming to Jerusalem with Contributions of divers Gentil Churches, in the Year 58. when he was apprehended, and imprisoned.* XI. *to the End of his Imprisonment at Rome.* XII. *to the Time of his Death.*

I. *S A U L*, called also *Paul*, by which name he was generally called, after his preaching in *His Historie before his Conversion.* Gentil countreys, and, particularly, (a) among Greeks and Romans, a descendant of the Patriarch *Abraham*, one of God's ancient chosen people of *Israel*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*, was (b) a native of *Tarsus*, then the chief city of *Cilicia*. He was also by birth a (c) Citizen of *Rome*. How he became entitled to that privilege, has been distinctly shewn (d) in another place. His father (e) was a Pharisee, and himself was of the same sect. He had a sister, whose son was a Christian, and a discreet person, who (f) was of great service to

(a) *Acts* xiii. 9. *Then Saul, who also is called Paul.*] Σαῦλος δὲ ὁ καὶ Παῦλος. Id est, qui ex quo cum Romanis conversari cœpit, hoc nomine, a suo non ablutente, cœpit a Romanis appellari. Sic qui *Jesus Judæis*, Græcis *Jason: Hillel, Pollio*: . . . apud Romanos *Silas, Silvanus*, ut notavit Hieronymus. *Grot. in Acl. xiii. 9.*

Hoc primum loco cœpit Apostolus a Lucâ *Paulus* dici, quem ubique antea *Saulum* vocavit. Nec deinceps alio, quam *Pauli* nomine usquam vocabit. . . . Alii igitur Apostolum jam inde ab initio binominem fuisse putant, ut ex altero nomine *Judæus*, ex altero Romanus civis esse intelligeretur. Alii cum religione nomen eum mutasse putant, cum ex Phariseo fieret Christianus. . . . Sunt demum qui a Sergio Paulo Proconsule ad Christum converso hoc cognomen adeptum esse putent. . . . Ac facile mihi quidem persuadeo, primum a Proconsulis Romani familiâ ita vocari cœpisse. *Bez. Annot. in Acl. xiii. 9.*

See likewise *Dr. Doddridge's Family-Expositor. Vol. 3. p. 198. note (k), or upon Acl. xiii. 9.*

(b) *Acl. xxi. 39. xxii. 3.*

(c) *Acl. xvi. 37. 38. xxii. 25.—29. xxiii. 27.*

(d) See the *Credibility, &c. P. i. B. i. ch. x. §. vii.*

(e) *Acl. xxiii. 6. xxvi. 5. Philip. iii. 5.*

(f) *Acl. xxiii. 16—22.*

to his uncle *Paul*, when a prisoner at *Jerusalem*. His conduct cannot be thought of without admiration and gratitude. Some other of his relations are mentioned by him in his epistle to the *Romans*, who also were believers in Jesus, and several of them had been so before himself. Which may be reckoned a proof of the virtue and piety of this familie. Their names are *Andronicus*, and *Furnia*, whom he calls his kinsmen. συγγενεῖς μὲν. Rom. xvi. 7. By (g) which he must mean something more, than their being his countrey-men. He speaks in the like manner of *Herodion*, ver. 11. and also of *Lucius*, *Jasen*, and *Sosipater*, ver. 21. It may be reckoned very probable, that (A) he was educated in Greek literature in his early life at *Tarsus*. It is certain, that (h) he was for a while under the instructions of *Gamaliel*, at *Jerusalem*, a celebrated Jewish Rabbi, and that (i) he made great proficience in the studie of the law, and the traditions, much esteemed by that people. He seems to have been (k) a person of great natural abilities, of a quick apprehension, strong passions, and firm resolution, and thereby qualified for signal service, as a teacher of such principles, as he should embrace, whatever they were. He appears likewise to have been always unblamable in his life, and strictly faithful to the dictates of his conscience, according to the knowledge which he had. Of this all must be persuaded, who observe (l) his appeals to the Jews, upon this head, when they were greatly offended with him: and from (m) the undissembled satisfaction, which he expresseth upon a serious recollection of his former and later conduct. For some while, after the first appearance of Christianity in the world, he was a bitter enemy, and furious opposer of all who made profession of it. Nevertheless he persisted not long in that course: but was in a very extraordinarie manner converted to that faith himself: and ever after he was a steady friend, and zealous advocate for

(g) *Cognatos suos*, id est ejusdem secum generis vocat, ut multi exponunt, quia Judæi erant, quemadmodum supra ix. 3. de Judæis in universum dixit, *qui sunt cognati mei secundum carnem*: et sic eum loqui, ut Judæorum qui Romæ erant gratiam sibi conciliet. Verum quia multi Romæ erant Judæi Christiani, et proinde hac generali ratione Paulo cognati: idcirco putant alii, cognatos hic dici magis proprie, ut qui fuerint Paulo contribules, id est, de tribu Benjamin: aut forte etiam proprio sanguinis vinculo conjuncti. *Est. in Rom. xvi. 7.*

(A) This may be argued from the place of his nativity, *Tarsus*, which was celebrated for polite literature, and from St. Paul's quotations of several Greek Poets. Acts xviii. 28. 1 Cor. xv. 33. Tit. i. 12. Dr. Bently begins his third sermon at Boyle's Lecture, which is the second upon Acts xvii. 27. 28. in this manner: "I have said enough in my last, to shew the fitnessse and pertinence of the Apostle's discourse . . . and that he did not talk at random, but was thoroughly acquainted with the several humours and opinions of his auditors. And, as *Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*, so it is manifest from this chapter alone, if nothing else had been now extant, that St. Paul was a great master in all the learning of the *Greeks*."

(h) Acts. xxii. 3.

(i) Acts. xxii. 3. xxvi. 5. Gal. i. 14.

(k) . . . secta Phariseum, excellenti magnoque ingenio præditi, literarum Judaicarum imprimis periti, nec Græcarum expertem. *J. L. Moshem. de Reb. Christian. ante Constantin. Sec. i. n. xv. p. 80.*

(l) Acts. xxiii. 1. xxvi. 4. 5.

(m) Philp. iii. 6. 1 Tim. i. 13. 2 Tim. i. 3.

for it, and very successful in defending, and propagating it, diligently improving the gifts and qualifications, extraordinarily vouchsafed him for that purpose. These things are recorded in those writings, which are in the highest esteem, and reckoned sacred among Christians, and indeed are well known to all the world.

II. I am desirous to do my best to settle the time of St. Paul's conversion. If we can do that with some good degree of probability, we shall attain to a near knowledge of the time of St. Stephen's martyrdom: concerning both which events there have been very different opinions in former and later ages. *Valesius*, in his Annotations upon *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical Historie*, mentions divers opinions of ancient writers (*n*) about the time of St. Stephen's death. As the passage may be acceptable to some, I have placed it below.

The Time of his Conversion.

Among moderns, *Carve* thought, that (*o*) Stephen was stoned, and Paul converted in the very year of our Lord's ascension, the year 33. or the beginning of the year following. *Pearson* supposeth, that (*p*) Stephen was stoned in 34. and Paul converted in 35. near the end of the year. Having been three years in Arabia, and at Damascus, he came to Jerusalem, near the end of 38. in which year, or the beginning of the following, he went to Tarsus: where, and in Syria, he was four years, that is, 39. 40. 41. 42. Which appears to me a long space of time. In 43. he came to Antioch. And having spent a year there, he came to Jerusalem, in 44. So *Pearson*.

Frederic Spanheim, who also has bestowed great pains in examining this point, placeth (*q*) the conversion of Paul in the year 40. the last of Caius Caligula: and was inclined to defer it to the first of Claudius, the year 41. Him (*r*) *Witsius* follows. And *J. A. Fabricius* (*s*) declares his assent to the same opinion.

Lenfant

(*n*) Quo anno Stephanus martyrii coronam adeptus sit, non convenit inter omnes. Alii eodem anno, quo passus est Christus, lapidatum illum volunt. Ita diserte scribitur in Excerptis Chronologicis, quæ cum Eusebii Chronico edidit Scaliger. pag. 68. Et hæc videtur fuisse Eusebii sententia, ut ex hoc loco apparet. . . . Alii vero triennio post Christi mortem martyrium Stephani retulerunt. . . . Ita scribit in Chronico Georgius Syncellus. Multi etiam ulterius processerunt, et Stephanum anno ab ordinatione sua septimo passum esse scripserunt. Inter quos est Evodius apud Nicephorum, et Hippolytus Thebanus, et auctor Chronici Alexandrini, qui anno Claudii primo martyrium Stephani assignat. *Vales. Annot. in Euseb. l. 2. cap. i.*

(*o*) . . . ad fidem Christi conversus, discipulus fit et Apostolus A. C. 33. exeunte, vel saltem ineunte proximo. *Hist. Lit. T. i. in S. Paulo.*

(*p*) *Annal. Paulin. p. 1. . . 4.*

(*q*) . . . in anno conversionis Pauli, quam non anteriorem esse Cæii ultimo, audacter pronunciamus. *De Conversion. Paulin. Epocha. num. xix. Opp. T. 2. p. 321.*

(*r*) *De Vita Pauli. Sect. ii. n. 22. ap. Miletum. Leyd. p. 34.*

(*s*) Tantum noto in præsentia, me sequi eorum rationes, qui Paulum conversum esse existimant anno quarto sive ultimo Cæii. ann. 40. et capite truncatum A. C. 68. Neronis xiv. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 3. p. 151. (f).*

Lenfant and *Beaufobre*, in their general preface to *St. Paul's Epistles*, place his conversion in the year 36. and his first coming to *Jerusalem* after it, in 39. Which opinion I believe to be nearer the truth, than any of the foregoing.

There is an event mentioned in the *Acts*, about which we may receive light from external historie. I mean *the rest of the churches throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria.* *Acts ix. 31.*

In the former Part of this work (t) it was shewn to be very probable, that this *rest of the churches* of Christ was owing to the state of things in *Judea*, when *Petronius*, President of *Syria*, published the orders, which he had received from *Caius*, to erect his statue in the temple of *Jerusalem*, in the year of Christ 39. or 40. Which account was afterwards followed by *Dr. Benson* in his (u) *Histoire* of the first planting the Christian Religion. *Dr. Doddridge* (x) likewise declared his approbation of it.

When I formerly argued, that this rest of the churches was occasioned by the above mentioned order of the Emperour *Caius*; I did not know that any one had assigned that, as the occasion of it. But since, I have perceived, that (y) *S. Basnage* had thought of it, and spoke of it very well. I was lead to my observations by reading *Philo*, and *Josephus*: from whom I formed the argument, and overlooked the just mentioned ecclesiastical historie.

I supposed, that (z) *Petronius* published his order in the year 39. or 40. *Basnage* (a) and *Tillemont* (b) say, in the year 40. By whom I am not unwilling to be determined.

It is allowed, that *Petronius* was sent Governour into *Syria* by *Caius* in the third year of his reign, A. D. 39. And it is supposed by some, that (c) *Petronius* came into the province about autumn in the year 39. And *Josephus* says, "that (d) *Caius*, greatly incensed against the Jews
"for

(t) See *Credib. P. i. B. i. ch. 2. § xii.* especially near the end of that section.

(u) See of that work *B. i. ch. 9. sect. iii. at the end.*

(x) *Family-Expositor. Vol. 3. p. 147.*

(y) *Mira hæc, et præter omnium expectationem exorta rerum vicissitudo fuit. Cui non minimum contulit infelix Judæorum status, quibus a Caligulâ vexatis, timentibusque templi violationem Petronio mandatum, Christi discipulorum persecutioni vacare non licuit. Cum enim constituendæ ecclesiæ paci sapientum Dei sapientia occasionibus utatur atque humanis auxiliis; probabilis utique assertur conjectura, eo sopitum fuisse Judæorum furorem, quia propriis pressi miseriis ab inferenda Ecclesiæ calamitate prohibebantur. . . Nec inopinatæ tranquillitatis aptior ulla ratio reddi potest. Ann. 40. num. xvi.*

(z) See the place referred to at note (t).

(a) *Ubi supra. num. v.*

(b) *Ruine des Juifs. art. xviii. xix. Hist. des Emp. Tom. i.*

(c) Sed ex *Josephi* historia constat, illum in provinciam anno tertio Cæii advenisse, circa autumnum. *Norif. Cenot. Pisan. Diss. 2. p. 371. Conf. Usser. Ann. 39.*

(d) Γαίος δὲ ἐν δυνάμει φέρον, εἰς τόσον δὲ ὑπὸ ἰσθάνων περιῶφθαι μόνων, πρεσβυτηνὴν ἐπὶ σφίσι; ἐκπέμπει περιέρωνιον. . . . κελύων χειρὶ πολλῇ εἰσβάλλουσι εἰς τὴν ἰσθάνων, εἰ μὲν ἔκοντες ἔρχονται, ἰσθᾶν αὐτὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ἰαῶ τῷ θεῷ· εἰ δ' ἀγνοῦνται, ἔρχονται, καὶ ἰσθᾶν ἔχοντες τὸ ποιεῖν. *Antiq. l. 18. cap. ix. n. 20. el. cap. xi.*

“for not paying him the same respect that others did, sent *Petronius* Governour into *Syria*, commanding him to set up his statue in the temple; and if the Jews opposed it, to march into the country with a numerous armie, and effect it by force.”

Whenever *Petronius* published that order, whether in the year 39. or 40. I think it was the occasion of the tranquillity of the churches of Christ, spoken of by *St. Luke*. And I persuade myself, that most people will readily be of the same opinion.

We will now take a paragraph or two in the *Acts*. ch. ix. 26. . . . 31. *And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples. . . . And he was with them, coming in, and going out, at Jerusalem. And he spoke boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians. But they went about to slay him. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cesarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus. Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified.*

This rest, we may suppose, was not compleat, or made extensive and universal, till the year 40. perhaps, not till near the middle of it. But when did *Paul* come to *Jerusalem*? Before this rest? or, not till after it was commenced? *Basnage* (e) thinks, that *Paul* came to *Jerusalem* in the year 40. Let us however make a few remarks.

The peace, of which we are speaking, seems not to have commenced, nor the persecution to have ceased, when *Paul* arrived at *Jerusalem* from *Damascus*. For when he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed with the Grecians, they went about to slay him: as we have seen in the paragraph, just transcribed. And the brethren found it needful to conduct him with care to *Cesarea*, and send him thence to *Tarsus*. Moreover, *Peter* was at *Jerusalem*, when *Paul* arrived there, and he abode with him fifteen days. *Gal.* i. 18. But when the peace of the churches was established, *Peter* left *Jerusalem*, and visited the saints in the several parts of *Judea*: as we learn from the historie, immediately following. *Acts* ix. 31. . . . 43. Once more, it appears from the above cited paragraph, and the course of *St. Luke's* narration, that this rest of the churches in *Judea* did not begin, untill after *Paul* had been sent thence. And if it had commenced sooner, in all probability, he would have been induced to stay longer there among the Jews, for whose conversion he was ardently concerned. *St. Luke's* words are, as above: *Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cesarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus. Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified.*

I apprehend it to be probable, then, that *Paul* came to *Jerusalem*, at this season, near the end of the year 39. or in the begining of the year 40. We now proceed.

St. Paul says *Gal.* i. 15. . . . 18. that when it pleased God by his grace to reveal his Son in him, . . . he went into *Arabia*, and returned again unto *Damascus*. Then after three years I went up to *Jerusalem*, to see *Peter*. For the time of *Paul's* conversion therefore, we must look back three years. And if those three years are to be understood compleat, and he came to *Jerusalem* in the year 40. he was converted not long after the begining

begining of the year 37. where it is placed by (f) *Basnage*. If he came to *Jerusalem* before the end of the year 39. he might be converted near the end of the year 36.

Let me add. *Paul* says : after (g) three years I went up to *Jerusalem*. Which may be well understood to mean somewhat more than three years. And then, though *Paul* should be supposed, not to have returned to *Jerusalem*, till the begining of the year 40. he may have been converted before the end of the year 36.

Shall we now look somewhat farther back, and inquire, how long this might be after the death of *Stephen*? *Lewis Cappell* (h) and *Fr. Spanheim* (i) supposed, that two years passed between the death of *Stephen* and *Paul*'s conversion. And for certain there was some good space of time between *Stephen*'s martyrdom, and *Paul*'s journey to *Damascus*. This appears from *St. Luke*'s historie, who says *Acts* vii. 58. *And they cast Stephen out of the city, and stoned him. And the witnesses laid down their clothes at the young man's feet, whose name was Saul. . . .* It follows in ch. viii. 1. . . 4. *And Saul was consenting unto his death. At that time there was a great persecution against the church, which was at Jerusalem. And they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles. . . . As for Saul, he made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison. After which at ver. 5. . . 40. is an account of the preaching of those who were scattered abroad, particularly, of *Philip*'s going to the city *Samaria*, and preaching there with great success, and of the Apostles, who were at *Jerusalem*, hearing of this, and sending to *Samaria* *Peter* and *John* : and then, how *Philip* taught and baptized the Chamberlain of *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*. After which *Philip* preached in all the cities from *Azotus*, till he came to *Cesarea* by the sea side. Still *Saul* was a persecutor. For it follows ch. ix. 1. 2. *And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the High-Priest. And desired of him letters to Damascus, to the synagogues : that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem.* To all which might be added, that *Paul*'s ill treatment of the disciples at *Jerusalem* was well known at *Damascus*, before he arrived there, as appears from *Acts* ix. 13.*

Nevertheless I do not think, that there is sufficient reason to protract this space so long as two years; but would hope it might be reduced within the compass of a year, and perhaps to little more than half a year. So thought *Basnage*. Who (k) therefore placeth the martyrdom of *Stephen* and the baptism of *Paul* in one and the same year.

I am the more inclined to think, that *Paul*'s course of opposition against

(f) *Ann.* 37. n. 48.

(g) . . . μετά τρεῖς ἔτη.

(h) Porro interim . . . Saulus, qui Stephani mortis consenserat, cum per biennium Ecclesiam Dei Jerosolymis vastasset. . . . *Lud. Capp. Hist. Apost.* p. 7.

(i) Ex dictis constare arbitramur . . . rursus anni minimum unius decursum, si non verius biennii (quale et *Lud. Cappellus* post *Danæum* nostrum, alioque, statuit) a cæde hujus ad Sauli profectionem *Damascenam* supponendum esse. *Spanh. Diff. de Convers. Paulin. Epoch.* n. xx.

(k) *A. D.* 37. num. 48.

against the believers did not exceed the space of a year, at the utmost : because it seems to have been confined to the city of *Jerusalem*, until he undertook to go to *Damascus*, and did not reach into the cities of *Judea* and *Samaria*. This will lead us to place the martyrdom of *Stephen* in the year 36. and not far from the beginning of it, or else near the end of the year 35.

Indeed that is a very likely season, and much confirmed by the state of things in *Judea* about this time, as distinctly represented by us long ago in the first part of this work, when we treated of affairs and persons, occasionally mentioned in the books of the New Testament. It was then shewn, that (l) *Pontius Pilate* was removed from his government in *Judea*, before the Passover of the year 36. probably, five or six months before that Passover, in September or October, A. D. 35. about a year and a half before the death of *Tiberius*. It was also shewn, that (m) after the removal of *Pilate*, no Governour, or Procurator, with the right of the sword, or the power of life and death, was sent into *Judea*, neither in the remaining part of the reign of *Tiberius*, nor in the reign of *Caius*. Which (n) afforded the Jews an opportunity to be licentious, and to do many things, which otherwise they could not have done, and to be extremely troublesome to the disciples of Jesus.

Thus then *Paul* was converted in 37. or possibly, before the end of the year 36. And *Stephen* was stoned in the beginning of the same year, or, at the soonest, near the end of the year 35.

III. Having distinctly considered these things, and *Observations upon* produced such probable evidence, as offers, I beg leave *his Conversion.* to mention several observations.

i. The persecution, which began at the death of *Stephen*, continued four years.

The disciples of Jesus, as appears from the first chapters of the book of the Acts, were much harassed by the Jewish Council from the beginning. But now, after *Stephen* was stoned, a more open and violent persecution came on, which * lasted a good while. I am not able to assign a more likely time for the commencement of it, than the beginning of the year 36. or the later part of the year 35. about which time *Pilate* was removed, after his government had been for some good while very feeble among the Jews. The same persecution reached into the year of our Lord 40. the fourth and last year of the reign of *Caius* : when *Petronius* published the orders, which he had received, to set up the Emperour's statue in the temple at *Jerusalem*. Which threw the Jewish People,

(l) See Part i. B. 2. c. 3. §. iii. p. 848. the third edition.

(m) See P. i. B. i. ch. 2. §. xii. p. 177. . . 185. the third edition.

(n) See there p. 199. the third edition.

* Here I transcribe a passage from *Lightfoot's Commentarie upon the Acts*, ch. ix. 27. of his Works vol. i. p. 815. "And thus, says he, that persecution, that began about *Stephen*, had lasted till this very same time of *Paul's* coming to *Jerusalem*, for, so it is apparent, both by the fear and suspiciousness of the disciples at *Jerusalem*, as also by the clausure of the text ver. 31. *Then had the churches rest.* The length of this persecution, by the computation of the times, as they have been cast up before, seemeth to have been about three years and a half."

People, throughout all that countrey, into a general consternation, and fully employed them about their own affairs.

It seems to me therefore, from this calculation, that the persecution lasted, at least, four years. To which might be added, that it must have begun about a year before *Paul's* conversion, after which he was three years in *Arabia*. And when he returned to *Jerusalem*, the persecution was not at an end. Nor did the peace of the churches come on, till after he had been sent away from *Judea* to *Tarsus*.

2. Notwithstanding the violence, and the length of this persecution, the Church of Christ was not diminished, but encreased, during that period.

This may be argued from the description of the peace, which succeeded it. *Acts ix. 31. 32. Then had the churches rest, throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified. . . . And it came to pass, as Peter passed through all quarters, he came to the Saints, which dwelt at Lydda.* Now therefore there were churches in *Judea*, and *Galilee*, and *Samaria*. And I make no question, but most, or all of them, were planted during those troublesome times. For before that period we read not of any churches out of *Jerusalem*. And *St. Paul*, speaking of some things, after his conversion, and his return to *Jerusalem*, says *Gal. i. 22. he was unknown by face to the churches of Judea, which were in Christ.*

This encrease of converts in those countreys might be owing to several things: the patience and fortitude of the disciples: their discretion in avoiding needless offense, and in declining dangers: their zeal and intrepidity in asserting the resurrection of Jesus, and other articles of the doctrine of the gospel: the miraculous powers, with which they were endowed, and their exerting them on all fit occasions.

It might be also, in part, owing to the circumstances of things. For a while, as it seems, this persecution was confined to *Jerusalem*, and did not extend to other parts of *Judea*. So says *St. Luke Acts viii. 1. At that time there was a great persecution against the church, which was at Jerusalem. Paul's* injuries were confined there, till he went to *Damascus*. He speaks not of any thing done by him against the disciples of Jesus any where else. *Acts xxvi. 10. 11. Which thing I also did in Jerusalem. . . . and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities. Whereupon as I went to Damascus.*

The persecution became more extensive afterwards. As may be gathered from those words of *St. Luke*, just cited: *Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria.* Wherein it is implied, that the believers in those countreys had been disturbed: though, perhaps, the persecution was not there so violent, as in *Jerusalem*, and near it.

But so long as *Paul* continued in his course of opposition, the persecution either was confined to *Jerusalem*, or was not very violent in many other parts, if in any. This may be evidently concluded from *Acts viii. 1. And they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea, and Samaria, except the Apostles.* Many of the disciples therefore, who left *Jerusalem*, found shelter in *Judea*, and *Samaria*. This was soon after the death of *Stephen*, and before *Paul* went to *Damascus*.

Yea it is added ver. 4. 5. *Therefore they that were scattered abroad, went every where, preaching the word. Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them. And what follows to ver. 40. clearly shewing the truth of what we are now arguing.*

Moreover, it should be remembered, that the Jewish Council had not the power of life and death. The death of *Stephen* therefore was irregular and tumultuous. That no others suffered in a like manner during this period, I would not say: considering the great conciseness of *St. Luke's* historie, and what *St. Paul* says *Acts xxvi. 10. And when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them.* But if any, beside *Stephen*, were put to death, I apprehend, not many, and those of lower rank only, none of a station in the Church, equal to that of *Stephen*. The Roman Officers in *Judea* did not joyn in any part of this persecution. They had no orders so to do. And if the Jewish Council had assumed authority to put men to death, it would have been complained of, and they would soon have been checked.

If the Jewish Council had had the power of life and death for these four years, it would indeed have gone very hard with the Christian interest, throughout the whole countrey of *Judea*: the number of believers would have been much lessened: nor could any new converts have been made. Such a persecution the Church was not able to endure in its very infancy.

In like manner, a four years persecution by *Herod Agrippa* would have extirpated it. All the believers in general must have perished, throughout the whole extent of his dominions, without safety to any, but those who escaped into other countreys. When therefore that proud and bigoted Prince (whom we allow to have had supreme power throughout all the land of *Israel*) began to persecute the Church, and had slain *James*, and imprisoned *Peter*; Providence interposed, and miraculously delivered *Peter* out of prison. And that Prince not observing the hand of God therein, nor being intimidated thereby: as appears from his ordering the innocent guards to be immediately executed: and growing still more and more proud and arrogant, he fell under the hand of God himself. Of whose death, soon after, *St. Luke* has left an affecting historie, ch. xii. 19. . . . 23. confirmed also by (o) *Josephus*.

3. The first notice, which we have of *Paul*, is in the account of *Stephen's* martyrdom. And it seems likely, that he had not long before made his appearance in the world.

And, if we consider *Paul's* situation and circumstances, we shall discern the proper vindication of his moral character. It may be reckoned probable, that he had not seen Jesus in the time of his abode on this earth. Possibly, he did not come to *Judea* from *Tarsus*, till after the period of our Lord's ministrie. It may be likewise supposed, that he had not a personal acquaintance with any of Christ's Apostles, nor seen any miracles done by them, before he became a persecutor. And after that, he would not admit of instruction from the followers of Jesus. However, it is not improbable, that he saw the splendour of *Stephen's* countenance before the Jewish Council. *Acts vi. 15.* as well as was witness of the wonderful patience and meekness of his death. ch. vii.

55. . . 59.

55. . . 59. But then, as may be well supposed, he was not only prejudiced, but enraged. See ver. 54. 57. and ch. xxvi. 11.

How long he had been in *Judea*, and under the tuition of *Gamaliel*, cannot be certainly said. But it is well known, that students, whilst under the government of tutors, are strictly guarded, and much restrained. None less acquainted with what is done in the world than they. Among the ancients, especially, students of the Law and Philosophie, were required to pay a strict regard to their masters instructions, and theirs only. It may be supposed, then, that *Paul*, so long as he was with *Gamaliel*, knew little of the public affairs of *Judea*, though he was in that countrey. Coming from the schools, animated with an earnest zeal for the law of Moses, and all it's peculiarities, and for the traditions of the Elders: and finding a number of men, called followers of Jesus of *Nazareth*, whom they spake of as the Messiah, and raised from the dead, and greater than Moses himself: he was filled with indignation, and thought, he was obliged to oppose them to the utmost. Which he did, till Jesus met him, and reclaimed him. It is not unlikely, that he conceived of them, as the deluded followers of an impostor, like others that appeared in *Judea* about that time, and therefore deserving of no regard for any wise men.

Paul says, among other humbling considerations, that he was *injurious*. 1 Tim. i. 13. And he has mentioned several instances of it. Acts xxvi. 10. But even then, as we may well suppose, he would not have injured any man in his person, or property, from worldly considerations. In what he did against the followers of Jesus he was not actuated by envie, malice, covetousness, or any worldly view. It was a false zeal for God and religion, by which he was induced to be a persecutor. Which in some persons, and in some circumstances, is consistent with integrity. It is very likely to have been so in *Paul*, a young man, little acquainted with the world, and just come fresh from the studie of the Law, and the Rabbinical interpretations of it. *Chrysostom* makes this difference between *Paul* and the Jews. He (*p*) had a sincere zeal for religion, according to his knowledge at that time. They had no concern for the welfare of *Jerusalem*, and aimed at nothing but their own honour.

All this has been said for shewing, that *Paul* was sincere in what he had done, and that he did not act contrarie to conviction. But † he cannot be justified. He should have examined. He should have taken care to be well informed. If, when he first came abroad in the world, and met with those who professed faith in Jesus, as the Messiah, he had inquired into the grounds of their persuasion: if he had attentively observed, whether they wrought any miracles, like those of Moses, and the ancient Prophets, recorded in the Old Testament: if he had attended

(*p*) Οὗτος μὲν ἐν οὕτως ἐποίει, ὡς ἰσθαῖναι μὴ γένοιτο. Ὅτι γὰρ ζήλω ἐποίησεν, ὅλον ἐκ τῆ εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἀπέναντι· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὕτε καὶ τῶν ἱεροσολύμοις ἐφροντίσαν· ἀλλ' ἐνὸς ἐγένοντο μόνου τῆ τιμῆς ἀπολάμβειν. In *Act. Ap. hom.* 19. T. 9. p. 155. D.

† See *Dr. Doddridge upon 1 Tim. i. 13. note (b) Family Expositor. Vol. 5. p. 443.*

tended to the prophecies concerning the Messiah, which they alleged, for shewing, that the character of Jesus was answerable to them, and that they were fulfilled in him; he might have received satisfaction, and might have been prevented from acting that part against Jesus, and his disciples, which he afterwards bewailed.

But prejudices are very strong in some. They were so in this young man. Persuaded of the divine original of the law, and of the importance of the traditions of the Elders, in which he had been lately instructed, and which he had received, and held, as a most valuable branch of science, he had a sovereign contempt for this new sect, and was of opinion, that nothing could be said by them, which deserved consideration.

Such were his prejudices, that they were not to be overcome in an ordinary way. Without something more than common, to awaken his attention, he was in danger to have proceeded much farther in the wrong course, which he was in.

But though *Paul* was greatly prejudiced, he was not obstinate. The Lord Jesus saw this. He knew *Paul* to be tractable, and open to conviction. Otherwise, he would not have met him in the way to *Damascus*, as he did: nor would he have called to him: *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* But he well knew, that those words, together with the glorie of the appearance surrounding him, would change his heart, and melt him down to ready obedience.

Openness to conviction is a most necessary disposition in such weak, ignorant, fallible, sinful creatures, as we are. Without it there can be no alteration for the better: no change of error for truth, or vice for virtue. Of the conceited and obstinate there is no hope. But they who are attentive to reason and argument, and are willing to be determined by evidence, may do great things. Of ignorant they may become knowing. Instead of being erroneous, they may have just sentiments. And they will proceed from one measure of knowledge and virtue to another, till they attain to great perfection in both.

This was *Paul's* disposition. It is very manifest in him. With what enmity against the disciples of Jesus he set out for *Damascus*, and how soon he was changed, the historie shews. *And as he journeyed, he came near to Damascus. And suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* Acts ix. 3. . . 6. Whereupon he trembles, and acquiesces. All his rage is subdued, and he becomes a disciple of Jesus.

Upon occasion of an abuse, which he received from the High-Priest, before whom he stood, he expressed himself with rather too much warmth and resentment. But having been admonished of it by those who stood by, he answers with great mildness: *I wist not, I did not consider, brethren, that it was the High-Priest. For it is written: Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.* Acts xxiii. 1. . . 5.

He was once offended with *John Mark*, because he declined a service, which he thought reasonable to be performed. Acts xiii. 13. xv. 38. But he was afterwards reconciled to him, and desired his company:

nie: persuaded, that he would be *profitable to him for the ministrie*. 2 Tim. iv. 11.

So much did this temper prevail in him, and so reasonable and beneficial did it appear to him, that he thought, no men could be destitute of it, and that all men must be willing to hearken, and to yield to evidence. This we perceive from what he says, Acts xxii. 17. . . . 21. *When I was come again to Jerusalem, I was in a trance, and saw him saying unto me: Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem. For they will not receive thy testimonie concerning me. And I said: Lord, they know, that I imprisoned, and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee. . . . And he said unto me: Depart. For I will send thee far hence unto the Gentils.* He imagined, that an account of his conversion, who once was so opposite, and the reasons of it, if fairly laid before them, must persuade them. But Jesus, who knew the hearts of all men, saw that the people of *Judea* were so hardened, that nothing would work upon them. Instead therefore of labouring unprofitably among them, the Lord renewed his orders to *Paul*, without delay, to proceed in the work of preaching to Gentils, as he had already begun to do.

4. It was very gracious in the Lord Jesus, to call to *Paul* at the time he did, and not to suffer him to continue any longer in his career of rash, and inconsiderate, and injurious zeal, without controule. As yet he was tender, and tractable. Afterwards he might have been hardened: or, upon conviction, he might have sunk into despair.

5. We have reason to think, that there was an over-ruling providence in disposing the person and concerns of *Paul* about this time, as well as in the other parts of his life.

He reflects with gratitude, that *God had separated him from his mother's womb, and called him by his grace*. Gal. i. 15. There was great wisdom, as well as goodnesse, in the season of his call, as just shewn.

It was likewise a very happie and favorable circumstance, that he did not return into *Judea*, presently after his conversion: forasmuch as the violent persecution, which began about the time of *Stephen's* death, had continued at least three years after *Paul* left *Judea* to go to *Damascus*.

It was also well for him, that he was out of *Judea*, during the three or four years reign of *Herod Agrippa*, when he was King of all *Israel*. It was, indeed, owing to a violent onset of the *Grecians*, as they are called, that the disciples were induced to convey him to *Cesarea*, and send him forth to *Tarsus*. Acts ix. 29. 30. But it was over-ruled for his good. By this means he was out of *Judea*, during the reign of that proud and cruel Prince: which appears to have been a troublesome time to the followers of Jesus in that countrey, till near the end it broke out into the greatest violence. As we learn from the historie in the twelfth chapter of the Acts.

His Age at the Time of his Conversion.

IV. What was *Paul's* age at the time of his conversion, is not certain. *Witsius* supposeth, that (q) he was born near the end of *Herod's* reign, about the same time with our Saviour. It is observable, that in the epistle to

(q) At in neutram vastationem incidit pueritia Pauli, quem natum esse oportet

to *Philemon* ver. 9. writ about the year of the vulgar æra 62. he calls himself *Paul the aged*. Which, I think, must lead us to suppose, that he was then sixty years of age, or not much less.

In the account of the martyrdom of *Stephen* he is called a *young man*. *Acts* vii. 58. But it is well known, that among the ancients the word *youth* is used with latitude. Some things said of him about that time may induce us to think him arrived to years of maturity, or discretion. For he seems to have been one of the principal agents in the persecution of the believers after the death of *Stephen*: and to have been entrusted by the Jewish rulers in carrying it on. As he says to King *Agrippa*. *Acts* xxvi. 10. *Which thing I also did in Jerusalem. And many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the Chief Priests.* And it is well known, being (r) again and again related, that he had a commission from the High-Priest, when he went to *Damascus*. And it is also mentioned afterwards in the farther account of himself to *Agrippa*. ver. 12. *Whereupon, as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the Chief Priests. . .* And there were several others with him at the same time, who may be supposed to have been officers under him. All which shews the regard, that was paid to him.

Mr. *Biscoe* (s) thinks, that before his conversion *Paul* had been ordained Elder, or Rabbi, or Doctor. And he supposeth, that this may enable us to account for *Paul's* being never excommunicated by the Jews. "It may seem strange to some, says he, that *St. Paul* was not excommunicated by the Jews, after he turned Christian. For *St. John* tells us ch. ix. 22. *the Jews had agreed, that if any man did confess, that Jesus was the Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue.* *St. Paul*, notwithstanding, entred boldly into their synagogues, wherever he came, and preached, that *Jesus* was the Christ. He was often scourged by them. 2 *Cor.* xi. 24. But we no where read of his being excommunicated. The Talmud explains this to us: forasmuch as thence it is abundantly evident, that they were very backward to excommunicate the disciples of the Wise, the Doctors and Teachers of the law."

Whether that be certain, or not, I think it may be inferred from what was before said, that at the time of his conversion *Paul* was of an age when men are able to judge of the evidence of things, and to form a reasonable determination concerning their future conduct.

V. It may be now fit for us, before we proceed any farther, to consider, when *Paul* became an Apostle. *When he was made an Apostle?*

It has generally been the opinion of learned men, that *Paul* was called to the apostleship, at the time that he was converted, or very soon after.

oportet circa mortem Herodis. Quod ita conficitur. Ipse se senem fuisse docet, quando evangelii causa vinctus Romæ detinebatur a Nerone. *Philem.* comm. 9. Neque tamen admodum senex eo tempore fuit, quum *πρωτεύας* dicatur in martyrio Stephani. Unde necesse est, ejusdem propemodum cum Christo ætatis fuisse. *De Vita Pauli. Sect. i. n. iii.*

(r) See *Acts* ix. 1. 2. 14. xxii. 8.

(s) *The History of the Acts confirmed.* p. 269. 270.

after. So says (t) *Spanheim*, and (u) *Whitſius*, who follows him. So likewise ſay divers others, who alſo have carefully conſidered this point, particularly (x) *Cave*, (y) *Pearſon*, (z) *Baſnage*. To whom I muſt add my late much valued friend (a) Mr. *Hallett*. Who in his Diſcourſe on Ordination had occaſion to conſider Acts xiii. 2. 3. as well as ſome other texts.

That *Paul* was now made an Apoſtle, and fully inſtructed for preaching the goſpel, is evident from the account of his converſion given by the Evangeliſt (b) *Luke*, and from all the accounts, which he gives of himſelf in his diſcourſes in *Judea*, to (c) the Jewiſh people, and (d) to *Feſtus*, and *Agrippa*, and from his epiſtle to the *Galatians*, and from the manner of his ſpeaking of himſelf at the begining of divers of his epiſtles.

What he ſays of himſelf to the *Galatians*, in particular, implies his having had a full knowledge of the goſpel revelation, and his being inſtalled in the apoſtolic character, before the time of his firſt coming to *Jeruſalem*, after his converſion. Gal. i. 11. 12. *But I certify you, brethren, that the goſpel, which was preached of me, is not after men. For I neither received it of men, neither was I taught it, bu by the revelation of Jeſus*

(t) Id vero ante omnia in diſquiſitionis hujus limine ſupponimus: idem omnino eſſe tempus vocationis Paulinæ ad apoſtolatam, quod fuit ad Chriſtum, annum adeo eundem utriuſque ac menſem. *Spanh. ubi ſupra. §. iv. p. 314.*

(u) Quo tempore ad Chriſtianiſmum, eodem ad Apoſtolatam vocatus eſt Paulus. Act. ix. 15. xxiii. 15. xxvi. 17. &c. *Hiſt. de Vit. Pauli. Sect. ii. num. xxi.*

(x) See before note (o) p. 183.

(y) Tiberii 22. A. D. 36. Saulus in Arabia moratur, ubi per Revelationem accepit plenam a Deo notiſiam evangeli, ad quod prædicandum immediate vocatus eſt.

... A. D. 37. Saulus ex Arabia redit Damascum, ſatis in officio per revelationem inſtructus. *Pearſon. Ann. Paulin. p. 2.*

(z) His peractis, Paulus reliſta Damasco, in vicina loca aliquantiſper ſeceſſit, ut ab ipſo Chriſto ἐμπέσως inſtitueretur, quod et ipſe tradit. Gal. i. 15. . . 17. In eo igitur reſeſſu non ab hominibus edoctus eſt, ſed ab ipſo Chriſto per revelationem didicit evangelium, et creatus eſt Apoſtolus, &c. *Baſnag. Ann. 37. num. lxii.*

(a) "From this view of the hiſtory of St. Paul's life after his converſion to Chriſtianity, it is plain, that many years (thought to have been ten,) had paſſed, during which he had been a preacher, and an Apoſtle, before the time mentioned Acts xiii. At the begining of thoſe ten years, juſt after his converſion, Chriſt made him a Miniſter and an Apoſtle, and particularly gave him a commiſſion to preach to the Gentils, when he appeared to him from heaven, and ſaid, as in Acts xxvi. 16. 17. 18. . . . When therefore, ten years after this, the Prophets at Antioch ſeparated Paul for the work to which he was called, by prayer, and faſting, and impoſition of hands, it is evident, they did not give him any authority. He had received the full apoſtolic authority, and that, as the Apoſtle of the Gentils too, long before this, immediately from Chriſt himſelf." *Hallett's Notes and Diſcourſes. Vol. 2. p. 321. 322.*

(b) Acts ix. 15. . . 22.

(c) Ch. xxii. 6. . . 16.

(d) Ch. xxvi. 13. . . 24.

Jesus Christ. . . ver. 15. . . 18. But when it pleased God, (who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace,) to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Heathen, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood: neither went I up to Jerusalem, to them which were Apostles before me. But I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem, to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days.

Paul must have been an Apostle, and qualified to preach the gospel, before he came to Jerusalem, and saw Peter: or what he says here cannot be reckoned material, and to the purpose, about which he is speaking.

Undoubtedly, for some good while Paul preached to Jews only. And when he began to preach to Gentils also, he may have had some farther revelations from Christ. But it does not follow, that he was not an Apostle before that. Peter, and the rest, had been Apostles several years, before they were required or qualified to preach to Gentils.

Paul seldom speaks of his being an Apostle, or called to be an Apostle, as he often does at the begining of his epistles, but he seems to refer to, and intend his early call, when he was converted, and put into the ministrie. Rom. i. 1. *Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, separated unto the gospel of God.* 1 Cor. i. 1. *Paul, called to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ, through the will of God.* See also 2 Cor. i. 1. but especially Gal. i. 1. *Paul, an Apostle, not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead.* See likewise 1 Tim. i. 12. ii. 7. 2 Tim. i. 11.

One requisite qualification of an Apostle appears to have been, that he should see Christ in person, and that after his resurrection. This was manifestly one privilege of the first twelve Apostles, and of Matthias, chosen in the room of Judas. Acts i. 21. 22. Accordingly, we find, that Paul also, claiming the character of an Apostle, speaks of his having seen Christ, and as of a well known, and uncontested thing. 1 Cor. ix. 1. *Have I not seen Jesus Christ, our Lord?* And largely in the xv. chapter of the same epistle, rehearsing divers appearances of our Lord, after his resurrection, to the Apostles, and others, he says ver. 8. 9. *And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time. For I am the least of the Apostles, who am not worthie to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the church of God.*

It is plain, then, that Paul had seen Christ, and after he was risen from the dead, as the other Apostles had done. But where did he see him? It is generally (e) said, and, I think, rightly, in the way to Damascus.

(e) *Vid. Wits. de Vita Pauli. Sect. ii. num. v. vi. vii. et Basnagius ann. 37. num. lviii.*

Qu. 2. Qualis erat hæc apparitio? Resp. Indubie corporalis: quia se, ut ceteros, testem oculatum adducit. Qu. 3. Quando, et ubi Christum vidit? Resp. Dum iret Damascus. Act. ix. Obj. At Paulus tunc exæcatus erat. Resp. Prius tamen Dominum vidit, cujus maxima claritate perstricti sunt ejus oculi, ut sit solem intuentibus. Poli Synops. ad 1 Cor. xv. 8.

Jam quod ad hanc apparitionem Dominicam Paulo factam attinet, quæ sine dubio post ascensionem Domini contigit, illud etiam indubitate tenendum est,

masceus. Then, as seems to me, Christ personally appeared to him. It is evident from St. Luke's account of Paul's conversion. Acts ix. 3. . . 6. And as he journeyed, he came near to Damascus. And suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice, saying unto him: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said: Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said: I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest. . . . And he trembling, and astonished, said: Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him: Arise, and go into the city. And it shall be told thee, what thou must do. When Ananias, by special order, entered into the house, where Paul was, and put his hands upon him, he said: ver. 17. Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, who appeared to thee in the way, as thou camest, ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ, hath sent me. Compare ch xxii. 14. And ch. ix. 27. Barnabas brought him to the Apostles, and declared unto them, how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken unto him. Paul likewise in his own accounts of his conversion uses words expressive of a personal appearance to him. So Acts xxii. 6 . . 8. in his speech to the people of Jerusalem, where truth and exactness were very requisite. And it came to pass, that as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto Damascus, about noon, suddenly, there shone from heaven a light round about me. And I fell to the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me. And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me: I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest. So likewise Acts xxvi. 12. . . 19. very strong and expressive, indeed. To which the reader is referred.

If Paul did not see Jesus in person at the time of his conversion, when did he so see him? Some may say, at the time mentioned Acts xxii. 17. . . 21. . . . *And it came to pass, that when I was come again to Jerusalem, even when I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance, and saw him saying unto me: Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem. For thou wilt not receive thy testimonie concerning me.*

Some think, that (f) Paul had this trance when he first came to Jerusalem, at the end of three years after his conversion. Others rather think,

est, talem fuisse quâ Christus semet ipsum corporaliter atque oculis corporeis videndum Paulo ostenderet: ad quem modum et aliis omnibus supra memoratis vitis est. Nam nisi talis visio fuisset etiam hæc de quâ nunc Paulus loquitur, quomodo se perinde ut ceteros testem adduceret oculatum ad probandam veritatem resurrectionis Christi? . . . Nam Paulo illo tempore suæ conversionis, quum iret Damascus, non tantum audivisse Dominum loquentem, sed etiam vidisse, ex subsequenti narratione clarum est. Dicit enim ad eum Ananias ix. 17. *Dominus misit me, Jesus qui apparuit, Græce ἐφθάρ, qui visus est, tibi in via.* Et. cap. xxii. 14. *Deus præordinavit te, ut videres justum, et audires vocem ex ore ejus.* Rursum cap. ix. 27. Barnabas de eo narrat Apostolis, quomodo in via vidisset Dominum, et quia locutus est ei. Sed et Dominus ad Saulum prostratum, ipso referente, cap. xxvi. 16. *Ad hoc enim apparui, ὡς ὅτι, visus sum tibi, ut constituam te ministrum et testem eorum, quæ vidisti.* Et quæ sequuntur. *Est. in 1 Cor. xv. 8.*

(f) Ver. 17. *Retourné à Jerusalem.*] Non pas d'abord. Voyez Gal. i. 17. mais après son voyage en Arabie et son séjour à Damas. Ibid. ver. 18. *Enfant sur Actes xxii. 17.*

See likewise Dr. Doddridge upon the same place, in his Family-Expositor. Vol. 3. p. 355. Sect. I..

think, that (g) it happened, when he and *Barnabas* came to *Jerusalem* from *Antioch*, with the contributions of the Christians there for the support of the believers in *Judea*, in the time of the dearth in the reign of *Claudius*, and in the year of Christ 41. Of which an account is given *Acts xi. 27. . . 30. xii. 25.* Others (h) hesitate.

But I cannot persuade myself, that this is what *Paul* intended, when he said to the *Corinthians*: *Am I not an Apostle? . . Have I not seen Jesus Christ, our Lord?* nor when he says afterwards in the same epistle: *And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one torn out of due time.* For (i) there, as I apprehend, he must mean seeing *Jesus Christ* in person, walking, and with eyes open. Which is quite different from what happens in a dream, vision, transe, or extasie.

The (k) same answer will suffice for the season of his being taken up into paradise and into the third heaven. For such things are visionarie. Nor did *Paul* himself certainly know, whether it was in the body, or out of the body. *2 Cor. xii. 1. . . 3.* that is, whether he was then personally transported into paradise, or whether the representation was made in his mind, without any local removal. And the things, which he then saw and heard, were not to be revealed. He seldom speaks of such matters. When he does, it is not without an apology. For, as it seems, they were, chiefly, for his own encouragement under the many

(g) Et tum, opinor, Saulus raptus est in tertium coelum, post quod tempus anno xiv. scripsit secundam ad Corinthios epistolam. cap. xii. 2. *Pearson. Ann. Paulin. A. D. 44. p. 6.*

(h) *Witsius*, De Vita Pauli. Sect. iii. num. xi. is in doubt, at which of those times *Paul* had this transe, or vision.

(i) Saulo Damascum proficiscenti Jesum factum conspicuum, nulli dubitamus. . . Nobis aperte favent Ananix verba: *Act. ix. 17.* Illud ipsum testatur Barnabas eo capite ver. 27. sed et ipse Paulus talia voce refert. *Act. xxii. 24. . . Comparatum ita erat, ut nemo apostolatûs officio fungi posset, qui corporeis Christum oculis non aspexisset. Itaque in eâ collatâ sibi gratiâ exultat Paulus, atque triumphat. Nonne Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum vidi?* Quandonam porro vidit, si non vidit, dum Damascum proficisceretur? Non sane in ea visione, cujus meminit *Act xxii. 17. . . 21.* Fuit enim extasis, quæ non sufficiebat apostolatu. Neque ad raptum ad tertium usque coelum referri potest ea manifestatio, quæ Apostolo necessaria: sive quia dubitat Paulus, utrum corpore fuerit, an spiritu: sive etiam quia multos ante annos munus obiit Apostoli, quam mirandus ipsi raptus contigerit. &c. *Bashag. A. D. 37. n. lviii. vid. et n. lviii.*

(k) Quod vero multi præter visionem, quæ in via Damascena contigit, etiam mentionem huc ingerunt illius visionis, quam Paulus sibi Hierosolymam reverso, et in templo oranti, narrat oblatam fuisse. *Act. xxii. 17.* tanquam illud respiciat hoc loco: satis illud refellitur, ex eo quod, ipso Paulo teste, extatica fuerit illa visio: sive, ut *Interpres* noster vertit, in *stupore mentis* facta. Jam autem ostendimus visionem corporalem hic intelligi debere. Sed neque ad raptum in tertium coelum, atque in paradysum, de qua scribit *2 Cor. xii. . . .* referenda est hæc visio. . . Non tamen ibi scribit, se Dominum vidisse. Et ut vidisset, nescire tamen se dicit, utrum in corpore, an extra corpus ipsi raptus ille et visio contigerit: et ut in corpore contigerit, quod est probabilius, extaticam tamen fuisse, mente videlicet a sensibus corporeis abstracta, convenit inter Theologos. Nec, si per sensum oculorum facta fuisset ea visio, Paulus id nescire potuisset. Hic vero certum perhibet testimonium, se corporaliter, ut alios Apostolos, Christum vidisse. *Estius ad 1 Cor. xv. 8.*

many and great difficulties, which he met with. This rapture into the third heaven and paradise had been concealed by him above fourteen years, and not mentioned at all, till now in this his second epistle to the *Corinthians*: as has been observed both by (l) ancients, and (m) moderns. But the *seeing Christ*, for qualifying him to be an Apostle, had been often, and openly mentioned by him.

But it may be objected, that long after his conversion *Paul* is numbered among Prophets. Acts xiii. 1. *Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain Prophets and Teachers: as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manuen . . . and Saul.*

To which I answer. 1. If *Paul* should be allowed to be here ranked among Prophets, it will not follow, that he was not more than a Prophet, even an Apostle. St. *Peter* styles himself an *Elder*, though, undoubtedly, he was also an Apostle. 1. Pet. v. 1. Mr. *Le Clerc* has a fine observation, relating to this matter in his *Ecclesiastical Historie*: That (n) though *Paul* is mentioned last, he was superior to the rest in point of gifts. But, says he, the first Christians were not solicitous about titles and pre-eminence.

2. It is not clear, that *Paul* is here reckoned among Prophets. He seems rather to be distinguished from them. For, very probably, it is not without some reason, that *Paul* is not put first, nor next to *Barnabas*, but last of all. The meaning appears to be this. “Now there were in the church at *Antioch* certain Prophets, and Teachers, as “*Barnabas*, and *Simeon*, and *Lucius*, and *Manuen*, and also *Saul*, whose “character, and station in the Church is well known from the preceding historie of him in this book.” Whereby indeed, he evidently appears to be an Apostle.

3. I add one thing more, that I may fully clear up this point. The designation, mentioned ch. xiii. ver. 2. 3. could not be to the Apostleship. For *Paul was not an Apostle of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father*. Gal. i. 1. Moreover, it is here expressly said, that this ordination, or appointment, at *Antioch*, was to a particular work, or service. *As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said: Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work, whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted, and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.* And it might be said, that (o) here is no consecration to an office, but rather a benediction for the particular work, upon which they were now sent.

As

(l) Διὰ τῆτο καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἔθηκε τῶν δεκαπεντάων ἔτων· ἐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς αὐτῷ μέμνηται, ἀλλὰ δεικνύς, ὅτι ἐκ αὐτῶ τοσούτων κατελέσας χρόνον, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξείπεν, εἰ μὴ πολλὴ ἦν ἀνάγκη. *Chrysost. in 2 Cor. hom. 26. T. x. p. 681. D.*

(m) See Dr. *Doddridge's Family-Expositor. Vol. 4. p. 522.*

(n) Ceterum, si ex Spiritus Sancti donis, sublimibusque revelationibus, Prophetarum, Doctorumque, qui memorantur, ordo conceptus esset, sine dubio, primum omnium Saulum collocari oportuisset. Sed iis temporibus nondum de prima sede, dignitateque contentiones erant inter Christianos: et qui meritis in rem Christianam omnium erant primi, ii se, ex Domini præcepto, quasi minimos gerebant, nec ultimos appellari refugiebant. *Cleric. H. E. A. D. 45. num. i.*

(o) Porro, vere ut dicamus, nil ordinationis est in Antiochenium Prophetarum χειροθεσία. . . . Eam argo Paulus Barnabasque manuum susceperunt

As Mr. Hallett says, in the place before quoted: "They (*þ*) were not now separated for the work of the ministry, in general, but were separated from the other teachers at *Antioch*, to go aboard, and propagate the gospel in other countries. When they went out upon this important work, nothing could be more agreeable, than for the church at *Antioch*, to pray God to give *Barnabas*, and *Paul*, good success. Which accordingly they did. They now recommended them to the grace, or favour of God: as St. Luke says concerning this solemn transaction. ch. xiv. 26. And after this again, when *Paul* was sent abroad another time, to preach the gospel, where he had preached it before, he was in the same manner recommended to the grace of God, as it is written ch. xv. 40. *Paul chose Silas, and departed, being recommended by the brethren to the grace, or favour of God.* Since therefore both times, when *Paul* went out from *Antioch*, to preach the gospel to the same people, the Evangelist says, in the same words, that he was recommended to the grace of God; we cannot suppose, that he was any more first made an Apostle of the Gentils, at the former, than at the later time of his being recommended."

Upon the whole it appears to me highly probable, from all the accounts, which we have of *Paul's* wonderful conversion, in Acts ix. xxii. and xxvi. that he received his apostolical commission from the mouth of Christ in person, when he called to him from heaven, and spoke to him in the way to *Damascus*. And especially does this appear from Acts xxvi. 15. . . 20. where *Paul* expressly relates his commission, and the time of it, and declares, as seems to me, that all which had been hitherto done by him, in preaching the gospel, to the very time when he was imprisoned, had been done in virtue of that commission. And he said: *I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest. But arise, and stand upon thy feet. For I have appeared to thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister, and a witness, both of those things, which thou hast seen, and of those things, in which I will appear unto thee: delivering thee from the People, and from the Gentils, unto whom I now send thee, ἵνα εἰς νῦν σε ἀποστείλω, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light. . . . Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision: but shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentils: that they should repent, and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.*

This also exactly suits the manner, in which the other Apostles were appointed. They were Apostles from the time that Jesus Christ called them to attend upon him. See Matth. iv. 18. . . 22. Luke vi. 13. And he often discoursed to them concerning their commission in it's full extent, and the difficulties they would meet with in the discharge of it: giving them also various directions, relating to their conduct, when they should come abroad in the world. See Matth. x. throughout, and xvi. 18. 19. and many like places in the other Gospels. And before he left them, he expressly said: *Go ye therefore, and teach all nations.* Matt. xxviii. 19. But they did not at first understand the full extent

runt impositionem, quæ benedictionis est, non consecrationis. *S. Basnag. Ann. 45. num. iii.*

extent of their commission, nor presently execute it. At the first they preached to Jews only. And it was several years, after Christ's ascension, before they preached to Gentils. So *Paul* was from the beginning called, and appointed to be an Apostle: and by degrees he was qualified for it, as his commission opened. And in time he was called out by Divine Providence to the full execution of it. But all along he was an Apostle, and acted, and taught, as such: first preaching to Jews at *Damascus*, and *Jerusalem*, and *Judea*, and other parts, and then to Gentils. So he plainly says to *Agrippa* in the place recited just now.

His History from his Conversion to his coming to Jerusalem.

VI. Having thus settled the time of *Paul's* conversion, and apostleship, according to the best of my ability, I now intend to give an account of his travels in the service of the gospel. This I do for the sake of shewing the date of his writings. And it would be shorter and more agreeable, on divers accounts, to take in his epistles as we go along. But there being debates about the time of several of them, I think it will be preferable, to write his historie, without interruption, as briefly as we can, and then observe the order of his epistles.

Paul, having been baptized by *Ananias* at *Damascus*, staid a short time with the disciples there, and then went into *Arabia*: where, it is very likely, he might meet with some believers. For *Arabians* are expressly mentioned Acts ii. 11. among the Jews and profelytes, who heard the Apostle *Peter's* first sermon at *Jerusalem* after the descent of the Holy Ghost. At which time many were converted to a faith in Jesus Christ. Acts ii. 41.

Whilst *Paul* was in *Arabia*, it is reasonable to think, that he was fully instructed, by special †† revelation, in the doctrine preached by Jesus Christ, when here on earth, and all the things said and done by him, and his sufferings, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies in Jesus, the Christ, the son of *David*, and the son of *Abraham*, and received also the Holy Ghost, in a measure equal to that of other Apostles. Whereby he was qualified to preach the gospel, and to testify the resurrection of Jesus, and to prove him to be the Christ, without receiving either instruction, or gifts from other Apostles.

Having been some time in *Arabia*, he returned to *Damascus*. And straightway he preached in the synagogues, that *Jesus* is the Christ, or the Son of God. This he did with such strength and cogence of argument, as to confound the Jews, which dwelt at *Damascus*. They being greatly provoked, and forming a design upon his life, the disciples found means to provide for his escape. Whereupon he went to *Jerusalem*. Acts ix. 20. . . 25.

Some think, that *Paul* preached at *Damascus*, soon after he had been baptized by *Ananias*, and that he also preached in *Arabia*, and that (q) he had preached three years, before he came to *Jerusalem*, after his conversion.

†† Concerning the manner of the revelations now vouchsafed to *Paul*, may be seen *Lightfoot*, in his Comm. upon Acts ix. 1. in the first volume of his works. p. 791.

(q) Il veut montrer, qu'il avoit prêché l'évangile trois ans avant que d'avoir vu aucun Apôtre, &c. *Beauf. sur Galat. i. 18.*

version. *Pearson* (*.) supposeth, that *Paul*, whilst in *Arabia*, received by revelation, a full knowledge of the gospel. And says, that when he returned from *Arabia* to *Damascus*, he preached there. But I do not perceive him to say, that *Paul* preached in *Arabia*, or at *Damascus*, presently after his conversion.

To me it seems, that *Paul* did not preach at *Damascus*, presently after he had been baptized, but first went into *Arabia*, and then returned to *Damascus*. And being now qualified by divine revelation, and by diligent reading the scriptures of the Old Testament, during his recess in *Arabia*, and being fully determined, after a competent time of humiliation for past conduct, and serious meditation, in which he had well weighed the difficulties of the work he was entering upon, he began to preach Christ in the synagogues of *Damascus*. I am confirmed in this opinion by the interpretation of an author, whose words I place (r) below. Nor does *St. Paul*, that I remember, any where say, that he preached in *Arabia*. He makes a large, and, seemingly, very particular enumeration of places and people, to whom he had preached, in his discourse before *Agrippa*, without taking any notice of *Arabia*. *Acts* xxvi. 20. *I shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentils, that they should repent, and turn to God.*

Jerome observing, that *St. Luke* had said nothing of *Paul's* being in *Arabia*, is inclined to think, that (s) he did not discharge any part of his apostolical office in that countrey. But then, if *Paul* was silent there, he thinks, it was not owing to the Apostle's backwardness to speak: But the divine wisdom appointed, that it should be so.

Theophylact observes, that (t) the design of the *Jews* at *Damascus*, to destroy

(*.) *Saulus* in *Arabia* moratur, ubi per revelationem accepit plenam a Deo notitiam evangelii, ad quod prædicandum immediate vocatus est.

Saulus ex *Arabia* redit *Damascum*, fatis in officio per revelationem instructus. *Annal. Paulin. A. D.* 36. 37. p. 2.

(r) " *St. Paul* being restored to his sight by *Ananias*, staid not long at *Damascus*, but retired forthwith into *Arabia*, as he himself tells us. *Gal.* i. 16. 17. Whereas it is said *Acts* ix. 19. 20. *And when he had received meat, he was strengthened. Then was Saul certain days with the disciples at Damascus, and straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues.* Here the word, *straightway*, does not relate to *Saul's* first coming to *Damascus*, but to his return thither, after he had been in *Arabia*. For *Acts* ix. 19. 20. are to be rendered and paraphrased thus: *And when he had received meat, he was strengthened.* Presently after which, according to *Gal.* i. 16. he went into *Arabia*, and having been there instructed in the gospel by the revelation of *Jesus Christ*, according to *Gal.* i. 12. he returned again to *Damascus*. Then, or now, was *Paul* certain days with the disciples at *Damascus*, and *straightway*, namely, after his return out of *Arabia*, he preached Christ in the synagogues." *Dr. Edw. Wells Historical Geography of the N.T. Part. 2. p. 20. 21.*

(s) *Lucan* vero idcirco de *Arabia* præterisse, quia forsitan nihil dignum apostolatu in *Arabia* perpetrarat: et ea potius compendiosa narratione dixisse, quæ digna Christi evangelio videbantur. Nec hoc segnitæ Apostoli deputandum, si frustra in *Arabia* fuerit: sed quod aliqua dispensatio et Dei præceptum fuerit, ut taceret. *Hieron. in Gal. i. 17. T. 4. P. i. p. 235.*

(t) . . . ὅτι ἡ ἐπιστῆναι ἐν δαμασκῷ ἐκ εὐθείας μετὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι γεγονός· ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ἀραβίας μετὰ ἑτῆς τρεῖς. Καὶ οὕτως γεγονός ἡ πρὸς τὰ ἱεροσόλυμα ἀιόδος. *Theoph. in Act. Ap. p. 94.*

destroy *Paul*, was not formed presently after his conversion to the faith : but after his return thither from *Arabia*, at the end of three years, just before his going to *Jerusalem*.

Indeed, it is very likely, that if *Paul* had preached at *Damascus*, soon after his first arrival there, he would have met with a most violent onset. And as nothing of that kind is particularly taken notice of, it may be concluded, that he did not then publicly preach in any synagogues. Nor was it fit, or becoming, that he should. It was highly proper, that some time should be allotted for retirement, after such a course, as he had been in, before he began to preach and teach publicly in the name of Jesus.

Though *St. Luke* had not mentioned the journey into *Arabia*, nor the time of *Paul's* absence from *Damascus*, he knew it very well, and has hinted it, saying : *And after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to slay him.* Acts ix. 23.

Mr. Beaufobre says, that (u) *Paul's* journey into *Arabia* should be placed between ver. 22. and 23. of the ix. chapter of the Acts. I should rather place it between ver. 19. and 20. of that chapter.

This period of three years, or three years and somewhat more, from *Paul's* conversion to his coming to *Jerusalem*, reaches, according to our computation, from near the end of the year 36. to near the end of 39. or the beginning of the year 40. or from the beginning of the year 37. to the former part of the year 40.

I cannot allow myself to speak positively, where there is not the evidence of certainty. I do not know, in what month *Paul* was converted, or came to *Jerusalem*. Of such things as these it is sufficient to say, that they happened in such a year, or thereabout.

From his coming first to Jerusalem after his Conversion to his being brought to Antioch by Barnabas. VII. *Paul* having been full three years at *Damascus*, and in it's neighbourhood, and in *Arabia*, he came to *Jerusalem*. Gal. i. 18. *And when he was come thither, he assayed to joyn himself to the disciples : but they were all afraid of him, and believed not, that he was a disciple.* Acts ix. 26.

This may seem strange to some. But now we discern the reason of it from the account, that has been lately given of the continuance of the persecution in *Judea* after the death of *Stephen*, and also of *Paul's* retired way of life, for some while, in *Arabia*. *Paul* had but lately begun to preach openly in the name of Jesus, in the synagogues of *Damascus*. And †† the believers in *Judea* being much harrassed by the persecution

(u) *Comment. sur Gal. i. 17.*

†† Says *Lightfoot* in his Commentarie upon Acts ix. 26. Vol. i. p. 814. "Some cannot conceive, how it should be possible, that he should have been a convert three years, and yet his conversion and present abilities should be unknown to the church at *Jerusalem*. But these two or three considerations may help the scruple. 1. The distance between *Damascus* and *Jerusalem*. 2. The persecution, that continued still upon the church of *Judea*, which would keep the disciples of *Damascus* from going thither. And 3. The just fear, that might possess the disciples at *Jerusalem*, in the very time of persecution. For though it was said before, that the church of *Jerusalem*, and

secution which they met with at home, had not received any intelligence about what had passed at *Damascus*, and in the way thither. Nor were the Jewish rulers forward to publish the loss of so active a servant as *Paul* had been.

Acts ix. 27. . . 30. *But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apostles, and declared unto them, how he had seen the Lord in the way, and how he had preached boldly at Damascus.*

There have been different conjectures concerning the reasons, why *Barnabas*, in particular, brought *Paul* to the Apostles. Some have imagined, that * he and *Barnabas* had studied together under *Gamaliel* : or ** at least, that they had been acquainted formerly. But I see no ground for such a supposition in the historie. If that had been the case, there would have been some intimation of it. Which there is not. I therefore rather think, that it was entirely owing to the circumstances of things. When *Paul* came to *Jerusalem*, it was a time of persecution as before observed, and the Apostles lived privatly. *Paul* endeavored to joyn himself to the disciples, and be acquainted with them. But they were all shy of him. And possibly they were desirous, that he should be approved by some of the Apostles, before they took notice of him. However, he met with *Barnabas*, and gave him an account of his conversion, and of every thing that had happened to him, since he went from *Jerusalem*. And *Barnabas* gave credit to his account. Nor is it impossible, but that some believers might come from *Damascus*, and confirm the truth of it. Whereupon *Barnabas* was willing to introduce him to the Apostles. Unquestionably, they placed full confidence in *Barnabas*, and he might know where they were. However it is evident, he had access to *James*. To him he brought *Paul*. And *James* brought him to *Peter*. So *Paul* had communion with all the Apostles. After which he was readily received by the disciples, or believers in general. *And he was with them, coming in, and going out at Jerusalem. And he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed with the Grecians*, or Greeks: meaning profelytes to the Jewish religion, in whom we see the true spirit of the Jewish profelytes about this time, as declared by our Saviour himself. Matt. xxiii. 15. *But they went about to slay him. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cesarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus.*

By *Cesarea* I should be apt to understand, *Cæsarea by the sea side*, mentioned before. ch. viii. 40. But some learned men, particularly, (x)
Witius,

of *Judea*, enjoyed a great deal of rest and tranquillity after the conversion of *Paul*, their great persecutor, in comparison of what they had done before, yet was not the persecution of the Church utterly extinct to the very time of *Paul's* coming up to *Jerusalem*, but continued still. And therefore it is the less wonder, if the disciples there be the more fearfull and cautious."

* On pretend, qu'il avoit étudié avec Saul sous Gamahel. *Leisant sur Actes. ix. 27. See also Pool's English Annotations upon the place.*

** Forte Barnabas Saulum ante conversionem noverat, credebaturque ei ut minime mendaci. *Grot. ad loc.*

(x) . . . Hierosolymam reliquit, et a fratribus Cæsaream deductus est, non maritimam illam, quæ est *Turris Stratonis* dicta, de qua supra cap. viii. 40.
ted

Witfius, and (y) *Dr. Doddridge*, hereby suppose to be intended *Cæsarea Philippi*. If we could be assured of that interpretation, perhaps it might lead us to the meaning of that expression of *Paul* in his speech to *Agrippa*, cited not long ago: *throughout all the coasts of Judea*. And indeed it may be reckoned probable, that therein *Paul* refers to what was now done by him. For we cannot think of any more likely season for it, considering how short a stay he generally made in *Judea*, whenever he came thither after his conversion. It is very probable, that as he travelled with the disciples, who accompanied him, he was not silent. Though he made no long stay in any one place, he would embrace every opportunity that offered, to speak of the doctrine, which now lay with so much weight on his mind.

The brethren, as *St. Luke* says, brought him down to *Cæsarea*, and sent him forth to *Tarsus*. And *St. Paul* himself says *Gal. i. 21. Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia*. *Tarsus* was now the chief city of *Cilicia*, and *Paul's* native place: where he had not been, since he first came up to *Jerusalem*, to study the law under *Gamaliel*. Possibly, *Paul* now found some of his relations, and likewise some others, who were disciples of *Jesus* before him. See *Rom. xvi. 7. 11*. Possibly also, while he travelled now in these countreys of *Cilicia* and *Syria*, he met with some of those dangers, and difficulties, which are entirely omitted by *St. Luke*, but are mentioned, or hinted by the Apostle, in his epistles, especially the eleventh chapter of the second epistle to the *Corinthians*.

In those countreys *Paul* was the remainder of the year 40. and all 41. and likewise all 42. or the greatest part of it, till about the beginning of the year 43. preaching, undoubtedly, in the name of *Jesus*, to native Jews, and to proselytes of the Jewish Religion.

Afterwards he went to *Antioch*, and began to preach to Gentils, as we shall see presently.

The churches having peace, and being no longer disturbed by a violent persecution, *Peter* visited the disciples in the several parts of *Judea*. *Acts ix. 32. . . 43*. Before he returned to *Jerusalem*, whilst he was in the city of *Joppa*, where he tarried many days, he received an order from heaven to go to *Cæsarea*. And in *ch. x. and xi. 1. . . 18*. *St. Luke* gives a distinct account of *St. Peter's* going to the house of *Cornelius* at *Cæsarea*, and there preaching to Gentils, and of the defense, which he made of his conduct to the Apostles and brethren at *Jerusalem*, and their acquiescence therein, upon which I do not now enlarge.

Afterwards at ver. 19. 20. *St. Luke* says; Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about *Stephen*, travelled as far as *Ptenice*, and *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*, preaching the word to Jews only. And some

fed *Cæsaream Philippi*, quæ sita erat circa montem Libanum, ad confluentem Jor et Dan, unde Jordanes originem ducit, quæ olim Lachis, deinde Dan appellata fuit, de qua *Jud. xviii*. Cujus pomœria quum *Rex Agrippa* protulisset, mutato nomine in honorem *Neronis* vocavit *Neroniada*. *Joseph. Antiq. 20. viii. Wits. de Vita Pauli Sect. 3. n. ii.*

(y) See the Family-Expositor, Vol. 3. p. 146. upon *Acts ix. 30*.

some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene : Who when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus.

These men had preached the gospel to Jews, and the proselytes to Judaism, in *Phenice*, and *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*. But some time after their arrival at *Antioch*, hearing of *Peter's* having opened the door of the kingdom of heaven to Gentils at the house of *Cornelius*, they began to preach also to the *Greeks* at *Antioch*, that is, the †† people of the country : who might, possibly, some few of them, be pious men, like *Cornelius*, who even before his conversion was a worshipper of the true God, the God of *Israel* : but the greatest part of them must have been Heathen idolaters, as all the people of the earth, except the Jews, generally were, till the coming of Christ, and the preaching of his gospel (z) among them.

Ver. 21. *And the hand of the Lord was with them.* God graciously accompanied their ministris with miraculous works, which he enabled them to perform in the name of Jesus. Whereby they who saw them were awakened and convinced. And those Evangelists likewise were greatly encouraged, being thereby fully satisfied, that what they did was approved by God himself. *And a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord.*

Ver 22. . . . 26. *Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church, which was at Jerusalem. And they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch. Who when he came, and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart, they should cleave unto the Lord. . . . Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul. And when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch.*

VIII. If *Peter* preached to *Cornelius*, in the year 41. and about the middle of that year, as is probable ; it would be near the end of the year 42. or the beginning of the year 43. when *Pul* was brought by *Barnabas* to *Antioch*.

. . . to his coming up to Jerusalem with the Contributions of the Christians at Antioch.

During this time of *Paul's* being at *Antioch*, in the year of Christ 43. he might have the rapture, mentioned by him 2 Cor. xii. It seems to me

†† . . . that is, the people of the country. Acts xix. 10. . . . so that all they which dwelt in Asia, heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks. and ver 17. *And this was known to all the Jews and Greeks also dwelling at Ephesus.* It is common with all authors about that time, to call the people, who inhabited the cities of *Asia* and *Syria*, *Greeks*. Οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν . . . πάντα τοῖς ἐπ' ἀντιοχείᾳ Ἰουδαίῳ ἀπέσαν, . . . καὶ συνέχευον αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἴσου τῆς πόλεως τῇ ἑλληνισμῷ μετέχειν. *Jos. de B. J. l. 7. cap. 3. n. 3. p. 1299. Hudson.* Iter igitur ita per Asiam feci. . . Nullo judicio, nullâ contumeliâ, auctoritate et cohortatione perfeci, ut et Græci, et cives Romani, qui frumentum compresserant, magnum numerum populis pollicerentur. *Cic. ad Att. l. 5. ep. 21. et passim.*

(z) Ut ut sit, Gentiles hic intelligi, res ipsa clamat. Atque hoc primum exemplum est evangelii publice Gentibus prædicanti. Nam alterum illud *Cornelii* non nisi domesticum fuit. Quum vero Dei favorem in sancto hoc opere insignitur experirentur fideles illi *Cyprii* ac *Cyrenenses*, multoque *Græcorum* numerus fide ipsis habita converteretur ad Christum, non potuit tantæ rei fama *Hierosolymitanæ ecclesiæ* proceres diu latere. *Wiss. de Vita Paul. Sect. 3. n. iii.*

me to have happened soon after he came to *Antioch*, when he first began to preach to Gentils, who hitherto had preached to Jews only.

Ver. 46. *And it came to pass, that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church, and taught much people. And the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch.*

This whole year, I think, must be part of the years 43. and 44. according to the vulgar computation. It may have reached some way into the year 44. Indeed, I apprehend, *the whole year*, mentioned by *Luke*, to have expired not long before the time, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* went up to *Jerusalem*, with the contributions made at *Antioch*, for the relief of the believers in *Judea*, in the approaching famine. For that is what *St. Luke* immediately proceeds to relate in ver. 27. . . 30. that is, to the end of the chapter. And in this year, 44. I suppose the believers in *Jesus* to have obtained this denomination.

And the disciples were called Christians. Which (a) some think to have been done by a divine admonition. And they translate after this manner : *And (b) the disciples were by divine appointment first named Christians at Antioch.*

Witfius (c) does not discern any particular emphasis in the word, and readily admits the interpretation of *Grotius*, that the Greek word, according to it's usual meaning in the best Greek writers, and in the New Testament itself, signifies *named*, or *called*. And he inclines to the conjecture of *Abp. Usher*, that this appellation was given to the believers by the Romans then at *Antioch*.

Suicer in his *Thesaurus* explains (d) the original word, and understands this text, exactly as *Grotius* did.

Dr. Heumann has (e) a Dissertation concerning the origin of the name of *Christians*. Wherein (f) he largely shews it to be very probable, that

(a) See *Dr. Benson's History of the first planting the Christian Religion. v. i. ch. i. sect. vi. p. 241. first ed. p. 248. 2d. ed.*

(b) That is *Dr. Doddridge's translation. Family Expositor. vol. 3. p. 178.*

(c) Quod nomen Latinâ non Græcâ formâ a Christo deslexum, a Romanis Antiochiæ degentibus impositum illis fuisse, conjectat in Annalibus suis *Usserius*. Nec desunt, qui emphasin quærant in voce *χρηματίζειν*, quâ *Lucas* utitur. Scilicet talem volunt nominationem eo vocabulo designari, quæ publico edicto, et jussu Reipublicæ fit. . . Non invidio sane observationes istas doctissimis auctoribus suis: modo mihi dubitare liceat, an tam solidæ quam subtiles sint. Simplicior videtur annotatio *Grotii*: *χρηματίζειν*, pro nominari, est vox melioris Græcitatæ, quam et *Polybius* non semel usurpat: et *Paulus Rom. vii. 3. ἀγαθὸν ζῶντος καὶ ἀνδρὸς μάχης χρηματίζειν*. Ubi hæc jactata vocis emphasîs? *Witf.* ubi *supr. Sect. 3. num. iv.*

(d) *χρηματίζω* significat nominor, vocor, appellor. Ita sumitur *Acts xi. 26. . . Παύλον ἐστὶν αὐτὸν, ὡς πρῶτον τῶν ἀντιοχείων μαθητῶν, οὓς καὶ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐκλεξάμενος, ἐκείνους ἐκάλει Χριστιανοὺς*. *χρηματίζειν* hic est. *ἐνομασθῆναι, προσκαγορευθῆναι, λεχθῆναι, κληθῆναι. Suicer.*

(e) De ortu nominis christianorum. *Diff. xi. ap. Primit. Gotting. p. 130. . . 147.*

(f) Satis nunc cognovimus, Christianorum appellationis auctores fuisse non ipsos Christi cultores, sed Ethnicos. . . Illud præterea hinc discimus, Latinum potius esse nomen Christianorum, quam Græcum. Ac proinde facile subscribimus sententiæ *Usserii*, in *Annalibus suis* pronunciantis: *Nomen Christianorum*

that this name had not its rise from the Jews. Nor did the disciples of Jesus take it to themselves. But, probably, they were first so called by Heathens, particularly the Romans: as Abp. *Usher* had argued, the name not having a Greek, but a Latin termination.

This will overthrow the observation of *Chrysostom*, formerly (g) mentioned, "That St. Paul gave us this name." And indeed Dr. *Heumann* shews, that both (b) St. Luke, and (i) St. Paul seem to have declined

tianorum Latina non Græca forma a Christo deflexum, a Romanis Antiochiæ tum agentibus impositum illis fuisse videtur. Nec Rex Agrippa Act. xxvi. 28. appellatione Christianorum utens, cum esset in domo Festi Romani præsidis, alio credi potest nomine usus esse, quàm quod usurpabant Romani. Ac certe in universa Laertii Historia Philotophorum Græcorum, ne una quidem secta occurrit, cujus nomen terminationem anus nactum sit: neque e. g. Platoniani dicuntur Platonis affectæ, uti Ciceronianos dixissent Latini et Catonianos, sed Platonici. . . . Illud adjicio, etiam Herodianis hoc nomen imposuisse non Græcos aut Judæos, sed Romanos. Heum. ib. num. ix. p. 140.

(g) See Vol. x. p. 361.

(b) Nec vero solum non probari potest, primum usos esse Christianorum appellatione Christi discipulos: verum etiam gravibus id negari potest argumentis. . . . Primum enim Lucam sequentibus in capitibus hujus sui libri uti oportuisset hac appellatione, si Christiani Antiocheni hoc nomen ipsi sibi imposuissent. Jam vero id ne semel quidem ab eo factum est, sed, uti antea Christianæ religionis professores modo *μαθητὰς* vocavit. cap. i. 15. vi. 1. 2. 7. ix. 1. 10. 19. 25. 26. 36. modo *ἀδελφές*. ix. 30. x. 21. xi. 1. 12. semel etiam *τὰς πειρασίας*. iv. 32. ac semel *τὸς ἀγ. ας*. ix. 32. sic post mentionem de ortu nominis Christianorum eos semel appellavit *τὸς πεπεισμένους*. xxi. 25. ceteris in locis aut *μαθητὰς*. xi. 29. xiii. 52. xvi. 20. 28. xvii. 1. xviii. 23. 27. xix. 1. 9. xx. 1. 7. 30. xxi. 4. 16. aut *ἀδελφές*. xi. 29. xii. 17. xv. 1. 3. 22. 23. 32. 33. 40. xvi. 2. 40. xvii. 6. 10. 14. xviii. 18. xxi. 7. 17. xxviii. 14. 15. *Ubi supr. num. vi. p. 137.*

(i) Deinde, si eo tempore, quo Paulus Antiochiæ decessit, Christi discipuli hoc nomen sua sponte adscivissent, dubitari non potest, quin is Apostolus usurpaturus hanc appellationem fuisset suis in epistolis. Semper autem alio is utitur nomine. In exordiis solet eos *τὰς ἀγίας* vocare. Nactus quoque opportunitatem occasionem eos appellandi *τὸς χριστιανούς*. ex. gr. Rom. viii. 9. Gal. v. 14. tamen dicere maluit *τὸς τὰ χριστ.* Imo cum Agrippa Act. xxvi. 28. ad ipsum hanc vocem edidisset. *Prope abest, ut et ego fiam χριστιανός*, quasi refugiens appellationem hanc, non ita respondet: *Vellem fias Christianus*, sed hisce verbis: *Vellem fias talis, qualis ego sum*. Notabilis et ille locus Gal. i. 22. . . . At non ait ibi Paulus: *ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις χριστιαναῖς*, sed *ταῖς ἐν χριστ.* Eodem modo. 1 Tim. v. 16. ubi dicere poterat, *si quis Christianus vel christiana mulier*, ita locutus est: *ἢ τὴν πῖσιν ἢ τὴν ἀγάπην*. Jam si Ecclesia ipsa auctor fuisset hujus appellationis, an, eâ, tam studiose abstinere potuisset Paulum credi potest? Memini, etiam, Isidorum Pelusiotam olim hanc proposuisse questionem. lib. 4. ep. 61. Cur nusquam Paulus nomen usurparit *χριστιανός*: nihil autem ad eam respondisse. Nos vero videmus nobis justissima responsione defuncti esse. *Ibid. num. vii. p. 138.*

Nomine illo Christianorum nec Paulum usquam nec Lucam usum esse, cum supra observaverimus, nunc dispiciamus, age, cur hic Apostolus, una cum Ministro suo socioque sacri itineris id fecerit: cur item non ita multo post in civitatem Christianam recepta fuerit ea appellatio. Abstinuisset scilicet eâ hanc ob causam videtur Paulus, ne Christus hoc pacto in ordinem redigeretur doctorum

clined the use of it: possibly, lest our Saviour should have been esteemed an ordinarie leader of a sect, like the Philosophers at that time much celebrated among the Greeks and Romans.

However, it was not long, before it obtained, and was very acceptable to the followers of Jesus. It is used by St. *Peter* i. iv. 16. And some (*k*) have thought it to bethe *worthie name* intended by St. *James* ch. ii. 7. And it is certain, that afterwards it was much, and justly valued by those, who bore it. In the epistles of the churches of *Vienne* and *Lyons*, giving an account of their late sufferings, it is stiled (*l*) an honourable, and glorious, and reviving appellation.

It may be hence concluded, that the believers at *Antioch* were now numerous. Otherwise, Heathen people had not taken so much notice of them. And indeed St. *Luke* had before said, that when the men of *Cyprus* and *Cyrene* were come to *Antioch*, and spoke to the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus, the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord. ver. 20. 21. and that upon the coming of *Barnabas*, and his preaching there, much people was added unto the Lord. ver. 24. It is reasonable to suppose, that after *Paul* came thither, farther additions were made, at which time they received this new name.

It follows Acts xi. 27. . . . 30. *And in those days came Prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch. And there stood up one of them, named Agabus, and signified in the Spirit, that there should be great dearth throughout all the world.* [or all the land, meaning Judea.] *Which came to pass in the days of Claudius Caesar. Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief to the brethren, who dwell in Judea. Which also they did. And sent it to the Elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.*

Then follows in the xii. chapter an account of the persecution, and death of *Herod Agrippa*: in the last verse of which chapter it is said: *And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem when they had fulfilled their ministry. And they took with them John, whose surname was Mark.*

Of this famine we spoke (*m*) formerly. And as *Agrippa* died in 44. and *Barnabas* and *Paul* seem not to have performed this service, nor to have returned to *Antioch*, untill after his death; it was argued, that this commission of the church of *Antioch* was not finished by them till near the end of that year.

At this time of *Paul's* being at *Jerusalem*, in the year 44. I suppose, he had the transe mentioned by him in his speech to the Jewish people, Acts xxii. 17. . . 21. For it was in that city, and in the temple, as he expressly

δοκτορων sapientiae τῶν φιλανθρώπων, cum sit θεώδωπος, &c. *Ib. num. xi. p. 142.*

Ad ultimum non dubitabant ipsimet Christiani pervulgato uti hoc nomine. . . . Cujus rei etiam unum duntaxat exemplum in N. T. codice, in prioris videlicet Petri epistola capite quarto, unum tamen illud exemplum est instar fexcentorum. *Ib. num. xii. p. 142. 143.*

(*k*) *Vid. Grot. et Wolf. Curæ in loc.*

(*l*) . . . τὴν πάντων, καὶ ἐνδοξον, καὶ ζωτικὴν προσσηρίαν. *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 5. cap. i. p. 160. D. Vid. et p. 158. A.*

(*m*) *See Part i. B. i. ch. xi. §. ii.*

expresly says : *And it came to pass, that when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I was praying in the temple : I was in a trance . . . And he said unto me : Depart. For I will send thee far hence unto the Gentils.* And we shall presently see, that soon after this, *Paul and Barnabas left Antioch*, and made a farther progresse in preaching the gospel to Gentil people.

I suppose this period to be about two years, from the time of *Paul's* coming first to *Antioch*, and begining to preach there to Gentils, to his return thither again, after he had been at *Jerusalem* upon the commission above-mentioned : that is, from near the end of the year 42. or from the begining of the year 43. to the end of the year 44.

IX. I now intend to take in the historie of *Paul* and *Barnabas* from that time to their coming again to *Jerusalem*, and returning thence to *Antioch*. . . . to his coming to the Council at *Jerusalem*.

Says *St. Luke Acts xiii. 1. . . 3.* *Now there were in the church that is at Antioch certain Prophets, and Teachers, as Barnabas, and Simeon, and Lucius, and Manaen, and Saul. And as they ministered unto the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said : Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work, whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted, and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.*

Pearson supposeth, that (n) at this time, which, according to his computation, was the year 44. *Paul* had the rapture mentioned by him 2 Cor. xii. 1. . . 4. But first, I suppose it to have been now the year 45. where also this mission is placed by (o) *Basnage*. Secondly, that rapture must have happened before the year 44. The second epistle to the *Corinthians* was writ, according (p) to *Pearson*, in the year 57. *St. Paul's* expression, speaking of this rapture, is *above fourteen years ago*. Which †† will carry us back to the fifteenth year, consequently, to the year of *Christ* 43. for the soonest. At which time I suppose *Paul* was come to *Antioch*, and was begining to preach the gospel there to Gentils, together with *Barnabas*. *Basnage* (q) placeth this rapture in the year 41.

Acts xiii. 4. *So they being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed unto Seleucia, and thence sailed to Cyprus.*

Antioch

(n) *Dum ibi Prophetæ et Doctores ministrarent Domino, Saulus et Barnabas segregati ab illis sunt in opus, ad quod assumpsit eos Spiritus Sanctus. Acts xiii.*

Et tum, opinor, Saulus raptus est in tertium cœlum, post quod tempus anno xiv. scripsit secundam ad Corinthios epistolam. xii. 2. *Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p. 6. ad ann. Claudii 4. ær. vulg. 44.*

(o) *Ann. 45. num. iii. iv. &c.*

(p) *Annal. Paulin. p. 15.*

†† " That rapture, or trance, was somewhat above fourteen years before he wrote his second epistle to *Corinth.* 2 Cor. xii. 2. Now in that he saith, it was *πρὸ ἑτῶν*, before, or above fourteen years ago, he speaketh not of an indefinite time, . . . but that it was a little above that space, though it were somewhat above exact fourteen years," &c. *Lightsfoot, Vol. i. p. 792.*

(q) *Vid. Ann. 41. num. xxi. xxii.*

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Antioch upon the *Orontes* was the capital city of *Syria*. *Seleucia* was a city lying about twelve miles lower upon the same river, a port upon the Mediterranean sea, a few miles above the mouth of the *Orontes*. There *Paul* and *Barnabas* took shipping, and sailed to *Cyprus*, which lay westward. They went ashore at *Salamis*, a city at the east end of the island. Where finding Jewish synagogues, they preached the word of the Lord to them. After which they went through the island to *Paphos*, at the west end, where was the seat of the Proconsul. His name was *Sergius Paulus*. Who sent for *Barnabas*, and *Saul*, desiring to hear the word of God. He being a man well disposed, and seeing the miracle wrought by *Saul* upon *Elymas* the forcerer, whom he smote with blindness for a season, believed, or embraced the doctrine of the gospel, taught by *Saul* and *Barnabas*. And hence-forward *St. Luke* writes the Apostle's name *Paul*, whom he had hitherto called *Saul*.

It may be thought, that the chief reason of their going now to *Cyprus*, was, that it was the native country of *Barnabas*, as we know from *Acts* iv. 36. But beside that, I imagine, there was another reason, and more influencing. For we perceive, that some of them who left *Jerusalem* upon account of the persecution, that followed the death of *Stephen*, were men of *Cyprus*, and had been there preaching to *Jews* only, as well as at *Antioch*. And it might be reckoned very proper, when the gospel was to be preached to *Gentils*, as well as to *Jews*, that these special messengers should go directly to a country, where an address had been already made to *Jews*: and where some of them, as may be reasonably supposed, had been converted to the faith of the gospel.

Leaving *Paphos*, they came back to the continent, and landed at *Perga* in *Pamphylia*. Where *Mark*, who hitherto had accompanied them, left them, and returned to *Jerusalem*.

From *Perga* they went to *Antioch*, the chief city of *Pisidia*, lying north of *Pamphylia*. *St. Luke* has given a large account of *Paul's* discourse in the Jewish synagogue there, and the success of it. *Acts* xiii. 14. . . . 52. From *Antioch* they went to *Iconium*, the chief city of *Lycania*. Where they also taught in the Jewish synagogue: so that a great multitude both of the *Jews*, and also of the *Greeks* believed. Many miracles likewise were wrought by their hands, during their stay in that city. xiv. 1. . . 4. But at length a design being formed, both by *Jews* and *Gentils*, and their rulers, to stone them to death, and they receiving intelligence of it, when it was almost ripe for execution, went thence: and preached the gospel at *Lystra* and *Derbe*, cities of *Lycania*, and in the region round about: ver. 6. 7. meaning, perhaps, *Isauria*, sometimes reckoned a part of *Lycania*. At *Lystra* *Paul* healed a man lame from his birth. Which raised great admiration in the people. And, if not restrained, they would have offered a sacrifice to *Paul* and *Barnabas*. Nevertheless by artifices of unbelieving *Jews*, who came thither from *Antioch*, and *Iconium*, the minds of the people were soon changed, and they stoned *Paul*, and dragged him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples, who had not left him, stood round about him, he rose up, and came into the city. And the next day he departed with *Barnabas* to *Derbe*. Where having preached the gospel, and taught many, they returned again to *Lystra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch*, confirming the disciples there, and exhorting them

them to continue in the faith, and letting them know, that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God. And when they had ordained them Elders in every city, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed. From Antioch they went to Pamphylia. And when they had preached the word in Perga, where they had been before, but probably made no stay, they went down to Attalia, a maritime city of the same country. Thence they sailed to Antioch, whence they had been recommended to the grace of God, for the work, which they had fulfilled. And when they were come, and had gathered the church together, they rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the Gentils. And there they abode long time with the disciples. ver. 8. . . . 28.

For this journey Pearson (r) allots three years, that is, 45. 46. 47. and somewhat more. For he placeth their setting out, and going to Salamis in the year 44. Tillemont (s) thinks this journey might be performed in two years, that is, according to his computation, part of the year 44. all 45. and part of 46. From which time to the council at Jerusalem, next mentioned by St. Luke, might be, as he thinks, about five years. In which space of time, he supposeth Paul to have gone into Illyricum, and also to have preached throughout all Judea: as mentioned Acts xxvi. 20. and likewise in Cilicia.

I likewise am of opinion, that this journey of Paul and Barnabas in the several countreys, just mentioned, might be performed in two years. I think, they could not set out from Antioch, before the beginning of the year 45. And, probably, returned in the former part of the year 47. But if any are rather for three years, and think this journey was not compleated before the beginning of the year 48. I should not reckon it worth while to dispute about it.

But I do not see any reason to believe, that they undertook any more journeys, before they went up to the Council at Jerusalem. They might judge it very proper to make a long stay at Antioch, where was the first Gentil church: as the other Apostles made a long stay at Jerusalem, and in Judea. However, this church of Antioch, I suppose, with (t) Witfius, to have consisted partly of Jews, and partly of Gentils. Nor do I think, that Paul and Barnabas would, as yet, extend their ministry farther than they had done, without an expresse divine appointment. What they had already done, was a great deal. And must have exceeded the most raised expectations, till they had seen the event. Their stay at Antioch must have been very useful, probably expedient. It was proper to secure what they had gained. And they might there receive applications from the several countreys, in which they had been, and impart counsel and encouragement. If they had soon gone hence again, some might have arrived, that should unsettle the minds of new converts. We plainly perceive, that from Judea came several to see this new

(r) *Annal. Paulin.* p. 67.

(s) *S. Paul. Art.* xii. . . . xv.

(t) *Erat enim urbs Gentilis, et ecclesia ibidem collecta omnium prima, quæ partim Judæis, partim conversis Gentilibus constabat. Ubi sup. sect. iii.*

nam, v.

new colonie at *Antioch*. Some might come with good views, to encourage and confirm the believers there: or to satisfy themselves concerning the truth of what they had heard with great pleasure. But others might come with a design to instill narrow principles, and disturb their minds with different sentiments from those, which had been taught them by *Paul* and *Barnabas*. *St. Luke*, notwithstanding the conciseness of his historie, has informed us of two visits made here from *Judea*: the first, in the year 43. or 44. when *there came Prophets from Jerusalem to Antioch*. xi. 27. Afterwards *there came men from Judea, who taught the brethren, that unless they were circumcised, they could not be saved*. xv. 1. Of which more presently.

If *Paul* and *Barnabas* went any where, we might think of *Cilicia*: the rather, because we can perceive, that soon after this there were Gentil believers there: though, when *Paul* first preached in that country, we suppose him to have applied to Jews only. And it is well observed by *Tillemont* upon the case now before us: "it (u) is certain, that Christianity had been established among the Gentils in *Cilicia*, before the Council of *Jerusalem*." Acts xv. 23. Nevertheless, I should rather think, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* did not now leave *Antioch*, after their return thither, before they went up to *Jerusalem*. For some of *Cilicia* might learn the doctrine of the gospel by coming to *Antioch*. Or some of the Prophets and Evangelists, of *Antioch*, may have gone to *Cilicia*, with the approbation, and by the direction of *Paul* and *Barnabas*.

In this way of arguing I am encouraged by those words of *St. Luke*, just cited: *And there they abode a long time with the disciples*. We now proceed.

Acts xv. 1. . . 5. *And certain men, which came down from Judea, taught the brethren: Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved. When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with them, they determined, that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem, unto the Apostles and Elders, about this question. . . And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and of the Apostles, and Elders. And they declared all things, that God had done with them. But, (they said) there (b) had risen up certain*

(u) As before Art. xv.

(b) Many have mistaken those words, as if they were *St. Luke's*, who observed, that there were at *Jerusalem* some of the sect of the Pharisees, who insisted upon imposing the law upon the Gentils. So thought Dr. *Doddridge*, Family-Expositor. Vol. 3. p. 233. So likewise *Tillemont*, whose words are these: Ils furent bien reçus à *Jerusalem*. Mais ils y trouverent les mesmes troubles, qui agitoient l'Eglise d'Antioche, et dont ils venoient chercher le remede. Car quelques Chretiens, qui avoient été Pharisiens, vouloient qu'on obligeast les Gentils à la circoncision, et à l'observation de la loi. *S. Paul. art. xvi.* *Grotius* himself seems to have understood these words in the same manner. Sicut Antiochiæ quidam e Judæis facti Christiani, ita et Hierosolymis quidam duriorem illam defendebant sententiam. *Grob. in. vtr. 5.* Whereas, upon due consideration, I think, all must be sensible, that they are not the words of the historian, but of the messengers of the church of *Antioch*, representing to the Apostles and Elders at *Jerusalem* the case, or state of

tain of the sect of the Pharisees, which believed, saying, that it was needful to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law. Thus they delivered their message, and proposed the question, which they were desirous to have determined.

And the Apostles and Elders came together to consider of this matter. Having in that assemblie, after many debates, formed some resolutions, they sent them in a letter to the brethren, which are of the Gentils, in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia. ver. 6. . . . 31.

Those determinations were intended for all believers in general from among the Gentils, containing, as it were, the terms, upon which all Gentils were to be admitted into the Church of Christ. But the epistle was directed, particularly, to the Gentils in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia, because among them the controversie had arisen, and they were the persons, who had sent a solemn deputation to the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem, to have their opinion upon it.

This journey to Jerusalem, related by St. Luke Acts xv. I suppose to be the same with that mentioned by St. Paul himself, of which he gives an account to the Galatians. ii. 1. . . . 10. Indeed, he mentions some circumstances, wanting in Luke. But, as I apprehend, they are not such as need induce us to think, two different journeys to be spoken of.

From Paul therefore we shall endeavor to find out the time of it. Then fourteen years after, says he, I went up again to Jerusalem, with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation. In the preceding chapter of the epistle to the Galatians Paul had related his conversion in the way to Damascus, and then his going up to Jerusalem, after three years, to see Peter, and abiding with him fifteen days. i. 18. Where are we to date the beginning of those fourteen years? at his conversion? or at his coming to Jerusalem, to see Peter? Pearson is clearly of opinion, that (x) the computation must be made from the time of his conversion. So likewise say (y) Estius, and (z) Basnage.

Says

of the question, about which they were sent, and which they desired to have now fully resolved and determined. This is the interpretation, which Beza preferred. Hunc locum video omnes perinde interpretati, ac si essent verba Lucæ, quasi cum suam expeditionem narrarent Paulus ac Barnabas, insurrexerint, qui circumcisionem urgerent. Quod mihi non sit admodum probabile. Sed potius illos, exposita sua expeditione, subjecisse controversiam illam Antiochiæ excitatam, cujus causa ipsi Hierosolymam venerant. Puto igitur esse illorum verba, non Lucæ. Bez. in loc. Lensant follows Beza. And Whitby, if I do not mistake him, gives the same interpretation. And Dr. Doddridge, upon my telling him how I understood the place, readily acquiesced, as I well remember. For he was always open to conviction, therein giving a good example to all enquirers after truth.

(x) Anno xiv. a conversione S. Pauli congregatum. Hunc enim adventum suum narrat Apostolus Gal. ii. 1. 2. et tempus ipsum determinate exprimit. . . . Quod autem Apostolus ad epocham conversionis suæ referat annos, quos ibi narrat, manifestum est ex scopo capitis i. et ii. . . . Deinde, post annos

(y) Est. in Gal. ii. 1. 2.

(z) Ann. 50. num. iii.

Says St. Paul Gal. i. 17. *Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem, to see Peter.* Those three years cannot be computed from his return to *Damascus*, out of *Arabia*, though it be the thing mentioned immediately before in ver. 17. But must be reckoned from his conversion. In like manner must be understood those words in ch. ii. 1. *then fourteen years after I went up to Jerusalem.* We must take the same date or epoch for the *three years*, and for the *fourteen years*. They both begin from the same time, that is, St. Paul's conversion.

The Council deputed with their epistle two chosen men of their own number, *Judas* and *Silas*, to go to *Antioch*, together with *Paul* and *Barnabas*. Acts xv. 22. 23. After they had tarried there a while, *Judas* returned to *Jerusalem*, but *Silas* abode there still. ver. 32. . . . 34.

This Council at *Jerusalem*, according to (a) *Pearson*, and, I suppose, many others, was held in the year of Christ 49. *Basnage*, supposing *Paul* to have been converted in 37. placeth (b) this Council in the year 50.

As I cannot say exactly, when *Paul* was converted, whether in 36, or 37. I am led to hesitate about the time of the Council. But if he was converted before the end of the year 36. the Council, as I apprehend, may be computed to have been held in the year 49. St. Paul says Gal. i. 18. *then after three years I went up to Jerusalem.* ἔπειτα μετὰ τρεῖς. Which, I think, implies full *three years*, or somewhat more, as before observed. But the expression in Gal. ii. 1. is different. We translate: *Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem.* ἔπειτα διὰ δεκάτεσσάων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς ἱερουσόλυμα. Which, I think, may be thus rendered: *Then in about fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem.* The *three years*, above mentioned, are compleat: but the *fourteen years* need not be so understood. And, probably, were not compleat. If therefore *Paul* be supposed to have been converted in the year 36, this Council might be held, accordingly, in 49.

This period, from *Paul's* setting out with *Barnabas* from *Antioch*, to go to *Cyprus*, in the beginning of the year 45. to their coming up to the Council at *Jerusalem*, and returning thence to *Antioch*, near the end of the year 49. or the beginning of 50. is the space of about five years.

. . . to his coming to *Jerusalem* when he was apprehended. X. The next period will reach from this time to St. Paul's coming again to *Jerusalem*, when he was apprehended, and imprisoned.

Soon after the return of *Barnabas* and *Paul* to *Antioch*, *Peter*, as it seems, came thither, as related by St. Paul, Gal. ii. 11. . . . 21. Nevertheless that occasioned not their making any long stay at *Antioch*. For says St. Luke, Acts xv. 36. *And some days after*, that is, I think, after their being come back to *Antioch*, or after *Judas* had gone away to *Jerusalem*, and the controversy, which had been troublesome for some while before, was fully composed, *Paul said unto Barnabas: Let us go again,*

nos quatuordecim rursus ascendi Hierosolymam. Idem enim horum verborum scopus, eadem annorum epocha. Vox enim ἔπειτα, deinde, non conjungit hæc verba cum illis de triennio, quasi a fine illius triennii initium sumerent. Aliud enim ἔπειτα inter hæc et illa intercedit. *Annal. Paulin. p. 89.*

(a) *Annal. Paulin. p. 8. 9. 10.*

(b) *Ann. 50. num. xxi. xxii.*

again, and visit our brethren, in every city, where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do. And Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark. By which we perceive, that Mark, who before had left Paul and Barnabas, and gone to Jerusalem, was now come again into this country, and was willing to have again accompanied them. Possibly, he came hither with Peter. But Paul thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. And the contention was so sharp, that they departed asunder one from the other. So Barnabas took Mark, and sailed into Cyprus. Paul chose Silas, and departed. . . . and went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches. Acts xv. 33. . . . 41.

I am inclined to think, that it was in the beginning of the year 50. that St. Paul now set out from Antioch. Pearson (c) likewise, and (d) Basnage, place it in the same year.

Witsius thinks, that (e) at this time Paul went from Cilicia to Crete: and that not being able to stay long there himself, he left Titus, that he might set in order the things that were wanting, and ordain Elders in every city. ch. i. 5. Pearson (f) placeth Paul's journey into Crete in the latter part of the Apostle's life, in 63. or 64. after the deliverance from his imprisonment at Rome. But Witsius says, it is not likely, that the preaching of the Gospel in Crete, should have been deferred so long: when all Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, Cyprus, Syria, had been already instructed in the doctrine of the gospel. And he observes, that not long after Paul was come from Cilicia, he took Timothie into his attendance, to supply, as he thinks, the want of Titus, lately left in Crete.

Though I cannot say, that Paul now went from Cilicia to Crete, I readily own myself to be of opinion, that the Apostle's journey into Crete was performed, and his letter to Titus writ, before his imprisonment at Jerusalem. But of this more hereafter.

Having gone through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches, Paul came to Derbe, and Lystra: where they had been before. Here they found Timothie, who, as may be supposed, had been converted, when Paul and Barnabas were there together. Timothie having a good character, from the brethren at Lystra and Iconium, Paul would have him to go forth with him. Acts xvi. 1. 3.

Afterwards they came into Phrygia. And it may be reckoned very probable,

(c) *Ann. Paul. p. 10.*

(d) *Ann. 50. num. xlvii.*

(e) Ex Cilicia videtur Paulus in Cretam navigasse, et prædicato ibi evangelio, quoniam alio properabat, Titum reliquisse, ut quæ defunct corrigeret, atque oppidatim presbyteros constitueret. Quæ Lucæ omissa, ex epistola ad Titum supplenda esse, et huc tempori optime convenire, opinatur L. Capellus. At Pearsonus ad postrema Pauli tempora refert, eaque ejus itinera, quæ solutionem ex vinculis Romanis consecuta sunt. . . . Cappelli tamen rationes potiores hic mihi videntur. Non enim verisimile est, ad illud usque tempus ignoratum fuisse Christum in Creta, quum tota Achaia. . . . personarent evangelii præconio. . . . Deinde Derben et Lystram venit. Ibi in Timotheum incidit, fidissimum sibi abhinc omnium itinerum suorum futurum comitem. &c. *De Vita Paul. sect. v. num. i.*

(f) *Ann. Paulin. p. 21.*

probable, that now *Paul* preached in the chief cities of that country, *Hierapolis*, *Laodicea*, and *Colosse*. He also went into *Galatia*, and there founded many churches. But they were forbidden to preach in *Asia*, properly so called. *St. Luke's* words are ver. 6. 7. *Now when they had gone through Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, after they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia. But the Spirit suffered them not.*

Then it follows ver. 8. . . . 10. *And they passing by Mysia, came to Troas. And a vision appeared to Paul in the night. There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying: Come over into Macedonia, and help us. And after he had seen the vision, immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering, that the Lord had called us to preach the gospel unto them.*

By which manner of speaking we perceive, that *Luke* was now in *Paul's* companie. It is likely, that he met them at *Troas*. Which seems to have been the name of a country, and of a city, the chief of the country, situate upon the sea-coast.

Ver. 11. 12. *Therefore loosing from Troas, we came with a straight course to Samothracia, and the next day to Neapolis: and thence to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia, and a colonie. And we were in that city abiding certain days.*

Samothracia was an island, over against *Thrace*, bordering upon *Macedonia*. *Neapolis* was a town upon the sea-coast, on the *Thracian* side of the *Strymonic Bay*, which separated *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. Here, I suppose, they landed, but made no stay. Thence they went by land to *Philippi*. Here they staid some while, and several remarkable occurrences in that city are related by *St. Luke*. *Lydia*, a seller of purple, of the city of *Thyatira*, in *Asia*, attended to the things that were spoken of *Paul*, and was baptized, both she and her household. She seems to have been a merchant, of no small dealings, and, probably, had with her many servants, and other attendants. Here likewise *Paul* healed the young maiden, said to be possessed with a spirit of divination. After which *Paul* and *Silas* were apprehended, beaten, and imprisoned. But they were soon set at liberty. Whereupon they left that city. ver. 13. . . . 40.

From thence they passed through Amphipolis, and Apollonia, and came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews. Acts xvii. 1.

Amphipolis and *Apollonia* were cities of *Macedonia*. And *Thessalonica* was the chief city of that country. Here being a Jewish synagogue, *Paul*, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath-days reasoned with them out of the Scriptures. . . . And some of them believed, and consorted with *Paul* and *Silas*. Whilst he was here, believed also, of the devout Greeks, that is, of the people of the country, who were well disposed, a great multitude, and of the chief women of the city not a few. But the unbelieving Jews made a great disturbance. ver. 2. . . . 9.

The brethren therefore immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea, where many of the Jews, and many of the men, and honourable women of the place, believed. But some Jews came from Thessalonica, and stirred up the people there also. ver. 10. . . . 13.

The brethren therefore immediately sent away *Paul*, and conducted him to *Athens*, with *Luke*, it is likely, the writer of this historie. But

Silas and Timothie abode still at Beroea. St. Luke then gives an account of the Apostle's preaching at Athens. The event was, that some mocked. Howbeit some adhered to Paul, and believed. Among which was Dionysius, the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them.

Acts xviii. 1. 2. *After these things Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth: and found a certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italie, with his wife Priscilla, because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome.*

The Council of Jerusalem, as before said, was held in the year 49. or 50. And it was supposed by us, that Paul might set out from Antioch in the year 50. before it was far advanced. If so, he might come now to Corinth, before the end of the year 51. For as Basnage computes, the Apostle's journeyings, after leaving Antioch till his coming to Corinth, need not take up more than a year and a half. I put below (g) his brief enumeration of all the places, which have been lately taken notice of by us. But he did not think of the journey into Crete, mentioned by Witsius. Nor do I suppose it to have been then performed. This computation suits Paul's finding Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth. For he thinks that edict of Claudius to have been published in the eleventh year of his reign, which began on Jan. 24. in the year 51.

At Corinth Paul tarried a year and six months. ch. xviii. 11. that is, as I suppose, the remainder of the year 51. and all 52. and part of 53. — *And then he took leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla, and Aquila, having shorn his head in Cenchrea. For he had a vow. And he came to Ephesus, and left them there. But he entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. When they desired him to tarry longer time with them, he consented not: but bid them farewell, saying: I must by all means keep this feast at Jerusalem: meaning, as I apprehend, the feast of Pentecost in the year 53. But I will return again unto you, if God will. And he sailed from Ephesus. And when he had landed at Cæsarea, and gone up, and saluted the church, namely, at Jerusalem, he went down to Antioch. And after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went over all the country of Galatia, and Phrygia, in order, that is, visiting the churches, formerly planted by him, in those countreys, strengthening all the disciples. ver. 18. . . . 23.*

In this space of time, after Paul had left Ephesus, came thither Apollos,

(g) Redux a synodo Paulus, post dies aliquot moræ Antiochenæ, mox in Syriam et Ciliciam proficiscitur. Quibus peragratiss, continuo in Pisidiam, Lycaoniam, Phrygiam penetravit, haud longâ usquam morâ, ut verbo *dictum* ostenditur. Hinc solvens Troade, per Samothraciam delatus est Macedoniam, ubi dies non multos exegit. Mox per Amphipolim, et Apolloniam, Thessalonicam, Macedoniæ metropolim, pervenit, ubi per sabbata tria discessit. Motâ seditione, Beroeam noctu petiit: quâ salutatâ, eâ discessit propter adventum Judæorum—et Athenas pervenit: quâ post aliquantulam temporis moram relictâ, Corinthum anno 51. ingressus est. Nostram non minimum adjuvat chronologiam adventus Aquilæ in hanc urbem Româ nuper edicto Claudiano pulsæ: quod probabilissimâ sane conjecturâ anno Claudii xi. promulgatum esse colligitur. Ut a synodo ad peregrinationem usque Corinthum setquiannus circiter elapsus sit. *Basn. ann. 50. num. xxii. Vid. et ann. 51. n. lxxiii. lxxix.*

los, born at Alexandria. Who received from *Aquila* and *Priscilla* farther instructions concerning the Christian Religion, beyond what he knew before, and then went away to *Corinth.* ver. 24. . . . 28.

Ch. xix. 1. *And it came to pass, that while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper coasts, meaning the countreys of Galatia and Phrygia, before mentioned, came to Ephesus: that is, as I apprehend, before the end of the year 53. possibly, in October, or November.*

I hope, I have allowed time enough for all the journeys hitherto mentioned: and that I have not brought *Paul* to *Ephesus* too soon.

Ver. 8. . . 10. Says *St. Luke:* *And he went into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, disputing, and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God. But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus. And this continued by the space of two years. So that all they which dwelt in Asia, strictly (b) so called, the countrey, of which Ephesus was the metropolis, heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks.* *St. Paul*, afterwards, *Acts* xx. 31. in his discourse to the Elders of *Ephesus*, at *Miletus*, says, he had been with them *the space of three years.* Which may be a round number. *Three months*, at least, he had disputed in the Jewish synagogue, and *two years* in the school of *Tyrannus*, and, possibly, somewhat more, making, in the whole, a good deal above two, which *St. Paul* might call *three years.*

I think, that *Paul* might come to *Ephesus*, before the end of the year 53. in October, or November, as before said. There he continued the remainder of that year, and the whole of the years 54. and 55. till the year 56. about Pentecost. However, let us observe the historie.

From ver. 11. to 41. the end of the forecited xix. chapter of the *Acts* is *St. Luke's* account of the special miracles wrought by *Paul* at *Ephesus*, and divers remarkable events, and then of a tumult raised by *Demetrius*, a silversmith, and other work-men, of like occupation.

Then *Acts* xx. 1. . . . 6. *And after the uproar had ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece. And there abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him into Asia Sopater of Berea, and of the Thessalonians Aristarchus and Secundus, and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothee, and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. These going before tarried for us at Troas. And we sailed away from Philippi, after*

(b) Atque hinc diversæ notiones vocis *Asiæ* oriuntur, ut *latissima* tertiam orbis terrarum Continentem sonet, Europæ ab ortu oppositam: *latis* magnam peninsulam inter Ponticum et Mediterraneum mare: *lata* Asiam cis Taurum, vel intra eum montem. Deinde *strictè* est provinciæ proconsularis: *strictius* media pars illius provinciæ, circa Ephesum et Lydiam propriam: *strictissime*, Homerica notione, parvus tractus ad Caystrum fluvium. Sacris scriptoribus significatio illa placuit, quam *strictiorem* modo diximus, uti ex iis, quæ varie adhuc dicta sunt, elucet. *Cellar. Diss. de sept. eccles. Asiæ.* §. iv.

after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to *Troas*, in five days' where we abode seven days.

There is not, perhaps, any part of *St. Paul's* travels attended with more difficulties, than this period, of his leaving *Ephesus*, and setting out upon his voyage to *Jerusalem*, with the collections made in the churches of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and some other places. *St. Luke* is very distinct and particular in the account of the journey from *Troas* to *Jerusalem*. But from *Ephesus* to *Troas* he has mentioned but one city only, which is *Philippi*. Otherwise, as we have seen in the passage just transcribed, he speaks only of the countreys of *Macedonia*, and *Greece*.

We will therefore endeavor to settle the time, when *Paul* left *Ephesus*, and then consider, how long he might be in *Macedonia*, or other places, before he went to *Troas*.

After having related *Paul's* preaching at *Ephesus* for a good while, and the success of it, *St. Luke* says in the forecited xix. 21. 22. 23. *After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying: After I have been there, I must see Rome. So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered to him, Timothie and Erastus. But he himself staid in Asia for a season. At the same time there arose no small stir about that way: meaning the tumult caused by Demetrius, as before mentioned.*

Lightfoot has a happy thought upon this place. "*Paul's* thoughts," says (i) he, of going to *Rome* argue the death of *Claudius*, who had banished all the Jews from thence. *Acts* xviii. 2. and that by the coming in of *Nero*, a new Emperour, that decree was extinct, and freedom of access to *Rome* opened to them again. For it can be little conceived, that *Paul* should think of going thither, when he could neither find any of his nation there, nor himself come thither without certain hazard of his life: as the case would have been, if *Claudius* and his decree were yet alive. It is therefore agreeable to all reason, that the death of *Claudius*, and the succession of *Nero* were now divulged. And *Paul* thereupon knowing, that it was now lawful again for a Jew to go to *Rome*, intendeth to take a farewell journey and visit to *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, and *Jerusalem*, and then to go and preach there."

Claudius died Oct. 13. in the year 54. It might be the beginning of 55. before the tidings of the death of *Claudius* and the accession of *Nero* reached *Ephesus*. Upon which, or soon after, the thought of going to *Rome* entered *Paul's* mind. But he intended first to go to *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, and *Jerusalem*.

So, says *St. Luke*, he sent into *Macedonia* two of them that ministered unto him, *Timothie* and *Erastus*. But he himself staid in *Asia* for a season.

By which we are led to think, that those messengers were sent into *Macedonia* in the year 55. After they were gone, came to *Paul* at *Ephesus*, from *Corinth*, *Stephanus*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus*. 1 Cor. xvi. 17. By them he sends his first epistle to the *Corinthians*, writ, as I suppose, in the beginning of the year 56. And it appears from 1 Cor. xvi. 10. 11. that *Timothie*, who, as before seen, had been sent into *Macedonia*, was also

also to go to *Corinth*. For there the Apostle says: Now if *Timothie* come, see that he may be with you without fear. For he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do. Let no man therefore despise him: but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me. For I look for him with the brethren. Paul therefore was in expectation of *Timothie's* coming to him at *Ephesus*. Which I suppose he did, before Paul removed thence. Paul says, 1 Cor. xvi. 8. 9. But I will tarry at *Ephesus*, untill Pentecost. For a great door and effectual is opened unto me. And there are many adversaries. The Pentecost, there mentioned, I suppose to be that of the year 56.

Some time therefore in the year 56. before Pentecost, or about that season, Paul left *Ephesus* to go into *Macedonia*. So says St. Luke in his account of Paul's removal from *Ephesus*. He first mentions *Macedonia*, and then *Greece*. Acts xx. 1. 2. And from what Paul says 2 Cor. ii. 12. it is argued, that (k) he did not sail away directly from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*: but travelled by land to *Troas*, and then went over to *Macedonia* by sea. If so, he went now into *Macedonia*, by the same way that he had done, when he was first there. Acts xvi. 11. 12.

But how long was Paul now in *Macedonia* and *Achaia*? or what space of time was there between his leaving *Ephesus*, and *Troas*, and his return to *Troas*, in his way to *Jerusalem*? If it was a year only, or somewhat less, the Passover mentioned Acts xx. 6. and the Pentecost mentioned ver. 16. were in the year 57. But if Paul's journey from *Ephesus*, round about by *Troas*, *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, and *Macedonia* again, to *Troas*, in the way to *Jerusalem*, took up two years, or thereabout, then the Pentecost mentioned Acts xx. 16. was in the year of Christ 58. And, if I mistake not, there are several considerations, leading us to think, that these journeyings took up more, than the space of a year.

It need not to be doubted, that *Timothie* returned from *Corinth* to Paul, before the Apostle removed from *Ephesus*. And that Paul left him there, will be manifest from that, which is called the first epistle to *Timothie*. As I besought thee to abide still at *Ephesus*, when I went into *Macedonia*, that thou mightest charge some, that they teach no other doctrine. 1 Tim. i. 3. Paul therefore left *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, for weighty reasons: and some time after his coming into *Macedonia*, wrote him a letter, for his direction and assistance in the arduous work, lying before him. But *Timothie* was with Paul, at writing the second epistle to the *Corinthians*. For it begins thus: Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ . . . and *Timothie* our brother unto the church of God, which is at *Corinth*, with all the saints in all *Achaia*. That letter was sent from *Macedonia*, a little before Paul went to *Corinth*. But some good while must have passed between

(k) Sed quid interea Paulus, postquam Epheso profectus est, ut iret in Macedoniam? Per Minorem Asiam iter faciens, venit Troadem nobilissimam civitatem, quæ adjacet Hellesponto: ubi quærens Titum, cum non invenisset, transmissio freto abiit in Macedoniam. 2 Cor. ii. Baron. ann. 57: num. clxxxv.

Paul ne s'embarqua pas à Ephèse, mais il vint à Troade dans le dessein d'y prêcher l'évangile. Tillen. S. Paul. art. 31.

tween *Paul's* leaving *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, and writing to him; and this second epistle to the *Corinthians*. *Paul*, it is very probable, did not send for *Timothie* to come to him from *Ephesus* presently after he had left him there. I might add, that there must have been some emergent occasions, that induced *Paul* to call *Timothie* to him from *Ephesus*, where his presence was of great importance. What those occasions were, *Luke* has not at all hinted. But they may be supposed. However, I do not now stay, to hint what they were.

Paul in his second epistle to the *Corinthians*, ch. i. and xiii. 1. apologizeth for his deferring so long to come to them. But there could have been no occasion for such apologies, if he had come to them in the same year that he wrote his first epistle.

Paul says 1 Cor. xvi. 5. 6. *Now I will come unto you, when I shall pass through Macedonia. . . . And it may be, that I will abide, yea, and winter with you.* But *Paul* did not abide, and winter with them, according to this proposal, as here intimated. If he had, there could have been no ground for such apologies, as are in the second epistle. Nevertheless the Apostle did spend *three months* with them, not very long before a pass-over. Which must have been partly in some winter. As they could not be in the year 56. when the first epistle to them was writ, they must have been in the year after, that is about the end of the year 57. and the beginning of the year 58. See again Acts xx. 1. . . . 6.

St. *Paul* says 2 Cor. ix. 2. *For I know the forwardness of your mind. For which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago. And your zeal has provoked very many.* Which plainly shews, that it was now above a year, since writing the first epistle to the *Corinthians*, which was sent from *Ephesus*. For there he says ch. xii. 1. 2. *Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given directions to the churches of Galatia, so do ye. Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God has prospered him: that there be no gatherings, when I come.* These directions were then sent to the *Corinthians*. They therefore were not readie then. They could not be readie, till some while after. And yet at the time of writing the second epistle to them, from *Macedonia*, they had been readie above a year.

This shews, that *Paul* was above a year in *Macedonia*, or near it. Moreover after sending away this second letter, *Paul* went to *Corinth*, and staid there *three months*. And afterwards went thence through *Macedonia* to *Troas*.

Consequently there was the space of two years, or almost two years, between *Paul's* leaving *Ephesus*, and coming to *Troas*, in his way to *Jerusalem*.

As *Paul* did not winter at *Corinth* in the year 56. we are led to think of *Nicopolis*, mentioned Titus iii. 12.

Before I proceed, I must take some farther notice of the words of 2 Cor. i. 15. 16. *And in this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, or first, that you might have a second benefit: and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia to you, and of you to be brought on my way toward Judea.* Hence it may be concluded, that in the beginning of the year 56. before *Paul* left *Ephesus*, he once had hopes of getting to *Judea*, in the year following, that is, in the year 57. probably at Pass-over,

over, or Pentecost, and that he had been prevented. He then intended to go from *Ephesus* to *Corinth*, thence to *Macedonia*, and to return from *Macedonia* to *Corinth*, that by the Christians there he *might be brought on his way to Judea*. But by some means he had been carried into a different course. He had not yet been in *Judea*. Nor was he yet come to *Corinth*, though he had been in *Macedonia*. And, probably, he did not get into *Judea* before the Pentecost in 58. These words therefore must induce us to think, that there was a longer space of time between *Paul's* leaving *Ephesus*, and coming to *Corinth*, and *Jerusalem*, than has been generally supposed of late.

Baronius says, that (l) during this period *Paul* was in *Crete*, as well as in *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, as does (m) *Lightfoot*: who also supposeth (n) *Paul* to have been now in *Illyricum*.

Dr. Genson (o) thinks, that *Paul* might say, as he does *Rom. xv. 19.* that he had preached the gospel from *Jerusalem* round about unto *Illyricum*, “upon account of his being, and that more than once, in *Macedonia*, which bordered upon *Illyricum*, the *Scardian* mountains, and the “river *Drilo*, being the boundaries between them.” And after the like manner *Witsius*, who thinks, that (p) *Paul* did not intend to say, that he had preached in *Illyricum*. For he only makes it the boundarie of his labours. However, he says, that *Apollonia* was a city of *Illyricum*.

Wall upon *Acts xx. 2.* (q) says, “*St. Paul* did many great things in that nine months time. [So he computes.] It must have been during that space, I think, that he made an excursion into *Illyricum*, and preached the gospel there.”

Mr. Biscoe delivers his thoughts in this manner: “In (r) the same epistle he says: *From Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ*. Which is a general confirmation of the “whole historie of his travels in the book of the *Acts*. For in that historie he is said to have gone through *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and most, if not all “the countries in *Peninsular Asia*, to have gone over into *Europe*, and to “pass

(l) *Ann. 57. num. ccix.*

(m) *Lightfoot, Harm. of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 309.*

(n) *Ibid. p. 307.*

(o) *Upon the Acts, Vol. 2. p. 174. first ed. p. 194. the second ed.*

(p) *Deinde iter fecerunt per Amphipolim urbem Philippis vicinam, et Apolloniam quæ est Corinthiorum et Corcyæorum colonia, civitas Illyriæ. Sic enim Stephanus.—Verum id nostræ nunc potissimum considerationis est, quod Apollonia urbs Illyrica sit. Pertinet hoc ad illustrationem illius quod Paulus Romanis scripsit. xv. 19.—Multorum iste locus ingenia fatigavit, non invenientium, quo tempore Paulus evangelium, in Illyrico, quod supponunt, prædicavit.—Sed quid laboramus incassum? Primo enim Illyricum non comprehendit Paulus suis itineribus, quasi id quoque evangelium prædicando peragraverit: sed Illyricum statuit iterum suorum terminum. Venit enim ad limites Illyrici, quando venit Apolloniam. Optime Grotius ad *Rom. xv. 19.* Macedonia, quam peragravit Paulus, Dalmatiam attingit, quæ pars Illyrici, et ipsum mare Illyricum. In tractu est Apollonia, nominata *Act. xvii. 1.* *Wits. de Vit. Paul. sect. v. num. xi.**

(q) *Wall's Notes upon the N. T. p. 205.*

(r) *Upon the Acts. p. 424. 425.*

“ pass through *Macedonia* into *Greece*. Now *Beræa*, the last city, in which *St. Paul* is said to have preached in *Macedonia*, could not be far from *Deffaretia*, which was part of the ancient *Illyricum*. At the same time I must own, it does not seem at all improbable to me, that *St. Paul* might in one of his journeys through *Macedonia*, (for *St. Luke* relates his passing through *Macedonia* three times) make an excursion into some of the nearer parts of *Illyricum*, and plant the gospel among them, though not taken notice of in the historie of the (s) *Acts*. It is certain however, that during *St. Paul*’s life the gospel was preached even in the remoter parts of *Illyricum*, and not improbably by the Apostle himself, after his release from his first imprisonment at *Rome*. For in his second epistle to *Timothie*, written when he was a second time prisoner in that great city, he informs him, that he had sent *Titus* into *Dalmatia*.”

If I were to alter the later part of that paragraph, agreeably to my apprehensions, it would stand thus: “ It is certain, that during *St. Paul*’s life the gospel was preached even in the remoter parts of *Illyricum*, and more than probable by the Apostle himself, and that before his imprisonment at *Rome*, when he was sent thither from *Judea* by *Festus*. For in his second epistle to *Timothie*, writ during that his imprisonment at *Rome*, he informs him, that he had sent *Titus* into *Dalmatia*.”

The second epistle to *Timothie* having been writ at that time, if any argument can be fetched from it, it must prove, that *Paul* had been in *Illyricum*, before he went to *Jerusalem*, and, probably, at the time, which we are now speaking of.

It appears to me very probable, that at this time *Paul* was in *Illyricum*, and *Crete*. But I cannot digest the order of his journeys, since *St. Luke* has not related them. *St. Luke* says nothing of *Paul*’s going to *Troas*. He only says, that *Paul* went from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*, and then came into *Greece*. Though *Paul* was preparing for his journey to *Jerusalem*, with contributions of Gentil churches, he was not in a hurry. Nor were those collections his only concern. Notwithstanding the tumult at *Ephesus*, he took leave of his friends there with a good deal of deliberation. *St. Luke*’s words are, *Acts* xx. 1. *And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia*. Nor does *St. Luke* represent the Apostle in great haste in that countrey. For he says, ver. 2. *And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece*.

It is now a common opinion, that (t) *St. Paul* did not go directly to *Macedonia*

(s) “ All that *St. Luke* says of his second journey is this: *And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece*. *Acts* xx. 2. All that is said of the third journey is, that whereas he intended to have sailed from *Greece* into *Syria*, knowing that the Jews laid wait for him, he changed his mind, and passed through *Macedonia*. ver. 3. . . . 6. At either of these times he might make an excursion into *Illyricum*, but most probably in his second journey.” *That is a note of Mr. Biscoe at p. 425*.

(t) “ He did not go directly from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*, that is, he did not take shipping at *Ephesus*: (that was not safe :) but escaped by land to *Troas*,

Macedonia from Ephesus, but went by land to Troas, and there crossed over to Macedonia. It is evident, that before he wrote his second epistle to the *Corinthians*, from *Macedonia*, he had been at *Troas*. For 2 Cor. ii. 12. he says, *he came to Troas, to preach Christ's gospel, and that a door was opened to him of the Lord.* There is no absurdity in supposing, that *St. Luke*, who says nothing of *Paul's* having been then at *Troas*, and omitted the *Apostle's* journey into *Arabia*, and indeed many other things, has omitted an account of his going to *Crete* and *Illyricum*. *Wall*, and others, who compute no more than nine months between *Paul's* leaving *Ephesus*, and coming to *Troas*, in the way to *Jerusalem*, may find a difficulty in admitting what we contend for. But I think, I have shewn it to be a space of almost two years, or about a year and three quarters. This alone will render it probable, that somewhat was done by *Paul*, beside what is mentioned by *St. Luke* in *Acts* xx. 1.—6.

St. Paul's words in the epistle to the *Romans*, writ at *Corinth*, in this period, are very remarkable: *So that from Jerusalem, and round about, unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ.—For which cause also I have been much hindered from coming unto you. But now having no more place in these parts, and having a great desire these many years to come unto you.* ch. xv. 19. 22. 23. He seems now, as it were, at ease, knowing what he had done, and considering, that there was nothing more left to be done by him in those parts. And why should not *Illyricum* be understood in the same manner, as *Jerusalem*? He had been at *Jerusalem*: and consequently, I think, in *Illyricum* likewise. And I should apprehend, that now was the time, when *Paul* could first say so much, as he here does.

Jerome had no doubt, but that *Paul* was in *Illyricum*. “*Christ*, says (u) he, was with *Peter* at *Rome*, with *Paul* in *Illyricum*, with *Titus* in *Crete*.” That opinion, it is likely, was built upon this text in the epistle to the *Romans*. Consequently, it is to be supposed, that *Paul* had been in *Illyricum*, before writing that epistle. Nor can any season be thought of more likely, than this period, between his leaving *Ephesus*, and coming to *Troas*, in the way to *Jerusalem*.

I suppose *Theodoret* to be of the same mind with us, and to confirm what we are now saying, in his comment upon *Rom.* xv. 19. “*He* (x) “*shews, to how many people he had preached: so that from Jerusalem, “and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ.* “*As if he had said: I have not cultivated the nations in a strait line “only: but going round about I have planted the doctrine of the “gospel in the Eastern countreys, and also in Pontus, and like-* “*wise*

“*as he says 2 Cor. ii. 12. and from thence took ship to Macedonia.*” *Wall's critical notes upon the N. T.* p. 205.

(u) *Erat igitur uno eodemque tempore et cum Apostolis quadraginta diebus . . . cum Thoma in India, cum Paulo in Illyrico, cum Tito in Creta, cum Andrea in Achaia.* *Ad Marcell. T. 4. P. i. p. 167. Bened.*

(x) Διδάσκει δὲ καὶ πᾶσις ἐκέρχεν ἔθνεσιν . . . οὐ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐθείαν ὁδὸν παρακείμενα ἔθνη ἰγνώργησα μόνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κύκλῳ περιγών, τότε ἰῶνα, καὶ τὰ ποντικά μέρη, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι τὰ κατὰ Ἀσίαν, καὶ τὴν θράκην, τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐπλήρωσα. Τέτο γὰρ ὁλοῦ τοῦ κύκλου. *Theod. in loc. T. 3. p. 111. 112.*

“wise in *Asia*, and *Thrace*. That is what he intends by round “about.”

And *Euthalius*, in his prologue to *St. Paul's* fourteen epistles, reckons †† *Illyricum* among the countreys, where *Paul* had preached, and says, that he converted a large part of it to the faith of Christ.

It may be not improper for us to give here some attention to the historie of *Aquila* and *Priscilla*. They were with *Paul* at *Ephesus*, when he wrote his first epistle to the *Corinthians*, in the spring of the year 56. For he sends their salutations in these words: *The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house.* 1 Cor. xvi. 19. The Jews having been banished from *Rome* by an edict of *Claudius*, they came to *Corinth*, a short time before *Paul*. Acts xviii. 1. . . . 3. When *Paul* went from *Corinth* to *Ephesus*, and *Jerusalem*, they went with him as far as *Ephesus*, and tarried there. 18. 19. When *Paul* wrote the epistle to the *Romans*, at the end of his second peregrination in *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, in the spring of the year 58. (as we suppose) they were at *Rome*. For *Paul* sends his salutations to them. Rom. xvi. 3. Afterwards they returned to *Ephesus*. For *Paul* sends his salutations to them in his second epistle to *Timothie*, then at *Ephesus*. 2 Tim. iv. 19. which epistle I think to have been writ in the summer of the year 61. soon after *Paul's* coming a prisoner to *Rome*. And it has been supposed, that they continued at *Ephesus* the remainder of their life. Which to me seems not improbable. It is likely, that soon after *Paul* went from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*, which he did in *April* or *May* 56. they also went from *Ephesus* to *Rome*. They might return thither, with a view to settle some secular affairs, they having before left *Rome* in a hurrie, in compliance with the edict of *Claudius*. Or they returned to *Rome* with a design to continue there. For they seem to have had their familie with them. Says *St. Paul*, in the place before referred to, Rom. xvi. 3. . . . 5. *Salute Priscilla and Aquila. . . and the church in their house.* Mr. *Biscoe* (y) explaining these words, *the church in their house*, says, “they had, it is probable, a considerable number of “servants to carry on their trade. These, doubtless, were taught by “them the Christian faith: by which means they had a church in their “house, wherever they settled.” And speaking of their being at *Corinth* he says: “they (z) came from *Rome*, and settled at *Corinth*: in whose “house at *Corinth* *St. Paul* took up his lodging, and wrought with them “at their trade of tent making.”

What I would observe is this: that there is nothing in the historie of these two excellent Christians, *Paul's* helpers, inconsistent with the account, which we have just given of this peregrination of *Paul*. Which is to this purpose. *Paul* removed from *Ephesus* in the spring of the year 56. and went into *Macedonia*. But which way he went, I cannot tell, whether by the way of *Troas*, or some other course. He also was in *Crete*, and *Illyricum* about this time. Having spent the winter of 56. at *Nicopolis*,

†† . . . πολλὰς μὲν πόλεις, πολλὰς δὲ χώρας περιεπόνησεν, μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἰλαρυμένων ἅπαν τῶν τῆς εἰς χρεῖδον εὐσεβείας δογμάτων ἐπέληψε. *Euthal. ap. Zac. p. 520.*

(y) Upon the Acts. p. 433.
Vol. II,

(z) The same p. 432.

Nicopolis, either in *Thrace* or *Epirus*, he came into *Macedonia*. Where he staid some while. And near the end of the year 57. in November, or December, he came into *Achaia*, and particularly to *Corinth*, where he staid three months. Hence *Paul* intended to have sailed to *Syria*. But understanding that the *Jews* laid wait for him, he returned again to *Macedonia*. And sailed away from *Philippi*, after the days of unleavened bread, and came to his friends at *Troas* in five days. *Acts* xx. 3. . . 6. That Passover, which *Paul* kept at *Philippi*, we suppose to have been in the year 58. At *Troas* *Paul* staid seven days.

It is not needful for us to pursue distinctly *Paul's* journey thence to *Jerusalem*, it being very clearly laid down by *St. Luke*, in the remaining part of ch. xx. and the beginning of xxi. I observe a few things only. xx. 13. *And we went before by ship to Assos*, [from *Troas*,] *there intending to take in Paul*. For so he had appointed, minding himself to go afoot. By which, I apprehend, we need not suppose, that *Paul* walked all that way: the original word, as seems to me, importing no more, than that *Paul* chose to go so far by land: whilst the rest of the companie went by water.††

Ch. xx. 16. *For Paul had determined to sail by Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia. For he hasted, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost.* As I suppose he was, though it is not particularly mentioned by *St. Luke*. So says (a) *Lightfoot*: “*St. Paul* cometh to *Jerusalem* at the feast of Pentecost, when the city was now full of a confluence to that festival.” Whereby we may be able to apprehend the greatnesse of the multitude of the people, as intimated by *St. Luke* xxi. 27. . . 36. and the extremity of the Apostle's danger, and the terrifying circumstances of it.

We have now gone through a period of about eight years, from *Paul's* leaving *Antioch*, not far from the beginning of the year 50. to his coming to *Jerusalem* at the *Pentecost* in 58.

.. to the end of his Imprisonment at Rome. XI. I shall next observe the Apostle's historie from this time to his deliverance from his imprisonment at *Rome*.

Paul was above two years in *Judea*. He came to *Jerusalem*, as just said, at the feast of Pentecost in the year 58. And he was sent away to *Rome* near the end of the year 60. *St. Luke's* account of what happened to *Paul* in that space of time is in ch. xxi. 17. . . xxvi. 1. . . 32. For when he had been a few days at *Jerusalem*, he was seized by a rude and enraged multitude, who would have killed him, if he had not been rescued out of their hands by *Lyfias*, a Tribune, and the chief officer at *Jerusalem*, under the Roman Governour: who secured him in the castle of *Antonia*, binding him with two chains to two soldiers. But before *Paul* was carried into the castle, he made a speech to the people, as he stood upon the stairs going up into it. But the people not being at all mollified, and still shewing great rage, the Chief Captain ordered, that *Paul* should be brought

†† Μεταμεληθῆναι δ' αὐτὸς ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ τρεῖς μεταμελείας· μίαν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ πωρεῦσαι λόγον ἀπόρρητον· ἑτέραν δὲ, πλεῦσας, ὅπως δυνατόν ἦν πωρεῦσαι· τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ὅτι μίαν ἡμέραν ἀδιάθετος ἔμεινεν. *Plutarch. Vit. M. Caton. Maj.*

(a) *As before. Vol. i. p. 319.*

brought into the castle. The next day he loosed *Paul* from his bonds, and brought him before the Jewish Council. But a great dissension arising in the Council between the members of it, the Captain was obliged to take him by force from them, and bring him into the castle. The day after the Captain being informed of a conspiracie to assassinate *Paul*, prudently sent him from *Jerusalem*, under a strong guard, to *Cesarea* by the sea-side, where the Governour *Felix* resided. After two years imprisonment *Porcius Festus* came in the room of *Felix*, who, to gratify the Jews, left *Paul* bound. In a short time *Festus* brought this prisoner's cause to a hearing at *Cesarea*. And the Jews still prosecuting him with great earnestnesse, *Paul* appealed to *Cesar*. Then *Festus*, when he had conferred with his council, answered: *Hast thou appealed to Cesar? Unto Cesar thou shalt go.* A while after which *Paul*, and other prisoners in that countrey, were delivered to *Julius*, a Centurion, to be conducted by sea to *Italie*.

Whilst *Paul* was in *Judea*, he made a speech to the people at *Jerusalem*, already taken notice of, when he freely declared his principles and conduct. He was also brought by *Lyfias* before the whole Sanhedrim, or Jewish council. He pleaded before *Felix* in answer to the accusations of *Tertullus*, and the Jews, who employed him. He preached before *Felix* and his wife *Drusilla*, and was several times in the presence of *Felix*. And before he was sent away to *Rome*, *Festus* gave him an opportunity to appear, and plead before himself, and King *Agrippa*, and *Bernice*, and the Tribunes, and principal men of *Cesarea*: when *Paul* gave that august assemblie an account of his doctrine, and of himself from his conversion to that time. And it is manifest, that *Paul's* discourse was well received. And both he and his doctrine were acquitted from all the charges and accusations of the Jews. For when the companie had withdrawn, they said among themselves, where certainly they could speak with freedom: *This man does nothing worthie of death, or of bonds.*

Indeed, it must be owned, that *Paul* was civilly treated by all the Roman Officers, in *Judea*, *Lyfias*, *Felix*, *Festus*, *Julius*. They all behaved, as Magistrates ought to do. They gave their prisoner and his accusers a fair hearing, that they might know the truth of the case. *Felix* was a bad man. Nevertheless, he commanded a centurion to keep *Paul*, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister, or to come to him. ch. xxiv. 23. And he left *Paul* bound, when he should have released him. But it was only out of complaisance to the Jews, of whom he was afraid. And if there was any other defect of justice toward *Paul*, in the behaviour of the Roman officers; it may be fitly imputed to the powerful influence of the Jews, the people of the countrey: to whom Governours, sent in from abroad, would be obliged to shew a great regard from political considerations.

In ch. xxvii. and xxviii. 1. . . . 16. is an account of *Paul's* voyage to *Rome*, which *St. Luke* has related very distinctly. As it was near winter, when they set out; they met with bad weather, and were wrecked on the island *Melita*, now called *Malta*, lying south of *Sicilie*. There they staid three months. xxviii. 11. and then sailed for *Italie* in a ship of *Alexandria*. They landed at *Puteoli*, and so went for *Rome*. *Paul*, and the other prisoners were delivered by the Centurion to the Captain of the

Guard. How the other prisoners were disposed of, is not particularly related. *But Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him.* ver. 16. And as *Paul* had appealed to the Emperour, I suppose, that he was soon brought before him, and that the method of his confinement was ordered by the Emperour himself. Of which I may say more hereafter, when we come to the second epistle to *Timothie*.

Says (b) *Lightfoot*: "His accusers, that were come from *Judea* to lay in their charge against him (for we can hardly suppose otherwise, but that some such were come) would be urgent to get their business dispatched, that they might be returning to their own home again. And so would bring him to trial as soon as they could. . . . As he appealed to *Nero* himself, so *Nero* himself heard his cause. Philip. i. 13. "2 Tim. iv. 16."

So *Lightfoot*. And it appears to me very strange, that any should think *Paul's* cause was not heard at all at *Rome*, during his two years stay there. And yet it has been the opinion of several learned men, particularly of (c) *James Cappell*, and (d) *Dr. Doddridge*, whose words I have placed below. And *Fr. Spanheim* speaks to the like purpose. But his sentiments are rejected by his friend (e) *Witsius*, as no better than trifling.

Paul came to *Rome* in the spring of the year, as all will readily think. Some learned men place his arrival there in (f) *Februarie*, others (g) in *April*. Here *Paul* dwelled two whole years in his own hired house. Therefore he was released from his confinement, in the spring, two years after.

I suppose, *Paul* to have come to *Jerusalem* at the Pentecost of the year 58, to *Rome* in the spring of the year 61. and to have been released in the former part of the year 63. This period is therefore about the space of five years.

XII. We are now to write the historie of our Apostle . . . to the time of his death. from this time to his death. But in this period we have no assistance from *St. Luke*, very little from the other books of

(b) *As before*, p. 322.

(c) *Redit Romam causam acturus, quod in prima Romae mansione non comparuissent accusatores. Jac. Capp. Compendios. in Apostol. Histor. Chronolog. Tab.*

(d) "After this *Paul* continued two whole years at *Rome* in his own hired house, before he was heard by *Cesar*, or his deputy, upon his appeal." Upon *Acts* xxviii. 30. *Family-Expositor*, Vol. 3. p. 434.

(e) *Celeberrimus Spanhemius* noster ad *Historiæ Christianæ seculum*. i. . . . hæc habet: *Dimissus nempe fuerat Paulus, ea lege, ut in Asiâ coram accusatoribus suis sisteretur, aut Romæ rursus se sisteret, quum ante nulli in ipsum Romam missi a Judæis essent. Ea occasione adiit Corinthum. . . . Sed apparentibus Hierosolymâ Judæis, Romam redire coactus est, anno, ut videtur, sequente: ubi conjectus in vincula, ibidemque ultima Pauli certamina, &c. . . . Quæ quam debili nitantur fundamento, non puto mihi esse ostendendum. Wits. de Vit. Pauli. sect. xii. num. xl.*

(f) Ita *Paulus*, postquam per tres menses *Militæ* hiemasset, per *Syracusas*, *Rhegium*, et *Puteolos*, *Romam* venit mense *Febr.* *Neron.* vii. *Pearson. Ann. Paul.* p. 18. *A. D.* lxi.

Ita tandem *Paulus*, post tot casus, post tot rerum discrimina, *Romam* venit, anno vii. *Neronis*, mense *Februario*. *Wits. ibid. sect. xii. n. i.*

See likewise *Tillemont. S. Paul. art.* 42.

(g) *Basnag. ann.* 60. num. x.

of the New Testament, nor very much from ancient authors, which can be depended upon, as certain.

Whither *Paul* went after he had obtained his liberty, is debated. Some think, that (*b*) he went from *Rome* to *Spain*. Others see not sufficient reason for that supposition. Among these are (*i*) *Lenfant* and *Beaufobre*, (*k*) *Basnage*, and (*l*) *Cellarius*, and (+*) *Du Pin*.

That *Paul* went into *Spain*, has been argued from an expression of *Clement* in his epistle to the *Corinthians*, who there says of *Paul* "that (*m*) "having taught the whole world righteousness, and having come to "the borders of the west, and having suffered martyrdom, he went to "the holy place." Which some have rendered *the utmost bounds of the west*, and argue, that (*n*) hereby is meant *Spain*. I rather think, that *Clement* only meant *Italie* or *Rome*, where *Clement* was, and where *Paul* suffered. From a note of *Le Clerc* upon the place we learn, that (*o*) *Bp. Fell* so understood *Clement*. The word *coming* also leads to this sense. If *Clement* only had thought of *Spain*, or *Britain*, or any other places beyond that, in which himself was, he would not have said *καὶ ἔλθων*, and having come, but *πορευόμενος*, or some other equivalent word, and having gone to the bounds of the west. *Lenfant* and *Beaufobre* in their general preface to *St. Paul's* epistles say, (*p*) the bounds of the west signify nothing but the west. It is an expression, they say, borrowed from the Scriptures, in which the borders of a countrey denote the countrey itself. In like manner by those words *Clement* intended *Italie*. However,

(*b*) *Adveniente Timotheo, ex Italia profectus est in Hispaniam, quo iturum se dixerat in epistolâ ad Romanos. Pearson. ib. p. 20.*

(*i*) Quelques anciens peres ont dit, que saint Paul ayant été mis en liberté, alla faire le voyage d'Espagne, dont il avoit formé le dessein cinq ou six ans auparavant. Rom. xv. 24. Mais outre que ses temoignages sont du quatrième ou du cinquième siecle, il semble que ces peres n'ont parlé de ce voyage, que sur ce qui *S. Paul* en a dit dans l'épître aux Romains. C'est au moins tout ce que *S. Jerome* allegue. . . Aussi les épîtres, que *S. Paul* écrivit durant sa captivité, temoignent, qu'il ne pensoit qu'à retourner en Grèce et en Asie, des qu'il seroit delivré. Pouvoit il avoir dans l'esprit un voyage en Espagne, lorsqu'il mandoit à *Philemon*, de lui preparer un logement ? Laisant donc une tradition, au moins fort incertaine, &c. *Lenf. et Beauf. Pref. generale sur les epistres de S. Paul. §. liv. p. 33.*

(*k*) *Ann. 46. num. xlvii. . . L.*

(*l*) *Eruditio placet, et admodum est probabile, Paulum prima captivitate, quam Lucas scripsit, liberatum in Græciam et Asiam revertisse, adeoque his Romæ fuisse: in Hispaniam autem penetrasse, credibile non est. Chr. Cellar. de Itineribus S. Pauli Apostoli. §. xxviii.*

(+*) Il arriva à *Rome* au commencement de l'an 61. Il en sortit au bout de deux ans. Plusieurs ont crû, qu'il avoit alors fait le voiage d'Espagne. Mais nous avons fait voir ailleurs, que cela est fort incertain. Il est plus vraisemblable, qu'il revint dans l'Asie, et dans la Grèce. *Du Pin. Diff. Prel. l. 2. ch. 2. §. viii.*

(*m*) *δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέμα τῆς δύσεως ἔλθων, καὶ μαρτυρῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. . . κ. λ. Clem. cap. v.*

(*n*) Et certe eam regionem vidit, quam *Clemens* *Romæ* ejus itinera commemorans appellat τὸ τέμα τῆς δύσεως. *Pearson. ibid.*

(*o*) *Romæ, hoc est in Hesperia, sive Italia. Fell.*

(*p*) *Num. liv. p. 33.*

However, another ground of this opinion is what St. Paul himself says. Rom. xv. 24. *Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you. For I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your companie.* But Paul's measures had been broken by his imprisonment at Jerusalem, and the consequences of it. And it was now at least five years, since writing the epistle to the Romans. It is more likely that (q) when Paul left Rome, he went into the East, and Greece. For in his letters, writ near the end of his confinement there, he expresseth hopes of so doing. Philip. ii. 23. 24. speaking of *Timothie*, he says: *Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also myself shall come shortly.* Compare i. 20. . . 25. . . And he says to *Philemon*, an inhabitant of *Colosse*. ver. 22. *But withall prepare me also a lodging. For I trust, that through your prayers, I shall be given unto you.* And in the epistle to the *Hebrews*, probably, writ by Paul to the Jews of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, he says xiii. 18. 19. *Pray for us. . . And I beseech you the rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner.* And lower, ver. 23. *Know ye, that our brother Timothie is set at liberty. With whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.* Moreover, it is not impossible, but that Paul may have taken care of Spain by sending thither some of his fellow-labourers, whilst he was prisoner at Rome.

As I suppose the epistle to the *Hebrews* to have been writ after that to *Philemon*, I am apt to think, that Paul came from Rome to Jerusalem, as soon, and as directly, as he could. But he made there a short stay only. From *Judea* I think it likely that he went to *Ephesus*, and there left *Timothie*: whom about two years before he had sent for to come to him from *Ephesus* to Rome. From *Ephesus* Paul might go to *Laodicea* and *Colosse*. And, possibly, he returned to Rome by *Troas*, *Philippi*, and *Corinth*.

Some have hesitated to allow, that Paul ever came again into this countrey, because he says, Acts xx. 25. *And now, behold, I know, that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more.* But Lewis Cappell (r) has well removed that difficulty. I therefore

(q) Nos tamen præcipue movent petita ex Scripturis argumenta, quibus aperte liquet, Paulum egressum Romanorum carcere, in Orientem se contulisse. Documento sane magno, mutatum esse jubente Deo Pauli consilium, quo in Hispaniæ tractum ex civitate Romana proficisci statuerat. . . Illud etiam nobis est vero proximum, peregrinationem Pauli Hispanicam ex verbis Pauli fabricatam. . . Unde collegerunt, quod decreverat, illud executioni esse mandatum. Quæ tamen non est apta argumentandi ratio, &c. *Basn. Ann. 46. num. xlix.*

(r) Sed responderi potest, Paulum non semel ex humana conjectura, atque ex humano spiritu, consilio, et proposito, multa ejusmodi cogitasse, putasse, proposuisse, ac dixisse. Quæ tamen postea, Deo ita disponente, aliter ceciderunt. . . Itaque mirum videri non debet, si cum Spiritus Paulum oppidatim moneret vincula et afflictiones graves manere eum Jerosolymis, sentiretque se Spiritu ligatum, ut eo nihilominus proficisceretur, nesciens quænam essent illic sibi eventura, desperaverit de reditu suo ad eos, quos post se relinquebat, licet Deo ita disponente . . . res aliquot post annis ceciderit aliter, quam ipse tum credebatur. Non est itaque tam validum adversus nos argumentum illud,

ut

fore have placed below a part of his observations. And says *Wall* (s) upon the place: “*Εγὼ ἴδα, I know*, when spoken of things future, does “not (as it is used by *St. Paul*) always signify a certain knowledge, “or a prophetic certainty: but often means only thus much: *I take it for granted: I am fully persuaded: I foresee it highly probable: I have no other expectation.* And the like.” See also what there follows.

They who think that *Paul* did come again into this country, but nevertheless was not at *Ephesus*, seem not to attend to *St. Paul's* expressions, who does not say to the elders of *Ephesus*: *I know, that you will see me no more.* But his words are these: *And now, behold, I know, that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more.* The apostle then thought, that he should never more come into those parts. Consequently, he might as well come to *Ephesus*, as to *Colosse*: which he probably did, and certainly hoped, and intended to do. See *Philem.* ver. 22.

Besides *Cappellus*, and *Wall*, already alledged, I might refer to others, who hesitate not at all to allow, that *Paul* came again into this country, particularly *Le Clerc*, and *Lenfant* and *Beausobre*, upon *Acts* xx. 25. and (t) *Pearson*. Not now to mention any more.

I said just now, that, probably, *Paul* went to *Jerusalem*, as soon as he could, after he was set at liberty. And say *Lenfant* and *Beausobre* in their (u) general preface to *St. Paul's* epistles: “We have seen, that the “apostle was accustomed to go from time to time to *Jerusalem*, and to “take the opportunity of solemn festivals. So long as the temple subsisted, the Jewish Christians did not neglect the ordinances of the law. “*St. Paul* himself did not neglect them, that he might give no offense “to the Jews.” I readily assent to what they say about the apostle's going to *Jerusalem*. I could almost think, that *Paul* was desirous to go thither, to praise God in his temple for the favourable circumstances of his imprisonment at *Rome*, and for his deliverance from it. *Paul's* case at *Rome* very much resembled what had happened to him at *Corinth*. After (c) which, we find, he had a vow, and went from *Corinth* to *Ephesus*, and hastened to *Jerusalem*. *Acts* xviii. 9. . . 22. In like manner, I imagine, that now *Paul* went to *Jerusalem*, as soon as he could. But he made no long stay there. It had not been his custom so to do, since his conversion.

Having been at *Jerusalem*, I suppose, as before said, that he visited divers churches, which had been planted by him, and then returned to *Rome*. *St. Paul*, though a prisoner, had lived very comfortably at *Rome*. And he there had great success in his services for the gospel. It seems to me, that he now considered that city, as the most proper place for him to reside in the remaining part of his life. It was the most conspicuous place

ut eo subvertatur sententia nostra de Pauli reditu in Orientem, post soluta Romana ejus vincula. *Lud. Cappel. Hist. Apost. illustrat.* p. 34. . . . 36.

(s) *Notes upon the N. T.* p. 255.

(t) *Paulus venit Miletum, &c.* *Ann. Paulin.* p. 24. *A. D.* lxxi.

(u) *P.* 34.

(c) A particular account of that journey from *Corinth* to *Jerusalem* may be seen in the first Part of this work. *B. i.* ch. 9. § vii.

place in all the world, and the place of the greatest resort from all parts. There he hoped to be more useful, than in any other place.

But things do not always fall out exactly according to human expectations. For, as I suppose, the apostle had not been long returned to Rome, before he was called out to resign his life for the name of Christ.

In the year of Christ 64. as we learn from (x) *Suetonius*, and (y) *Tacitus*, Heathen historians, as well as from others, was a dreadful fire at Rome, which continued six or seven days. It was thought by many people, that the city had been set on fire by the Emperour's orders. But soon after the Christians were most cruelly treated by him, as if they had been the authors of the conflagration. So says *Tacitus*. The fire is said to have begun on the (z) 19. of July. And the persecution of the Christians began, as is supposed by some, in (a) November following, by others (b) in August. Which to me seems not so likely.

It is the opinion of (c) *Pagi*, and (d) *Basnage*, that *Peter* and *Paul* suffered martyrdom in the year of †† Christ 65. They argue in this manner. *Orosius* (e) having given an account of *Nero's* persecution of the Christians, and of the death of the two Apostles in it, adds, that it was followed by a pestilence in the city, and other disasters. And *Tacitus* (f) speaking

(x) Nam quasi offensus deformitate veterum ædificiorum, et angustiis flexurisque vicorum, incendit urbem. . . Per sex dies septemque noctes eâ clade favitum est. . . Hoc incendium e turri Mæcenetiana prospectans, lætusque flammæ, ut aiebat, pulchritudine, ἄλυσιν Illi in illo suo scenico habitu decantavit. *Sueton. Neron. cap. 38.*

(y) Sed non ope humana, non largitionibus Principis, aut Deum placamentis, decedebat infamia, quin jussu incendium crederetur. Ergo abeundo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia invidiosos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. . . Igitur primo correpti qui fitebantur deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti, &c. *Tacit. Ann. 15. cap. 44.*

(z) Fuere qui annotarent, xiv. Calendas Sextiles principium incendii hujus ortum, quo et Senones captam urbem inflammaverant. *Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 41.*

(a) . . . cujus initium in medium mensem Novembrem A. 64. cadit, *Mosheim. de Reb. Christian. sec. 1. cap. 34.*

(b) *Vid. Toinard. ad lib. de Mort. Persecut. cap. ii.*

(c) *Vid. Pagi ann. 64, 65, 67.*

(d) Inchoatam superiore anno persecutionem currente continuavit Neronis furor, qui Petri Paulique sanguine resperfus est. *Basn. ann. 65. n. ix.*

†† That also was the opinion of *Du Pin*, not now to mention any others. Quoiqu'il en soit, il est certain, qu'étant revenu à Rome avec saint Pierre, il y eût la tête tranchée dans le temps de la persecution de Neron, et probablement la 65 année de Jesus Christ, comme nous l'avons fait voir en un autre endroit. *Du Pin. Diss. Prel. l. 2. ch. 2. § viii.*

(e) Nam primus Romæ Christianos suppliciis et mortibus adfecit, ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione ex cruciari imperavit: ipsumque nomen extirpare conatus, beatissimos Apostolos, Petrum cruce, Paulum gladio occidit. Mox acervatim miseram civitatem abortæ undique clades. Nam subsequente autumno tanta urbi pestilentia incubuit, ut triginta millia funerum in rationem Libitinæ venient. *Oros. l. 7. c. 7.*

(f) *Tacitus*, lib. 16. cap. 13. loquens de iis quæ *Nerva* et *Vestinus* Coss. gesta, sic narrationem suam concludit: Tot facinoribus sædum annum etiam

speaking of affairs, when *Nerva* and *Vestinus* were Consuls, which was the year of Christ 65, mentions a pestilence in the city, violent storms in some parts of *Italie*, and other calamities. So *Pagi*. And *Basnage* (g) argues in the like manner from that passage of *Orosius*.

The last mentioned learned chronologer likewise observes, that (h) *Sulpicius Severus* having given an account of the fire at *Rome*, and *Nero's* persecution of the Christians, and of the martyrdoms of *Peter* and *Paul* therein, adds: "Whilst these things are doing at *Rome*, the Jews being "uneasie under the oppressions of their Governour *Gessius Florus*, begin "to rebel." Upon which *Basnage* observes: the (i) Jewish war began in May 66. Therefore the martyrdoms of the Apostles happened in the year before, that is, 65. To which, perhaps, might be added, that (k) *Suetonius*, having spoken of the fire, the pestilence, and those calamities, which are mentioned by *Tacitus*, and *Orosius*, takes notice, that at the same time *Syria* was difficultly kept from breaking out into a rebellion: intending, probably, the uneasiness of the Jewish people in 65. and 66.

Basnage observes also, that (l) *Epiphanius* placeth the death of *Peter* and *Paul* in the 12. year of *Nero*: part (m) of which, as he says, fell in the year 65.

I am

Dii tempestatibus, et morbis, insignivere. Vastata Campania turbine ventorum, qui villas, arbuta, fruges passim disjecit, pertulitque violentiam ad vicina urbi. In qua omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depopulabatur, nullâ coeli intemperie, quæ occurreret oculis. Petrus itaque et Paulus eo anno morti traditi, quo urbem pestilentia afflixit. Quare, cum teste Tacito, anno Christi sexagesimo quinto pestis Romæ grassata fuerit, Principium Apostolorum martyrium perperam a Baronio ad præsentem annum dilatum. Pagi Ann. 67. n. iii.

(g) Jam vero sæva hæc lues in Nervæ et Vestini consulatum incidit. *Basn. ann. 65. n. ix.*

(h) Interea abundante jam Christianorum multitudine, accidit, ut Roma incendio conflagraret, Nerone apud Antium constituto. Sed opinio omnium invidiam incendii in Principem retorquebat, credebaturque Imperator gloriam innovandæ urbis quæsisse. Neque ulla re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo iustum incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Christianos, actæque in innoxios crudelissimæ quæstiones.... Hoc initio in Christianos sæviri coeptum. Post etiã datis legibus, religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis, Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati: quorum uni cervix gladio defecta, Petrus in crucem sublatu est. *Sulp. Sev. l. 2. c. 41.*

Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, Judæi, præsidis sui Gessii Flori injurias non ferentes, rebellare coeperunt. *ib. cap. 42.*

(i) Bellum autem Judaicum incoepit anni sequentis mense Maio. Proindeque Apostolorum martyrium in præsens tempus conferendum. *Basn. ann. 65. n. ix.*

(k) Accefferunt tantis ex Principe malis, probisque quædam et fortuita: pestilentia unius autumnii, quo triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinæ venerant: Clades Britannica, . . . ægreque Syria retenta. *Sueton. Neron. cap. 39.*

(l) . . . μετὰ τὴν τῷ ἁγίῳ πίτρου καὶ πάλῳ τελευτῇ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει γέγονοις γενομένην. *Haer. 27. num. vi.*

(m) Pars anni Neroniani duodecimi ad præsentem spectat, utpote Octobris tertio et decimo incipientis, *Basn. an. 65. n. ix.*

I am the more inclined to this date, because we do not find in the epistles of the New Testament any notice taken of the persecution of the Christians at *Rome*, or of the devastations in *Judea*, after the commencement of the war. If *Peter* and *Paul* had been in any of the provinces, and had survived the terrible persecution at *Rome* in 64. and 65. we should have had some epistle, or epistles of theirs, concerning it, to the *Romans*, or to the Christians of some other place.

I do not presume to assign positively the year of the martyrdom of these two Apostles. I have mentioned the specious and probable arguments of two very eminent chronologers, in favour of the year 65. Nor do I think the Apostles survived that year. But I cannot say, whether their martyrdoms happened in the year 64. or 65. *Pagi* says, that (*n*) *Peter* and *Paul* were taken up and imprisoned in 64. and put to death in the year 65. But I know nothing of the imprisonment of the Apostles at this time. There may be in late and fabulous authors large and particular accounts of their imprisonment, just before their martyrdoms. But there is little or no notice taken of it by the most ancient writers. If *Peter* and *Paul* were come to *Rome* before the City was set on fire, and before the persecution of the Christians began, (which is not improbable) they might be taken up, and soon put to death, before the end of the year 64.

C H A P. XII.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

- I. *The Introduction.* II. *The two Epistles to the Thessalonians.* III. *The Epistle to the Galatians.* IV. *The first Epistle to the Corinthians.* V. *The first Epistle to Timothy.* VI. *The Epistle to Titus.* VII. *The second Epistle to the Corinthians.* VIII. *The Epistle to the Romans.* IX. *The Epistle to the Ephesians.* X. *The second Epistle to Timothy.* XI. *The Epistle to the Philippians.* XII. *The Epistle to the Colossians.* XIII. *The Epistle to Philemon.* XIV. *The Epistle to the Hebrews.*

S E C T. I.

The Introduction.

I SHALL now endeavour to settle the time of St. Paul's Epistles of which *Origen* said: "If (*a*) any man reads them with attention, I am persuaded, he will admire the writer's abilities in expressing great things in vulgar language: or, if he does not admire them, himself will appear ridiculous."

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(*n*) Præterquam quod, cum persecutio adversus Christianos anno lxiv. decreta fuerit, ac insequenti continuata, non dubium, quin priori anno Petrus et Paulus in carcerem conjecti sint, ac posteriori necati. *Ann.* 67. num. iii.

(*a*) See Vol. iii. p. 247.

It cannot but afford satisfaction, to know the order of time, in which they were writ. It will not only be attended with pleasure, but will also contribute to the right understanding of them. For wrong dates have been the occasion of many mistakes. *Baronius* observes, that some have imagined the shipwreck at *Melita*, related in *Acts xxvii.* to be one of the three, mentioned by *St. Paul* *2 Cor. xi. 25.* not considering, that the second epistle to the *Corinthians* had been writ several years before. I have put the passage (*b*) in the margin, as quoted by *Lewis Cappel.*

The Author of the Commentarie upon thirteen of *St. Paul's* epistles, in the fourth centurie, made (*c*) the same mistake, and several others of a like kind, in explaining the paragraph of *2 Cor. xi. 25. 26.*

Of *St. Paul's* fourteen epistles thirteen have been generally received by Catholic Christians in all times. I therefore need not now allege the testimonies of ancient Christian writers, which may be seen in the preceding volumes of this work. But as the epistle to the *Hebrews* has been sometimes doubted of, I shall observe the evidences of it's genuineness. With regard to the others, I shall do little more than shew the time, when they were writ. And I would take it for granted, that they who are disposed to examine the arguments in this chapter, have first read the historie of *St. Paul*, in the preceding Chapter. Which will be of great use, and prevent the trouble of numerous references.

S E C T. II.

The two Epistles to the Theſſalonians.

THE first and second epistles to the *Theſſalonians* are now generally allowed by learned interpreters *A. D. 52.* and chronologers to be the two first writ epistles of *St. Paul.* The time and place of writing them may be deduced from the

(*b*) Quantum juvet, quamque sit utile, certo tenere tempus, quo Pauli epistolæ ab eo fuerunt scriptæ, recte observavit *Baronius* ad *A. C. 58. §. xlii.* Sed hic, inquit ille, et illud necessario monendum putamus lectorem, nonnullis accidisse, ut temporum ignoracione in maximos errores incidant, putantes nimirum naufragium apud *Melitam* passum, quod *Lucas* narrat *Act. xxvii.* unum e tribus fuisse a Paulo enumeratis *2 Cor. xi.* non animadvertentes, secundam istam epistolam ad *Corinthios* longe ante illud naufragium esse scriptam. Quamobrem scrupulosa, quæ videtur, in historia temporum indagatio quantum conferat ad veram atque germanam *Divinæ Scripturæ* interpretationem, quisque facile judicabit. — Hæc rectissime *Baronius.* Itaque hac in parte operam nostram ejusmodi indagacione post alios collocavimus. *Lud. Capp. Append. ad Hist. Apost. p. 63.*

(*c*) *Nocte et die in profundo maris fui.*] Hoc factum est, quando missus est Roman, cum appellasset Cæsarem. Tunc desperatione vitæ in alto, id est, in profundo maris fuit, mortem ante oculos habens. . . . *Periculis in mari.* Jam superius dixit: *Ter naufragium feci, nocte et die in profundo maris fui.* Quod aliud periculum fuit in mari. Sed hoc est periculum, quando in mari, hoc est, in navi, milites cogitaverant, omnes custodias occidere, ne quis enatans effugeret. Quod periculum centurio prohibuit inferri, ne *Paulus* occideretur, ut eum vivum Romam produceret. In *2 ep. ad Cor. xi. 25. 26.* *p. 202. ap. Ambros. in App. Tom. 2.*

the epistles themselves, and from the historie of St. Paul's travels in the book of the Acts. Some have thought, that (d) the first at least, if not also the second, was writ at *Athens*. But I suppose it to be now generally allowed, that (e) both these epistles were writ at *Corinth*. Whereby we are also assured of their time. For it was formerly shewn to be probable, that (f) St. Paul came to *Corinth* before the end of the year 51. and staid there till the begining of the year 53.

In the Synopsis ascribed to *Athanasius* the (g) first epistle to the *Thessalonians* is said to have been writ at *Athens*, and (h) the second, very absurdly, at *Rome*.

Theodoret, as (i) before quoted, saw these to be the two first written epistles of the Apostle. The (k) first he supposed to have been writ at *Athens*, and the second not long after, either at *Athens*, or *Corinth*. For he does not seem to say distinctly, at which of these two cities the second was writ. Nevertheless I suppose it may be shewn, that they were both writ at *Corinth*. St. Paul came from *Thessalonica* to *Berea*. Which place he left in haste, because of the violence of the Jews, who came thither from *Thessalonica*, and stirred up the people. Acts xvii. 10. . . . 13. And then, immediately, says St. Luke, the brethren sent away Paul, to go as it were to the sea. But Silas and Timothie abode there still. And they that conducted Paul, brought him unto *Athens*. And receivng a commandment unto Silas and Timothie to come to him with all speed, they departed. ver. 14. 15. Accordingly, as we may suppose, Silas and Timothie did soon come to him. And Paul, having great concern for the *Thessalonians*, whilst he was at *Athens*, sent Timothie to them. As he says. 1 Thess. iii. 1. 2. Wherefore, when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left at *Athens* alone. And sent Timothie, our brother and minister of God, and our fellow-laborer in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and comfort you, concerning your faith. From *Athens* Paul went to *Corinth*, where he staid a year and six months. There Timothie came back to him from *Thessalonica*. Comp. Acts xviii. 5. and 1 Thess. iii. 6. And Silas, or *Silvanus*, and Timothie are joyned with the Apostle in the inscription of the epistle.

Near the end of this epistle, ch. v. 27. are these remarkable words; I charge, or adjure, you by the Lord, *ὁ κύριος ἡμᾶς τὸν κύριον*, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren. It is likely, that from the begining all Christian assemblies had readings of the scriptures of the Old Testament. Paul, knowing the plenitude of the apostolical commission, now demands the same respect to be paid to his writings, with these of the ancient Prophets. This is a direction, fit to be inserted in the first epistle writ by him. And the manner, in which it is given, suggests an argument, that this was his first apostolical epistle,

The

(d) Ante Pauli vincula omnium prima scripta est ad Thessalonicenses utraque. Scriptæ autem omnino videntur duæ istæ epistolæ Athenis. *Lud. Catp. Hist. Ap. p. 63.*

(e) *Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p. 11. . . . 13. Mill. Proleg. num. 4. et 6.*

(f) See before p. 217.

(g) *Synopf. S. S. n. 66. ap. Athan. T. 2. p. 196.*

(h) *Num. 67. ib. p. 197.*

(i) *Vol. xi. p. 85.*

(k) *Præf. in Ep. Pauli. T. 3. p. 3.*

The second epistle to the *Thessalonians* appears to have been writ soon after the first, and at the same place. And *Silvanus* and *Timothie* are joyned together with the Apostle in the inscription of this epistle, as well as of the former.

These two epistles therefore I suppose to have been writ at *Corinth*, in the year of Christ 52. Which is also the opinion of (l) *Mill*, and others. But by whom these epistles were carried to the *Thessalonians*, we do not perceive.

Some objections have been made against the above mentioned date of these two epistles. But the point is so clear, that I do not think it worth the while to prolong this argument in examining them. They who are curious, may see those objections well answered by Dr. *Benson*, in the second edition of (*) his History of the first Planting the Christian Religion.

S E C T. III.

The Epistle to the Galatians.

THE epistle to the *Galatians* is inscribed after this manner: *Paul, an Apostle, . . . and all the brethren which A. D. 53. are with me, unto the churches of Galatia.* Upon which *Jerome* observes: "In (m) other epistles *Sosthenes* and *Silvanus*, and sometimes also *Timothie*, are mentioned at the begining: but in this, "for adding the greater weight and authority, are put *all the brethren*: who, perhaps too, were believers of the circumcision, and not "despised by the *Galatians*. And the consent of many is of great use to "satisfy people. *To the churches of Galatia.* Here also, as he proceeds, "it is to be observed, that in this place only *Paul* writes in general, not "to the church of one city only, but to the churches of a whole province: and that he calls them *churches*, whom afterwards he reproves, "as corrupted with error". Whence we learn, that a church may be "understood in a two-fold manner: both of that which has no spot, or "wrinkle, and is indeed the body of Christ: and of that, which is assembled in the name of Christ, without compleat and perfect virtues."

Tertullian

(l) *Prolegom. num. 4. . . 7.*

(*) *Vol. 2. p. 119. . . . 122.*

(m) In aliis epistolis *Sosthenes* et *Silvanus*, interdum et *Timotheus*, in exordio præponuntur: in hac tantum, quia necessaria erat auctoritas plurimorum, omnium fratrum nomen assumitur. Qui et ipsi forsitan ex circumcisione erant, et a Galatis non contemptui ducebantur. Plurimum quippe facit ad populum corrigendum multorum in una re sententia atque consensus. Quod autem ait, *Ecclesiis Galatiæ*, et hoc notandum, quia hic tantum generaliter non ad unam ecclesiam unius urbis, sed ad totius provincie scribat ecclesias: et *ecclesiis* vocet, quas postea errore arguat depravatas. Ex quo noscendum, dupliciter ecclesiam posse dici: et eam, quæ non habet maculam aut rugam, et vere corpus Christi sit: et eam, quæ in Christi nomine absque plenis perfectisque virtutibus congregetur. In *ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. 4. p. 225.*

Tertullian (n) seems to have thought this one of *St. Paul's* first written epistles: as has been observed by *Grotius*, (o) who transcribed the passage, though long, into his preface to the epistle to the *Galatians*. *Fabricsius* (p) likewise has taken notice of it.

Theodoret, (q) the (r) Synopsis of Sacred Scripture, ascribed to *Athanasius*, and (s) the Author of the Argument in *Oecumenius*, reckon this among the epistles writ at *Rome*, and consequently a late epistle. But I see no ground for that opinion, there not being in the epistle any notice taken of an imprisonment at the time of writing it.

However *Lightfoot* (t) was also of the same opinion. He supposeth this to have been the first epistle writ by *St. Paul*, after his arrival at *Rome*. He says, it was carried by *Crescens*, arguing from 2 Tim. iv. 10. Which Epistle to *Timothie* he thinks was writ at *Rome* soon afterwards.

Chrysostom (u) says, this (x) epistle was writ before that to the *Romans*. And in like manner (y) *Theophylact*, probably, borrowing from him.

Divers learned moderns have thought, that this epistle was writ at *Ephesus*, after *Paul's* arrival there from his journey, related in Acts xviii. 23. and xix. 1. consequently, after that the Apostle had been a second time in *Galatia*. To this purpose (z) *Lewis Cappell*, (a) *Witsius*, and

(n) . . . ab illo certe Paulo, qui adhuc in gratia rudis, trepidans denique, ne in vacuum cucurrisset, aut curreret, tunc primum cum antecessoribus Apostolis conferebat. Igitur, si ferventer, ut adhuc neophytus, adversus Judaismum aliquid in conversatione reprehendendum existimavit, passivum scilicet convictum, postmodum et ipse usu omnibus omnia futurus, ut omnes lucraretur, Judæis quasi Judæus, et eis qui sub lege, tanquam sub lege: tu illam solius conversationis, placituræ postea accusatori suo, reprehensionem, suspectam vis haberi, etiam de prædicationis erga Deum prævaricatione. *Tertull. adv. Marc. l. i. cap. 20. p. 443.*

(o) Tertullianus in primo adversus Marcionem, hanc epistolam inter primas Pauli fuisse existimat. &c. *Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Gal.*

(p) Scripsisse hanc epistolam adhuc neophitum, et in gratia rudem, adeoque inter primas non dubitat affirmare Tertullianus. . . . *Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. Tom. 3. p. 155.*

(q) Τὰς μὲν δὴ ἄλλας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρώμενης ἀπέστειλε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἡγεῖμαι τὴν πρὸς γαλάτας γεγράφηναι. *Theod. Pref. in ep. Paul. T. 3. p. 5. B.*

(r) *Ap. Athan. T. 2. p. 194.*

(s) *Arg. ep. ad Gal. ap. Oecum. T. i. p. 713.*

(t) *Vol. i. p. 323.*

(u) See of this work, Vol. κ. p. 332.

(x) Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ ἡ πρὸς γαλάτας πεποτεῖρα εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ἐρωμάσις. *Chrysf. Proem. ep. ad Rom. T. 9. p. 427. D.*

(y) Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πρὸς γαλάτας πεποτεῖρα ἐστὶ ταύτης πρὸς ἐρωμάσις. *Theoph. Arg. ep. ad Rom.*

(z) Per idem tempus, nempe sub finem biennii Ephesini videtur omnino scripta epistola ad Galatas. &c. *Capp. Hist. ap. p. 69.*

(a) Epistola ad Galatas temporis sui hos characteres habet. Primum, quod non diu post Pauli ab iis discessum scripta esse videatur. Sic enim ipse cap. i. 6. . . . Affuerat autem iis Paulus paullo antequam proficisceretur Ephesum. Act. xviii. 23. coll. cum cap. xix. 1. Unde probabiliter saltem infertur Ephesi

and (b) *Wall*. This likewise seems to have been the opinion of (c) *Pearson*. For he placeth this epistle in the year 57. after the first to the *Corinthians*, and before *Paul* left *Ephesus*. But I do not discern his reasons for so doing.

Grotius (d) thought it difficult to assign the time when this epistle was writ : but conjectures, that it was writ about the same time with that to the *Romans*.

Fabricius says, “ the (e) design of the epistle is to dissuade the *Galatians* “ from putting their neck under the yoke of the Mosaic law. And, “ says he, to the like purpose the Apostle writes to the *Romans*. But “ them he had never seen, and he treats them very respectfully, and enlargeth upon the doctrine of the gospel with greater prolixity. To the “ *Galatians* he writes more briefly, and as their master, and not without “ some severity in his reprehensions. He adds, that he is inclined to “ their opinion, who suppose this epistle to have been writ not long after “ that to the *Romans*, and in the way to *Jerusalem*, in the year of “ Christ 58.”

Mill being a man of great judgment in these things, and what he says appearing at first sight plausible, I shall transcribe it below. He thinks that (f) this epistle was not writ, untill after that to the *Romans*, probably,

Ephesi esse datam. Specialius, datam esse sub finem biennii, quod Paulus Ephesi exegit, inde colligit Capellus. . . Wits. de Vit. Paul. scđ. viii. num. xxxii.

(b) “ About this time, A. D. 55. when *Paul* had been at *Ephesus* a little “ while, he is supposed to have writ his epistle to the *Galatians*.” *Wall's Notes upon the N. T.* p. 164.

(c) Scribit primam ad Corinthios epistolam. . . . Scribit epistolam ad Galatas. Per Demetrium Epheso pellitur. *Annal. Paulin.* p. 15. A. D. 57.

(d) Tempus, quo scripta est hæc ad Gallogræcos epistola, sicut designate indicare non possum, ita videre mihi videor, non longe abuisse ab eo tempore, quo ad Romanos scripta est epistola. *Gr. Pr. in ep. ad Galat.*

(e) Argumentum epistolæ est, Galatas dehortari, ne iugo Legis Mosaicæ iterum collum animasque supponerent. Idem dissuaserat Romanis, sed ad illos, quos nondum præsens ille docuerat, et scribit minus familiariter, et prolixius iis capita Christianæ fidei exponit. Ad Galatas vero, et brevius omnia, et tanquam doctor ipforum, ita ut nec a gravi increpatione sibi temperet. . . . Non possum tamen improbare eorum sententiam, qui non diu post epistolam ad Romanos in itinere Hierosolymam versus A. C. 58. exaratam hanc epistolam arbitrantur. *Fabr. ubi supra.* p. 155.

(f) Paulo post dictatam hanc, quæ Romanis scripta est, scripsit Paulus epistolam ad Galatas, ut apparet ex cap. ii. 10. ὁ καὶ ἐπέδωκεν αὐτὸ τῷ οὐκ οἶδεν. His enim verbis aperte indicat Apostolus, epistolam hanc post ministerium, seu studium, quod eleemosynis pro ecclesia Hierosolymitana colligendis impendebat, scripsisse se, dum aoristo utitur, ἐπέδωκεν ποιῆσαι. In itinere itaque versus Hierosolymam versatus D. Paulus alicubi hanc epistolam exarasse videtur, et quidem Troade fortassis, ubi septem dies moratus est: postquam in Asiam veniens comperisset Galatas ad aliud evangelium ἐν τραχέως translatos fuisse. Audita nempe, jam ut videtur ab impulsu ejus in Asiam, ἰστὰ ἀποστασία, arrepto calamo, propria manu, contra quam factum in aliis epistolis,

bably, at *Troas*, or some other place in *Asia*, as *Paul* was going to *Jerusalem*. And he thinks, that *Paul* refers to the collections lately made in *Macedonia* and *Greece*. Gal. ii. 10. And the Apostle writes not only in his own name, but also in the name of all the brethren, mentioned Acts xx. 4. who were with him at *Troas*, and accompanied him to *Jerusalem*. Moreover, this epistle was writ by the Apostle with his own hand, and the more easily, and readily, though in a journey, because he had just before treated the same argument in his epistle to the *Romans*. This epistle therefore is placed by *Mill* at the year 58.

Upon all which I beg leave to remark, as follows. *First*, that those words, *all the brethren which are with me*, need not to be understood of those who were with *Paul* at *Troas*, and were setting out with him for *Jerusalem*. Thereby may be intended the brethren of some other place, where *Paul* was. *Secondly*, the Apostle *Paul* was able at any time to represent the doctrine of the Gospel to any churches, suitably to their particular case and circumstance: whether he had just before treated of it in an epistle, or not. So that the agreement between the epistles to the *Romans* and the *Galatians* is no proof, that they were writ very soon one after another. *Thirdly*, when *Paul* says, ch. ii. 10. *the same which I also was forward to do*: he cannot intend the collections made in *Macedonia* and *Greece*, with which he was going to *Jerusalem*. If that had been his meaning, he would have expressed himself more particularly, like to what he says to the *Romans*. ch. xv. 25. . . 27. What he says here, he might have said, when at *Ephesus*, before he set out for *Macedonia*, and indeed at any time, and in any place. For he had been always mindfull of the poor in *Judea*. I apprehend, that the Apostle's words are to be interpreted in this manner. *The same, which I also had endeavoured to do, or had been careful to perform*: referring to his conduct, even before that proposal of the three Apostles at *Jerusalem*: and intending, probably, in particular, the contributions brought by himself and *Barnabas* from *Antioch* to *Jerusalem*, some while before, as related Acts xi. 27. Which contributions, as may be well supposed, had been promoted by our Apostle's exhortations. *Fourthly*, *St. Paul* says to the *Galatians* in this epistle, ch. i. 6. *I marvel, that ye are so soon removed from him that called you unto the grace of Christ, unto another gospel*. Those expressions cannot possibly suit the date assigned by *Mill*, that is, after the Passover of the year 58. Which must have been above four years after even *Paul's* second journey in the country of *Galatia*.

Another opinion has been proposed by the ingenious and thoughtful Author (g) of *Miscellanea Sacra*, and embraced by (h) *Dr. Benson*: that the

tolis, (exceptâ forte unâ ad Philemonem) totam istam scripsit epistolam, acrem et oburgatoriam, nomine suo, omniumque, qui cum ipso erant fratrum jam Troade, Sopatri, Aristarchi, Secundi, Gaii, Tychici, Trophimi, Titi, Silæ, aliorum. Scripsit autem eo celerius, et festinantius, quod idem argumentum in hac epistola prosequeretur, quod tractaverat paullo ante in epistola ad Romanos, cujus fere sensus in hanc transfundit . . . Scripta est statim, ut dixi, post epistolam ad Romanos, anno ære vulgaris lviij. Proleg. num. 30. 31.

(g) See there the *Abstract of the Scripture History of the Apostles*. p. 31. and the *Postscript to the Preface* p. 56. . . 58.

the epistle to the *Galatians* was writ at *Corinth*, when the Apostle was first there, and made a long stay of a year and six months. Whilst *Paul* was there, he received tidings of the instability of his converts in *Galatia*, with which he was much affected. Whereupon he wrote this epistle, and sent it by one of his assistants. At that season he might well say at the beginning of his addresse to them: *I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you unto the grace of Christ*. Nor is there in the epistle any hint of his having been with them more than once. The epistle therefore was writ at *Corinth*, or perhaps, at *Ephesus*: when *Paul* was first there, in his way to *Jerusalem*, as mentioned *Acts* xviii. 19. . . . 21.

This opinion is proposed by the above mentioned Author, as his own. And I make no doubt, that it was so, and the fruit of his own inquiries and observations. Nevertheless it is not quite new. Say *Lenfant* and *Beausobre* in their general preface to *St. Paul's Epistles*: “We (i) find not in the epistle to the *Galatians* any mark, that can enable us to determine with certainty, at what time, or in what place, it was writ. It is dated at *Rome* in some printed copies, and manuscripts. But there is nothing in the epistle itself, to confirm that date. *Paul* does not here make any mention of his bonds, as he does in all his epistles, writ at *Rome*. He says indeed vi. 17. that *he bears in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus*. But he had often suffered, before he came to *Rome*. There are therefore (k) some learned chronologers, who place the epistle to the *Galatians* immediately after the two epistles to the *Thessalonians*. They think, it was writ between the third and fourth journey of *Paul* to *Jerusalem*, and between his first and second journey into *Galatia*. This opinion appears to be very probable. For since the Apostle says, *he wonders, that they were so soon turned unto another gospel*, this epistle must have been writ a short time after he had preached in *Galatia*. Nor can we discern in the epistle any notice of the second journey, which *St. Paul* made into this country. For this reason it is thought, that the epistle to the *Galatians* was writ at *Corinth*, where the Apostle made a long stay, or else, in some city of *Asia*, particularly, *Ephesus*, where he staid some days in his way to *Jerusalem*. *Acts* xviii. 19. . . . 21. Therefore, in all probability, the epistle to the *Galatians* was writ from *Corinth*, or from *Ephesus*, in the year 52. or 53.”

Nothing could be said more properly. And I think, this date may be farther confirmed by some other considerations. *Paul* says to the *Corinthians*. xvi. 1. *Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given orders to the churches of Galatia, so do ye*. Which shews, that at the writing of that epistle to the *Corinthians*, in 56. he had a good opinion of his converts in *Galatia*, and that he had no doubt of their respect to his

(b) *History of the first Planting the Chr. Religion*. B. 3. ch. v. §. xi. Vol. 2. p. 118. 119. first ed. p. 136. 137. 2d. ed.

(i) §. xlii. p. 24—26.

(k) Here, in the margin, are put the names of *Usser* and *L. Cappell*, without any references. Nor have I found the places, where this opinion is maintained by them.

his directions. Which, probably, had been sent to them from *Ephesus*, during his long abode there, by some one or other of his assistants. This good temper of the *Galatians* may be supposed owing to the letter sent to them some time before, and to his second visit to them, related *Acts xviii. 23.*

And now we shall be better able to account for what appears very remarkable. When *Paul* left *Corinth*, after his long stay there, he went to *Jerusalem*, having a vow. In his way he came to *Ephesus*. *Acts xviii. 19. . . . 21.* And when they desired him to tarry longer with them, he consented not. But bid them farewell, saying: *I must by all means keep this feast that cometh at Jerusalem. But I will return again unto you, if God will.* When we read this, we might be apt to think, that *Paul* should hasten back to *Ephesus*, and return thither presently after he had been at *Jerusalem*. But instead of so doing, after he had been at *Jerusalem*, he went down to *Antioch*. And after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went over all the country of *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, in order, strengthening the disciples. *ver. 22. 23.* We now seem to see the reason of this course. At *Corinth* he heard of the defection of many in *Galatia*. Whereupon he sent away a sharp letter to them. But considering the nature of the case, he judged it best to take the first opportunity to go to *Galatia*, and support the instructions of his letter. And both together had a very good effect. *Gal. iv. 19. 20.* *My little children, of whom I travel in birth again . . . I desire to be present with you, and to change my voice. For I stand in doubt of you :* or, *I am perplexed for you.* Now, then, we see the reason of the Apostle's not coming directly from *Jerusalem* to *Ephesus*. However, he was not unmindful of his promise, and came thither, after he had been in *Galatia*.

Upon the whole, the epistle to the *Galatians* is an early epistle. And, as seems to me most probable, was writ at *Corinth*, near the end of the year 52, or at the very beginning of the year 53. before *St. Paul* set out to go to *Jerusalem* by the way of *Ephesus*. But if any should rather think, that it was writ at *Ephesus*, during the Apostle's short stay there, in the way from *Corinth* to *Jerusalem*, that will make but very little difference. And still, according to our computation, this epistle was writ at the beginning of the year 53.

Ch. vi. 11. *Ye (l) see how large a letter I have written unto you with my own hand.*

Hereby some understand the Apostle to say, that this, with what follows to the end of the epistle, was writ with his own hand. So (m) *Jerome*, and (n) *Grotius*. Others understand *St. Paul* to speak of the whole epistle.

(l) Ἰδετε πάλαις ὑμῶν γραμμασίον ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ.

(m) *Hi qui circumcidi Galatas volebant, disseminaverant, alia Paulum facere, alia prædicare.*—Hanc opinionem quia non poterat Paulus apud omnes præsens ipse subvertere—seipsum per literas representat. Et ne aliqua suppositæ epistolæ suspicio nasceretur, ab hoc ipso usque ad finem manu sua ipse perscripsit, ostendens superiora ab alio exarata. *Hieron. in ep. ad Gal. T. 4. p. 314.*

(n) In aliarum epistolarum fine quædam scribebat suâ manu. *1 Cor. xvi. 21, 2 Thess. iii. 17. et Col. iv. 18.* cetera manu aliena, ut videre est *Roman. xvi. 22.*

epistle. So thought (o) *Chrysostom*, and (p) *Theophylact*, and (q) *Theodoret*, and (r) the Author of the *Commentarie* upon thirteen of *St. Paul's* Epistles. Which interpretation is approved by (s) *Wolffius*.

... *How long a letter I have written unto you.* Which some interpret after this manner: *in what large letters I have written unto you*, intending the deformity, or inelegance of the characters. Which sense is also found in (t) divers ancient authors.

But it is not approved of either by (u) *Beza*, or (x) *Wolffius*. They say, that this is as long as any of *St. Paul's* epistles, excepting the epistle to the *Romans*, the two epistles to the *Corinthians*, and that to the *Hebrews*.

man. xvi. 22. Hic vero Paulus suâ manu scripsit omnia quæ sequuntur, ut recte putat Hieronymus. Id autem multum erat in homine adeo occupato, et, ut videtur, non multum assueto Græce scribere. *Quantis literis*, id est, *quam multis*. Solent adjectiva magnitudinis poni pro adjectivis ad numerum pertinentibus. Sic Græcum τόσοι, tanti, utroque sensu usurpatum. *Grot. ad Galat. vi. 11.*

(o) Ἐνταῦθα ἐδὲν ἄλλο αἰνίττεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἅπασαν, ὁ πολλῆς γνησιότητος σημεῖον ἦν. κ. λ. *Chr. in loc. T. κ. p. 727. B.*

(p) *In loc. T. 2. p. 492.*

(q) Πᾶσαν, ὡς ἔνικε, τὴν δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτὸς ἔγραψε. *Theod. in loc.*

(r) Auctoritatem dat epistolæ suæ.—Ubi enim logaritha manus est, falsum dici non potest. *In loc. ap. Ambros. in App. p. 230.*

(s) Idem vero, [Grotius,] quamvis præcivite Hieronymo, errat, quando hæc verba non ad totam hanc epistolam, sed ad ea tantum, quæ inde usque ad finem legatur vult referri. Rectius Chrysostomus.—Addit idem causam, cur totam epistolam sua manu exararit, ut nempe omnis νοθείας fuspicio ἰδιογράφῳ hoc præcideretur iis, qui dicere alioquin poterant, nonnulla illi inserta, quæ Apostoli sententiæ non responderent. *Wolff. in loc.*

(t) Τὸ δὲ πηλίκαις, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἐ τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀ οφίαν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐμφάνειν λέγειν, μοισοῦχὶ λέγων ὅτι ὅ ε ἄριστα γράφειν εἰδὼς, ὅμως ἡναγκάσθη δι' ἐμαυτῆ γράφαι, ὡς τῶν συκοφαντῶν ἐμφράξαι τὸ εἶμα. *Chr. ubi supr. p. 727. C.*

Τὸ δὲ πηλίκαις γράμμασι, τίνες, μὲν μεγάλαις, τίνες δὲ φαύλοις ἡρμήνευσαν. Ἐ γὰρ γὰρ φησιν, ἔγραψα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, καίτοι μὴ γράφων εἰς καλλος. *Theod. in loc.*

(u) *Quam longis*, πηλίκαις. Ad verbum *quantis*. Vulgata *qualibus*. In quo explicando miror cur se tantopere torqueant interpretes, dum alii—ad sublimitatem sententiarum referunt, ut Hilarius, alii ad ipsa literarum elementa, quæ grandiuscula fuerint—alii ad deformitatem characterum, quasi Paulus imperitus fuerit pingendarum literarum, ut exponit Theophylactus, Chrysostomum secutus.—Sunt autem sane longiores epistolæ Romanis et Corinthiis inscriptæ, sed aliena manu exaratæ. *Bez. ad loc.*

(x) *Ecce quantis*, i. e. *quam multis literis vobis scripsi*. Ita recte Grotius, addens, adjectiva magnitudinis pro adjectivis ad numerum pertinentibus, poni solere, quemadmodum et Græcum τόσοι utroque sensu usurpetur.—Longius autem a vero aberrant, qui τὸ πηλίκον ad designandam characterum, quibus usus sit, magnitudinem, spectare putant, ut πηλίκαι γράμματα sint literæ majusculæ.—Addit, [Le Cene] Apostolum hanc epistolam non potuisse appellare πηλίκην respectu longitudinis, cum longiores scripserit alias. Imo vero scriptionem non tam multorum verborum, quam quod eam totam suâ manu scripserat, qui alias ceteris pauca quædam subscribere consueverit, longam appellat. Præterea hæc ad Galatas, si tres priores, et unam ad Hebræos exceperis, reliquas omnes longitudine excedit. *Wolff. in loc.*

brews. I may add another thought: that according to our computation this is the third apostolical epistle, writ by St. Paul, and is much longer than either of those to the *Theſſalonians*, which had been writ before. However, undoubtedly, the Apostle has regard to the quantity of his own hand-writing. The rest of his epistles were writ by others, while he dictated, (as is generally done by eminent men, much engaged,) and himself wrote only a few words, or sentences, at the end: whereas this epistle was all in his own hand-writing.

And the original word is elsewhere used for epistle, or letter. Acts xxviii. 21. *We (y) have not received letters out of Judea concerning thee.*

So far therefore as I am able to judge, our English version is very right. *Ye see how large a letter I have writ unto you with my own hand.*

That is (z) *Beza's* translation. *Le Clerc* (a) in his French Testament, and (b) *Beaufobre* translate in the like manner.

In *Beaufobre's* Remarks upon the New Testament, published after his death, is this note upon the text we are considering: "*How (c) large a letter, πολλοὶς γραμμασι.* Some, says *Theodoret*, explain this of the largeness of the letters, others, that the letter was ill writ: as if the Apostle had said: *I have writ to you with my own hand, though I do not write well.* St. *Jerome*, in his Commentarie upon this place, says, he had heard somewhat of the like kind from some body. But he does not seem to approve of it." I transcribe at length (d) below the passage referred to. But *Jerome*, having mentioned that observation of some learned man of his time, does himself seem to trifle, when he adds, "That St. Paul's letter to the *Galatians* was great for the sense. And so were all his letters, though short." However, this interpretation

(y) Ημεῖς ἔτε γραμματα περὶ σὺ ἐδεξάμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰουδαίας.

(z) Videtis quam longis literis vobis scriperim mea manu. *Bez.*

(a) Voyez quelle grande lettre je vous ai écrite de ma main. *Le Clerc.*

(b) Voyez quelle grande lettre je vous ai écrite de ma propre main. *B.*

(c) *Quelle grande lettre.* Quelques uns, dit *Theodoret*, expliquoient ce mot de la grandeur des lettres, et d'autres de ce que la lettre étoit mal écrite, les caracteres mauvais: *Je vous ai écrit de ma main, quoique s'écrive mal.* St. *Jerome*, dans son Commentaire sur cet endroit, dit d'avoir oui dire quelque chose d'approchant, à quelqu'un dont il ne paroît pas approuver la pensée. *Beauf.* Remarques sur le N. T. p. 466.

(d) *Videte qualibus literis scripsi vobis:* Non quod grandes literæ fuerint, [hoc quippe in Græco sonat πολλοῖς:] sed quod suæ manus essent eis nota vestigia: ut dum literarum apices recognoscunt, ipsum se putarent videre, qui scripserat. In hoc loco vir apprime nostris temporibus eruditus, miror quomodo rem ridiculam loquutus sit. *Paulus*, inquit, *Hebræus erat, et Græcas literas nesciebat. Et quia necessitas expetebat, ut manu sua epistolam subscriberet, contra consuetudinem curvos tramiles literarum exprimebat: etiam in hoc suæ ad Galatos indicia caritatis ostendens, quod propter illos id quoque quod non poterat, facere conaretur.* Grandibus ergo *Paulus* literis scripsit epistolam, quia sensus erat grandis in literis.—Grandes *Paulus* literas non solum tunc ad Galatas, sed etiam hodie scribit ad cunctos: et quamvis parvi sint apices, quibus ejus epistolæ conscribuntur, tamen magnæ sunt literæ, quia in literis magnus est sensus. *Hieron. Comm. in Gal. T. 4. p. 315*

tation may be approved by some. It is in the note of *Beza*, above (*) transcribed.

S E C T. IV.

The first Epistle to the Corinthians.

THE first epistle to the *Corinthians* was writ at *Ephesus*, as all may perceive. Says the Apostle 1 Cor. A. D. 56. xvi. 8. 9. *But I will tarry at Ephesus, untill Pentecost. For a great door and effectual is opened unto me. And there are many adversaries.* And ver. 19. he says: *The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord.* Those two good Christians had come with *Paul* from *Corinth* to *Ephesus*, when he was first there, and staid but a short time. As appears from *Acts* xviii. 18. 19. And there they continued, as we suppose, till after *Paul* left *Ephesus*, to go into *Macedonia*.

This epistle is placed by (e) *Pearson* in the year 57. *Mill* thinks (f) it was writ before the Passover of the year 57.

According to our computation (g) of *St. Paul's* times and travels, this epistle was writ at *Ephesus*, in the spring of the year 56. Which (h) was also the opinion of the French Commentators before named, *Lenfant* and *Beausobre*. Some have argued from ch. v. 7. *For Christ our Passover, is sacrificed for us*, that it was now the time of the Jewish Passover, or that it was just over. But to me it seems, that the Apostle might make use of that expression, and build an argument, or exhortation, upon it in any part of the year. And when a year was begun, he might speak of staying where he was, till some distant feast. And supposing the epistle to have been writ early in the spring, he might think of continuing at *Ephesus*, till Pentecost. This letter was carried to *Corinth* by *Stephanas*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus*, mentioned 1 Cor. xvi. 17. 18. who had come to the Apostle from the *Corinthians*, and are supposed to have brought a letter with them. See 1 Cor. vii. 1. It was after writing this epistle, that the tumult happened, which was caused by *Demetrius*. For as *Lightfoot* (i) says: "Between ver. 22. and 23. of this xix. chapter of the *Acts* falleth in the time of *St. Paul's* writing the first epistle to the *Corinthians*." Consequently, this epistle was sent away, before the tumult raised by *Demetrius*, and other silversmiths, related by *St. Luke* *Acts* xix. 23 . . . 41. nevertheless, after *Paul* had fought with beasts at *Ephesus*, as he says, 1 Cor. xv. 32. When that tumult of *Demetrius*

(*) See note (u) p. 243.

(e) Scribit primam ad Corinthios epistolam, cum Sosihene respondens epistolæ Corinthiorum. *Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p. 15. Anno lvii.*

(f) Quando igitur? Haud diu sane antequam ex Asia abiret, anno æræ vulgaris. lvii. et quidem ante illius anni festum paschale. *Proleg. num. 9.*

(g) See here p. 219.

(h) La 1. Epître aux Corinthiens fut écrite d'Ephèse au printemps de l'année 56. *Pres. Gen. sur les ép. de S. Paul. §. 45. p. 27.*

(i) Vol. i. p. 299.

Demetrius was appeased, *Paul* seems to have been at rest. And though he did not judge it prudent to stay any longer there, he took leave of his friends with deliberation. And after the uproar was ceased, *Paul* called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. Acts xx. 1.

The first epistle to the *Corinthians* therefore, according to our account, was writ at *Ephesus*, in the begining, or the spring, of the year 56.

S E C T. V.

The first Epistle to Timothie.

A. D. 56. **T**HE first epistle to *Timothie* was writ, according to (k) *Pearson*, (l) *Whitby*, (m) *Basnage*, (n) *Cave*, (o) *Fabricius*, (p) *Mill*, and others, in the year of Christ 64. or 65. some while after *St. Paul's* release from his confinement at *Rome*. In (q) *Lightfoot* this is the epistle writ next after the first to the *Corinthians*. It is the same in (r) *Baronius*, and (s) *Estius*. Who say, that this epistle was writ in *Macedonia*, when *Paul* was there the second time. In this date agree in the main (t) *Dr. Benson*, and (u) *Dr. Doddridge*. This also was the opinion of *Hammond*, as may be seen in his preface to this epistle. *Whitius*, after having considered the reasons of *Lightfoot* and *Pearson* in behalf of their several opinions, hesitates (x) and cannot say exactly, when this epistle was writ: though he does not judge it needfull to defer it so long, as *Pearson* did, that is, till after *St. Paul's* deliverance from his imprisonment at *Rome*. *Lewis Cappel* was in doubt, which was first writ, whether (y) the second epistle to the *Corinthians*,

(k) *Pearson Annal. Paulin. An. 64. p. 22.*

(l) *Wl. in his preface to the epistle.*

(m) *Ann. 62. n. vii.*

(n) *Cav. H. L. in Paulo.*

(o) *Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. T. 3. p. 157.*

(p) *Proleg. num. 123.*

(q) *See Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 307.*

(r) *An. 57. num. 187.*

(s) Scripta est autem hæc epistola, posteaquam *Paulus*, *Epheso* relicta, sicut habetur initio xx. cap. Actorum, profectus est in *Macedoniam*. Id quod ipsius epistolæ verba statim initio declarant. Unde cum Cardinale *Baronio* colligimus, in *Macedonia* scriptam esse. *Est. arg. 1. ep. ad Timoth.* p. 758.

(t) *History &c. B. 3. ch. vii. sect. v. p. 167. &c. first ed. p. 184. &c. sec. ed. See also his preface to the first ep. to Tim. sect. iii.*

(u) *See Family-Expositor. Vol. 3. p. 305. note (c). p. 319. note (b). p. 332. note (r).*

(x) Non tamen æque constat, scriptionem epistolæ differendam esse ad solutionem *Pauli* a Romanis vinculis. Neque enim omnia *Pauli* itinera descripsit *Lucas*, sed notabiliora quædam.—Pronunciemus itaque, de tempore, quo scripta est prior *Pauli* ad *Timotheum* epistola, non liquere. *Wits. de Vit. Paul. sect. 9. num. v.*

(y) Posterior ad eosdem *Corinthios* epistola, et prior ad *Timotheum*, certant de proprietate, et sub judice lis est. Utraque autem scripta est paullo

Corinthians, or the first epistle to *Timothie*. However, he thinks, that both were writ not long after St. Paul had left *Ephesus*, to go into *Macedonia*. Consequently his opinion was not very different from that of *Lightfoot*, *Baronius*, and *Estius*, before recited.

According to *Theodore*, in his general preface to St. Paul's epistles, the first four are the two epistles to the *Theſſalonians*, and the first and second to the *Corinthians*. "The (z) fifth, says he, is the first epistle to *Timothie*. For after the introduction he says: *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, that they receive no other doctrine.* 1 Tim. i. 3. It is manifest therefore, that when Paul went the second time into *Macedonia*, he left the most excellent *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, to take care of those who had received the salutary doctrine."

I shall now endeavor to shew at length the grounds of this opinion.

St. Luke expressly says Acts xx. 1. *And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia.* And St. Paul says, in the place just cited, 1 Tim. i. 3. *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia.* And St. Luke informs us. ch. xix. 21. 22. *After these things were ended, Paul purposed in spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia to go to Jerusalem . . . So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timothie and Erastus. But he himself staid in Asia for some season.* Then follows an account of the tumult at *Ephesus*. Some while after those messengers, *Timothie* and *Erastus*, were gone to *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, Paul, as it seems, wrote, and sent away his first letter to the *Corinthians*. From which letter we plainly perceive, that *Timothie* was in those parts. For so it is said in 1 Cor. iv. 17. *For this cause have I sent unto you Timothie.* And ch. xvi. 10. 11. *Now, if Timothie come, see that he may be with you without fear . . . Let no man therefore despise him, but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me. For I look for him with the brethren.* Whence it appears, that at concluding that letter Paul was in expectation of *Timothie's* return to *Ephesus*. And very probably he did return, before Paul went thence. Moreover St. Luke said just now, that after *Timothie* and *Erastus* had been sent into *Macedonia*, Paul himself staid in *Asia* for a season.

St. Paul in the place above cited says 1 Tim. i. 3. that he besought *Timothie* to abide still at *Ephesus*, when he went into *Macedonia*. Does not that term, beseeching, or entreating *Timothie*, imply some difficulty in the service required of him? And do we not see, what apprehensions

paullo postquam Paulus Epheso discessisset, adeoque dum Macedoniam peragraret. Sed utra tempore præcedat, non liquet. *Lud. Capp. Hist. Ap. p. 72.*

(z) Πέμπτην ἡγῆμαι τῶν πρὸς τιμόθειον τὴν προτέραν. Μετὰ γὰρ δὲ τὸ πρόβ-
μιον ἔτω φησί. Καθὼς παρεκάλεισά σε προσμεῖναι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πορευόμενος εἰς μα-
κεδονίαν. . . . Δῆλον τοίνυν, ὡς ἦν καὶ τὸ δεῦτερον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου παρεγγίνετο εἰς μα-
κεδονίαν ὁ μακάριος παῦλος, τότε τὸν πάντα ἄριστον τιμόθειον ἐκεῖ καταλείπον-
τες ἐπιμελείαν τῶν δεξαμένων τὸ σωτήριον κήρυγμα. *Pref. in ep. Paul. T. 3.*
p. 30 4.

hensions *Timothie* might be under upon being left at *Ephesus*, where *Paul* had met with much opposition, and some very lately? “A (a) soft word, says *Beza* upon the place, to be used by one of much superior authority.” But if we consider the dangers of our supposed time, we may see the reason of *Paul*’s speaking in that manner to *Timothie*.

Again. 1 Tim. iii. 14. 15. *These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly. But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know, how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God.* Words, which mightily suit the present time. *St. Paul* went into *Macedonia*, with a design to forward the collections for the poor saints in *Judea*, and then to go to *Jerusalem*. And it may be well supposed, that he had then hopes of calling in at *Ephesus*, in his way to *Judea*, and there seeing *Timothie*. However, he could not yet say the time. Which also is plainly agreeable to the Apostle’s circumstances at this season. For we perceive from what *St. Luke* writes in the Acts, and from the second epistle to the *Corinthians*, writ some while afterwards in *Macedonia*, that *Paul* was not then able long before hand to fix resolutions about the time of journeys to be undertaken by him.

Farther, the time assigned by *Pearson*, and those who agree with him, must be wrong. It appears from Acts xx. 17.... that when *Paul* was going to *Jerusalem* in the former part of the year 58. there were Elders at *Ephesus*, and probably, in the neighbouring cities of *Asia*. But when *Paul* wrote this epistle, there seems to have been want of such officers at *Ephesus*, or thereabout. For a main design of it appears to be, to instruct *Timothie* in the proper qualifications of such men, and to admonish him to use great care and caution in the choice of them.

Once more, I am of opinion, that the second epistle to *Timothie* was writ, soon after *Paul* had been brought to *Rome* a prisoner from *Judea*. Therefore, if this epistle be prior to it, it must have been writ, before *Paul* went to *Jerusalem*, with the contributions of the Christians of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and other places.

There is, however, a difficulty attending our supposition. For *Timothie* is joyned with *Paul* in the inscription at the beginning of the second epistle to the *Corinthians*, generally allowed to have been writ in *Macedonia*. And in Acts xx. 4. *Timothie* is mentioned among those, who accompanied *Paul* into *Asia*, when he was going to *Jerusalem* with the above mentioned contributions. All which may induce some to think, that either *Timothie* did not return to *Paul*, before he left *Ephesus*: or that *Paul* took *Timothie* with him, when he went into *Macedonia*.

To which I answer: We have shewed it to be very probable, that *Timothie* returned to *Ephesus*, before *Paul* left it. The Apostle therefore might send *Timothie* this letter from *Macedonia*, and afterwards send for him, to come thither to him, having some special occasion for his assistance. And though this was not entirely agreeable to the Apostle, he might

(a) Παρεκάλισα. *sum precatus, vel hortatus*:] Blando vocabulo utitur, singulare modestiæ exemplum relinquens quibuscvis, in maxima etiam auctoritate constitutis. *Bez. in. loc.*

might be the rather disposed to it, hoping, that as he went to *Jerusalem*, he should have an opportunity to leave *Timothie* at *Ephesus*. Which, as I apprehend, he did, when he came to *Miletus*.

Farther, this difficulty is very much abated by the account formerly given of this period of our Apostle's historie. For it was then shewn, that there was a space of almost two years between *St. Paul's* going from *Ephesus*, when he went into *Macedonia*, and his coming to *Troas*, in the way to *Jerusalem*. *Timothie* therefore may have resided at *Ephesus* above a year, and yet be with the Apostle at the writing of the second epistle to the *Corinthians*, which was not sent to them till near the end of the year 57.

Dr. Benson (b) supposeth this epistle to have been writ at *Troas*, soon after the Apostle was come from *Ephesus*. And indeed, many learned men think, that *Paul* now went into *Macedonia* by the way of *Troas*. This has been collected from 2 Cor. iv. 12. 13. But that appears to me a difficult text. And it may be disputed, whether *Paul* there refers to his journey from *Ephesus*. For it is difficult to conceive, how the Apostle could have reason to expect *Titus* at *Troas*, at that season: considering, that his removal from *Ephesus* had been sudden, or however, somewhat sooner than he had intended. How then was it possible for him to have made an appointment for *Titus* to meet him at *Troas* punctually at the time of his arrival there.

But allowing *Paul* to have gone from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia* by the way of *Troas*, it will not follow, that this epistle was writ there. It may be concluded from 1 Tim. i. 3. that the Apostle was now in *Macedonia*, or had been there, since he left *Ephesus*. Accordingly, *Lightfoot*, *Baronius*, and *Esius*, before named, suppose this epistle to have been writ in *Macedonia*. Says (c) *Lightfoot*: "It is apparent from 1 Tim. i. 3. that this epistle was written after *Paul's* setting out from *Ephesus* for *Macedonia*. . . . Now it cannot be conceived, to have been written, when he was going toward *Macedonia*. For then he was but newly parted from *Timothie*. And it is not likely, that he would so write to him, when he was but newly come from him. . . . Therefore it cannot but be concluded, that this epistle was written, whilst he was in *Macedonia*, or the parts thereabout, at this time that we are upon." To which I readily assent.

I shall add only, what is also already hinted by *Lightfoot*, that it is very improbable, that the Apostle should use those expressions. 1 Tim. iii. 14. *hoping to come and see thee shortly*, before he had been in *Macedonia*. *St. Paul* was much more likely to say this, when he had been some months absent from *Ephesus*, than when he had been come away but a few days only.

I should now say more particularly, when this epistle was writ. And I think, it must have been writ in the year 56. In the beginning of that year, according to our account, *Paul* wrote the first epistle to the *Corinthians*. Before Pentecost in that year he left *Ephesus*. And before the end of that year, I suppose, he might write this epistle to *Timothie*. The place

(b) See his preface to the first epistle to *Timothie*. Sect. iii.

(c) *Harmonie of N. T.* Vol. i. p. 307.

place is not absolutely certain. Before writing this epistle the Apostle had been in *Macedonia*, since he left *Ephesus*. But whether he was now in that countrey, cannot, I apprehend, be fully determined by those expressions. 1 Tim. i. 3. However, this may be reckoned very likely, that the Apostle was either in *Macedonia*, or near it. *Lewis Cappell*, as before observed, was in doubt, which was first writ, this epistle, or the second to the *Corinthians*. About that I have no doubt. We shall soon see clear proof, that the second epistle to the *Corinthians* was writ not long before the end of the year 57. This first epistle to *Timothie* was writ in the year 56. and probably, some good while before the end of it.

S E C T. VI.

The Epistle to Titus.

A. D. 56. **S**AYS *Theodoret* immediately after what was transcribed from him above concerning the first epistle to *Timothie*: “After that, (d) as I think, was writ the epistle to *Titus*. For being still in those parts, he desired *Titus* to come to him, saying: *When I shall send unto thee Artemas, or Ty-chicus, be diligent to come to me at Nicopolis. For I have determined to winter there.* Tit. iii. 12. They say, that *Nicopolis* is a city of *Thrace*, nigh unto *Macedonia*.” So writes *Theodoret* in his general preface to *St. Paul's Epistles*. And in his note upon Tit. iii. 12. he says. “*Nicopolis* (e) is a city of *Thrace*, nigh unto *Macedonia*. It is manifest therefore, that he wrote this epistle, when he was in *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*.”

Following the opinion of this learned ancient, which I think to be very right, the epistle to *Titus* was writ in the year 56. and *Paul* spent the winter of that year at *Nicopolis*.

If it be asked, when was *Paul* in *Crete*? I answer, in general: a short time before he wrote this epistle, as may appear from those words: *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I appointed thee.* ch. i. 5. More particularly, I suppose, that *Paul* had been in *Crete* in this year 56. since he came from *Ephesus*, to go into *Macedonia*. About this time, I think, he was in *Crete*, and *Illyricum*, as well as in *Macedonia*. But as I do not indulge myself in making conjectures, I do not attempt to describe the order of the Apostle's voyages. It was before shewn to be probable, that (f) between *Paul's* leaving *Ephesus* in the spring of the year 56. and his coming to *Troas*, after the Passover, in the year 58. in his

(d) Μετὰ ταύτην ὑπολαμβάνω τὴν πρὸς τίτον γεγραφθεῖσαν ἐν ἐκείνοις γὰρ ἔτι δάγων τοῖς μέρεσι, καταλαβεῖν αὐτὸν παρεγγύσει. Λέγει δὲ ἔτι: ὅταν πέμψω ἀρτεμᾶν. . . . Τὴν δὲ νικόπολιν θρακικὴν μὲν πόλιν εἶναι φασί, τῇ δὲ μακεδονίᾳ πελάζειν. *Theod. T. 3. p. 4. C.*

(e) Τῆς θράκης ἐστὶν ἡ νικόπολις, τῇ δὲ μακεδονίᾳ πελάζει. Δῆλον τοίνυν ὡς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν, καὶ ὃν ἐν τῇ μακεδονίᾳ καὶ ἀχαίᾳ διέτριβεν, ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολήν. *Ibid. p. 515. A.*

(f) See before p. 219. . . . 221.

his way to *Jerusalem*, there was the space of about two years. In that time *Paul* might do, and probably did more than is particularly related by *St. Luke*. Few learned men, considering the conciseness of *St. Luke's* manner of writing, can make any difficulty to allow, that (g) he has not related all the Apostle's journeys. It is observable, that *Titus* was the person, who was sent by *Paul* into *Dalmatia*, when he was come to *Rome*. As appears from 2 *Tim.* iv. 10. Which may be reckoned an argument, that he had been there before.

About this time the epistle to *Titus* was writ, according to the opinion of divers learned men, to whom I refer: as (h) *Baronius*, (i) *Cappell*, (k) *Hammond*, and (l) *Lightfoot*. *Estius* (m) could not determine the time of this epistle exactly: but he thought, it was writ before the Apostle's imprisonment at *Jerusalem*, and *Rome*.

Cave in his (n) *Historia Literaria* placeth this epistle in the year 63. But, when he wrote the Lives of the Apostles, he (o) supposed it to have been writ soon after the first epistle to the *Corinthians*.

Mill (p) placeth this epistle in the year 64. *Pearson* (q) in 65, *Paul* having, as he supposes, been in *Crete*, and left *Titus* there the year before, that is, in 64. And many others may be of the same opinion.

But this appears to me too late a date. All that is said of *Paul's* going into *Spain*, and *Crete*, and some other places, after being released from his imprisonment at *Rome*, is mere conjecture, without any good authority, either from the books of the New Testament, or very early antiquity. It is not likely, that *Paul*, who in his epistle to *Philemon* calls himself aged, should after that undertake new work. It is more probable, that he went to such places, where he had been before, and where he had disciples already: as he intimates in his epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, *Philemon*, the *Hebrews*. Nor is it at all likely, that (r) the *Cretans* should have been so long without being instructed in the doctrine of the gospel, as *Pearson* supposeth.

I have

(g) Neque enim omnia Pauli itinera descripsit Lucas, sed notabiliora quædam. *Wiss. de Vita Pauli. Sect. 9. num. v.*

(h) *Baron. Ann. 57. num. ccix.*

(i) *Lud. Cappell. Hist. Ap. p. 16. et 66. Vid. et Jacob. Capp. Compend. in apost. hist. Chronol. Tab.*

(k) *Præf. in ep. ad Tit.*

(l) *Lightfoot's Works, Vol. i. p. 309. 310.*

(m) Quando scripta sit hæc epistola, non liquet, nec facile ex Actis Apost. colligi potest, quod in iis non legatur Paulus Cretam ingressus fuisse. Verisimile est, ante captivitatem Apostoli, quia vinculorum hic nulla mentio. Imo, cum dicit cap. iii. ibi enim statui hyemare, plane significat, non esse vinculum. *Est. Argum. ep. ad Tit.*

(n) Epistola ad Titum . . . data anno 63. e medio aliquo loco inter Macedoniam et Nicopolim. Illic enim hyemare decreverat. *H. L. in Paulo.*

(o) See there the Life of St. Paul. *Sect. iv. num. ix.*

(p) *Proleg. num. 122.*

(q) *Ann. Paulin. p. 20. . . . 22.*

(r) Non verisimile est, ad illud usque tempus ignoratum fuisse Christum in Creta: quum tota Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, Cyprus, Syria, personarent evangelii præconio. *Wiss. de Vita Pauli. Sect. v. num. i.*

I have already shewn the most probable date of the first epistle to *Timothie*. It is likely, that the epistle to *Titus* was writ about the same time. For the state of things in both appears to be very similar. In both are instructions concerning the qualifications of Elders, or Bishops, and Deacons. So 1 Tim. iii. and Tit. i. Nor is it reasonable to think, that *Paul* should have occasion, so late as the year 64. or 65. to send to his assistants and fellow-labourers such particular directions concerning that matter, as are in these two epistles. It is probable, that instructions of that kind had been given sooner. Moreover, the like errors are guarded against in both these epistles. 1 Tim. i. 4. *Neither give heed to fables, and endless genealogies. . . .* ch. iv. 7. *But refuse profane and old wives fables. . . .* vi. 10. *avoiding profane and vain babblings. . . .* Tit. 3. 9. *But avoid foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, and strivings about the law. For they are unprofitable, and vain.* See also ch. i. 10. . . . 14. In both are like directions for paying a proper regard to civil magistrates. 1 Tim. ii. 1. . . . 6. and Tit. iii. 1. . . . 3. There are also like directions concerning relative duties, particularly those of masters and servants. 1 Tim. vi. 1. 2. Tit. ii. 9. 10. *Timothie* and *Titus* are in a like manner exhorted, to take heed to themselves, and their doctrine, and to be examples of virtue. 1 Tim. i. 18. 19. iv. 6. 16. Tit. ii. 1. . . . 8. I might add, that near the conclusion of each epistle the practice of good works is in a very similar manner enjoined upon the converts to christianity.

It appears from many texts of the second epistle to the *Corinthians*, writ in *Macedonia*, that about this time *Paul* had the assistance of *Titus* in those parts. And *Tychicus*, mentioned Tit. iii. 12. was likewise with *Paul* at this time. For he was one of the companie, that went with him into *Asia*. Acts xx. 4. And therefore, probably, not he, but *Artemas*, had been sent into *Crete*, to relieve *Titus*. Moreover, *Apollon* was at *Ephesus*, a little before *Paul* left that city, to go into *Macedonia*. That is manifest from 1 Cor. xvi. 12. And it may be reckoned very probable, that he did not stay long at *Ephesus*, after *Paul*: but either went with him into *Macedonia*, or came into those parts soon afterwards. So that *Paul* might now have occasion to recommend him to *Titus*, in *Crete*, together with *Zenas*. Tit. iii. 13.

There are not in this epistle any tokens of *Paul's* great age, or of his being near the period of his ministrie. He is plainly at liberty at the time of writing this epistle. Nor are there any intimations of his having as yet endured any long imprisonment.

This letter may be the shorter, because, probably, *Paul* had lately writ at length upon the same subject to *Timothie*. Moreover, *Titus* was older, and might have more experience. *Chrysostom* judged (s) the brevity of this epistle to be an argument of the ability of *Titus*. "He did not need a long exhortation. A few hints were sufficient."

St. Paul says, Tit. iii. 12. *When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus,*

(s) . . . βραχεῖαν δὲ ποιεῖ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, εἰκότως. Καὶ τὸτο δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς τίμης τεκμήριον ἔν, τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι λόγων πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τινὸς ὑπομνήσεως. In *Tit. hom. i. Tom. xi. p. 730. B.*

chicus, be diligent to come to me at Nicopolis. For I have determined there to winter. Thereby Theodoret understood Nicopolis in Thrace, as seen above. So likewise (t) Chrysostom. But Jerome (u) supposed the Apostle to mean Nicopolis in Epirus. Neither of these interpretations is any prejudice to our argument. In which soever of those countreys Nicopolis was situated, the Apostle was as likely to be there at the time supposed by us, as at any other.

At Nicopolis the Apostle wintered, in the year 56. according to my computation. Consequently, this letter was writ some time before, in the same year 56. When the winter was over, Paul came into Macedonia, where he had been before, since he came from Ephesus. From Macedonia he came into Greece.

S E C T. VII.

The second Epistle to the Corinthians.

WHILST the Apostle was in Macedonia, at this time, he wrote the second epistle to the Corinthians. A. D. 57.

Concerning this there can be no doubt, if we attend to the epistle itself. From which it plainly appears, that the Apostle was then in Macedonia, and was going to Greece, particularly, to Corinth. So 2 Cor. ix. 1. . . 5. *For as touching the ministring to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write unto You. For I know the forwardnesse of your mind. For which I boast of you to them at Macedonia: that Achaia was ready a year ago. . . Yet have I sent the brethren. . . lest haply, if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not you) should be ashamed in this same confident boasting. Therefore I thought it necessary to exhort the brethren, that they would go before unto you, and make up beforehand your bounty. . . See also ch. viii. And ch. xiii. 1. This is the third time, I am coming to you.*

According to Pearson (x) this epistle was writ in Macedonia, in the year 57. according to (y) Mill, near the end of that year. I likewise think, that it was writ in the year 57. probably, in September, or October. For the Apostle, plainly, was soon to go to Corinth: where he might arrive, as I apprehend, in November.

I suppose, it was now above a year, since writing the first epistle to the Corinthians. The reasons of that supposition were mentioned (z) formerly. And need not to be repeated here.

Timothie

(t) Ἡ δὲ Νικόπολις τῆς Θράκης ἐστὶ. Chrys. in Tit. hom. 6. ib. p. 766. B.

(u) Scribit igitur Apostolus, ὁ Paula et Eustochium, de Nicopoli, quæ in Asiatico littore sita, nunc possessionis vestræ pars vel maxima est. &c. Hieron. Pr. in ep. ad Tit. T. 4. P. i. p. 407.

Nicopolis ipsa est, quæ ob victoriam Augusti, quod ibi Antonium et Cleopatram superârât, nomen accepit. Id. in Tit. cap. iii. ib. p. 439.

(x) Annal. Paulin. p. 15. A. D. lvii.

(y) . . . sub finem, ut videtur, anni æræ vulgaris lvii. Proleg. num. 21.

(z) See before, p. 219.

Timothie was with *Paul* at writing this epistle. For his name is in the inscription. It is likely, that (a) he had come from *Ephesus* to the Apostle in *Macedonia*, either upon occasion of some affairs of that church, or at the desire of the Apostle, who needed his assistance. As before said.

S E C T. VIII.

The Epistle to the Romans.

A. D. 58. **T**HE epistle to the *Romans* is dated by (b) *Pearson* in the year 57. by (c) *Mill* in the year 58. According to our computation of *Paul's* journeys there can be no reason to hesitate about either the time, or the place of this epistle. It was writ at *Corinth* in the begining of the year 58. before *Paul* set out on his journey to *Jerusalem*.

As *St. Luke's* words in *Acts* xx. 1. 2. 3. afford great light, and are a sure guide, I recite them here. *And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed [from Ephesus] for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over those parts, and given them much exhortation, he came into Greece. And there abode three months. In the space of these three months was writ the epistle to the Romans.*

According to *Theodoret* the epistle to the *Romans* (d) is the seventh in order of time, having been writ by the Apostle after the two epistles to the *Thessalonians*, and to the *Corinthians*, the first to *Timothie*, and the epistle to *Titus*. He adds: "That (e) the epistle to the *Romans* was writ from *Corinth*, is manifest from the conclusion. For there the Apostle recommends *Phæbe*, calling her *Deaconesse of the church in Cenchrea*, which was a borough of the *Corinthians*. *Rom.* xvi. 1. Besides, he says: *Caius, my host, and of the whole church, saluteth you.* ver. 23. By *host* he means the person, who entertained him. And that *Caius* was a *Corinthian*, we learn from the first epistle to the *Corinthians*. For thus he writes to them: *I thank God, that I baptized none of you, but Crispus, and Caius.* 1 *Cor.* i. 14. The epistle to the *Romans* therefore is the last of the epistles writ from *Asia*, and *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*: and is the seventh in order, as has been shewn. The rest were sent from *Rome*." So *Theodoret*. Who might have added, as a proof, that this

(a) Fateor, cum Paulus esset in Macedonia, una cum illo fuisse Timotheum. 2 *Cor.* i. 1. et postquam hyemem transgressisset in Epiro. *Tit.* iii. 1. ac per tres menses commoratus in Græcia. *Act.* xx. 2. 3. reversusque esset in Macedoniam, illi adfuisse Timotheum. *Act.* xx. 4. ac recta cum illo ivisse Troadem. Quæ omnia contingere potuerunt, postquam Paulus reliquisset Timotheum Ephesi: ex qua urbe tamen iverit ad Paulum, sive propter negotia Ephesinæ ecclesiæ, de quibus Paulum consuli ab eo oporteret, vel ut pareret Paulo, quem, ut videmus, et postea invisit, longiore itinere, Romam usque. 2 *Tim.* iv. 9. *Hammond. Præf. in 1 ep. Timoth. ex versione Clerici.*

(b) *Annal. Paulin.* p. 15.

(c) *Proleg. num.* 26.

(d) Ἐβδόμην τὴν πρὸ ἐμῶν ἐπέσειλε· μετὰ γὰρ δὴ ταύτης ἀπώπτεται ταύτην αὐτὸς γεγραπέναι διδάσκει. κ. λ. *Theod. T.* 3. p. 4. C.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 5.

this epistle was writ at *Corinth*, what follows in ver. 23. *Erastus, the chamberlain of the city, saluteth you.* For by *the city* I suppose to be meant *Corinth*. But whether this *Erastus* be the same, who is mentioned by *St. Luke* Acts xix. 22. as one of *St. Paul's* assistants, I cannot say certainly.

The time of writing this epistle is farther manifest hence. It was writ after that *Paul* had compleated his collections in *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, and when he was setting out for *Jerusalem*. For so he writes, ch. xv. 25. 26. *But now I go unto Jerusalem, to minister unto the saints. For it has pleased them of Macedonia, and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the poor saints, which are at Jerusalem.* . . ver. 30. 31. *Now I beseech you, brethren, . . . that ye strive together with me, in prayers to God for me : that I may be delivered from them that do not believe in Judea, and that my service, which I have for Jerusalem, may be accepted of the saints.*

Consequently, it is probable, that it was now near the end of the *three months*, that the Apostle staid in *Greece*. Whence he returned to *Macedonia*, and after the days of unleavened bread, sailed from *Philippi*, to *Troas*, upon the continent of *Asia*, Acts xx. 3. . . 6. And then went to *Jerusalem*, where he arrived about the time of Pentecost in the year 58.

If *St. Paul* came to *Corinth* in November 57. the epistle to the *Romans* might be sent thence in the month of *Februarie*, in the year 58.

S E C T. IX.

The Epistle to the Ephesians.

CONCERNING *St. Paul's* Epistles, writ during his imprisonment at *Rome*, particularly the Epistle to the *Ephesians*.

Soon after writing the epistle to the *Romans*; as was before hinted, *Paul* set out from *Corinth*, on his journey to *Jerusalem*. In a short time after his arrival there, he was apprehended. And he was kept a prisoner in that country, till he was sent to *Rome*.

During his stay in *Judea*, we know not of his corresponding with any churches, or particular persons, by writing. But at *Rome*, though a prisoner, he wrote divers letters. *Grotius* says, that (f) though all *St. Paul's* epistles are excellent, he most admires those writ by him, when a prisoner at *Rome*. And of the epistle to the *Ephesians* he says, it (g) surpasseth all human eloquence.

It is generally supposed, that *St. Paul* wrote there four epistles : to the *Ephesians*, the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. *Jerome* has twice (h) spoken of these four epistles, as writ at *Rome*. *Theodoret* having spoken of

(f) Omnes epistolæ Pauli egregiæ sunt : sed omnium in primis, quæ Romæ ex vinculis missæ sunt. *Gr. Pr. in ep. ad Col.*

(g) . . . rerum sublimitatem adæquans verbis sublimioribus; quam ulla unquam habuit lingua humana. *Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Eph.*

(h) Quod Romæ in vincula conjectus, hanc epistolam miserit eo tempore, quo ad Philemonem, et ad Colossenses, et ad Philippenses, in alio loco scriptas esse monstravimus. *Hieron. in Eph. cap. iiii. T. 4. p. 347.*

of the epistle to the *Romans*, as the seventh in order, and the last of those that were sent from *Asia*, *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, says: "The (i) rest were sent from *Rome*: the first of which I take to be that, writ to the *Galatians*." *Lightfoot* (k) likewise supposed the epistle to the *Galatians* to have been writ at *Rome*, and the first of those that were writ there. That is a wrong computation, as must appear from what has been already said. But beside the four above mentioned, the second epistle to *Timothie* might be writ at this season. The epistle to the *Hebrews* likewise, if it be *Paul's*, was, probably, writ about this time, either during the Apostle's imprisonment, or soon after it, before he left *Rome*, and *Italie*.

St. *Paul's* imprisonment, from the time of his being apprehended at *Jerusalem*, to his coming to *Rome*, was the space of almost, or quite three years. For a short time he was confined in the castle of *Antonia* at *Jerusalem*. Thence he was sent to *Cesarea* by the sea-side, the seat of the Roman Governour, who at that time was *Felix*. Where he was kept in *Herod's* judgment hall. Acts xxiii. 15. And though afterwards there was an order for enlarging the first strictness of his custodie, and that his acquaintance should be permitted to come to him, and minister to him. ch. xxiv. 23. I suppose, he was still confined in the above mentioned prison. And, perhaps, this new order imported little more, than leave for his friends to bring him needful refreshments, and take care of his health. It does not appear, that during the space of two years, and several months, whilst he was in *Judea*, he wrote any letters, or received any, as before intimated. Says (l) *Wall*: "Those two years of imprisonment under *Felix* seem to have been the most unactive part of St. *Paul's* life. There is no account of any preachings, or disputations, or of any epistles writ in this space." Indeed, considering the violent opposition made by the Jews throughout the whole space of the Apostle's being in that countrey: I apprehend, there was no attempt made by *Paul*, or his friends, to procure him intelligence from the Christian churches abroad: and that the Roman Governour could not allow of any such thing. He would rather have set *Paul* at liberty, and let him go quite away. But when *Paul* was brought to *Rome*, though he was under a guard, he was suffered to dwell by himself, in his own hired house. Acts xxviii. 16. 30. where he was two years. Having such liberty, he wisely improved it, not only by discoursing with all those who came to him, but also by writing several epistles.

Of all these epistles the first writ seems to me to be that to the *Ephesians*. A. D. 61. I think, it was drawn up by the Apostle, as soon as conveniently could be, after his friends at *Rome* had taken a lodging for him, and he was settled in it.

The epistle is inscribed to the saints which are at *Ephesus*, and to the faithfull in *Christ Jesus*. But I apprehend, that the Apostle thought of the Christians throughout *Asia*, properly so called, whether living at *Ephesus*,

Scribet igitur ad Philemonem Romæ vincus in carcere, quo tempore mihi videntur ad Philippenſes, Coloſſenſes, et Ephesios epistolæ esse dictatæ. In *Philem.* ib. p. 445. in.

(i) Τὰς γὰρ δὴ ἄλλας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρώμενης ἐπέστειλε. καὶ πρῶτην μὲν ἡχῆσαι τὴν πρὸς γαλάτας γραφῆναι. T. 3. p. 5.

(k) *Lightf.* Vol. I. p. 323.

(l) *Notes upon the N. T.* p. 267. 268.

fus, the chief city of the countrey, or not. To the like purpose (m) Hammond: and also Mr. Pyle, who paraphraseth the first verse of the epistle in this manner: "*Paul, called to be an Apostle, sendeth this epistle to the church of Ephesus, and to all the Christians of the lesser Asia, those faithfull Christians that firmly rely upon the Christian Religion for salvation, without the observation of the Mosaical ceremonies.*" We are led to this supposition by what St. Paul says near the conclusion of his first epistle to the *Corinthians*, writ at *Ephesus*: *the churches of Asia salute you.* 1 Cor. ch. xv. 19. And that epistle to the *Corinthians* is addressed to the church of God, which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord, both theirs and ours. And the second epistle to the *Corinthians* is addressed to the church of God, which is at Corinth, with all the saints, which are in all Achaia.

After the salutation of these Christians, at the beginning of the epistle, he praiseth God for the gospel dispensation, now made known to all men, agreeably to the gracious purpose, long since formed in the divine counsels. *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ: according as he hath chosen us in him, before the foundation of the world.* ver. 3. 4. to the 12. He then reminds them of their first faith in the gospel, and the circumstances of it. *In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise. Which is the earnest of our inheritance.* . . . ver. 13. 14. After which he lets them know, that in his confinement, since he came to Rome, he had heard of the continuance of their faith, and of their love for all Christians in general. Which had filled him with transports of joy and satisfaction. *Wherefore I also having heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers: that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glorie, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom: or that they might be more and more illuminated, and established in the principles of true religion.* ver. 15. 16. and to ver. 23.

The account, that had been brought him of the Christians at *Ephesus*, by *Tychicus*, as may be supposed, having been very agreeable, the Apostle does not censure them for any great irregularities in conduct, as he does the *Corinthians*, nor for any remarkable deviations from the simplicity of the gospel, or instability therein, as he does the *Galatians*. But he treats them with great mildness. However, he sends them a pathetic exhortation to persevere in a conversation, becoming their profession, and their privileges, and to guard against the temptations, which they might meet with either from Heathen idolaters, or corrupt and self-interested Christians.

At the end, he tells them, that he had sent *Tychicus*, who would give them information concerning his affairs, and comfort them. ch. vi. 21. 22. And then adds: *Peace be to the brethren, and love, with faith, from*

(m) Ephesum fuisse primam Metropolim Lydiæ, vel proconsularis Asiæ, ostendimus in notis ad Coloss. iv. 16. Itaque epistola hæc, Ephesiis inscripta, non est putanda ad eos solos pertinere, verum etiam ad alias urbes provinciæ, imo et totius Asiæ. Hammond. *Præf. in ep. ad Eph.*

God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. ver. 2. 3. Peace be to the brethren, that is, the brethren, with you, at *Ephesus*, to whom the epistle is directed. So 1 Thess. v. 27. *I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read to all the holy brethren*: meaning the brethren, or Christians at *Thessalonica*. So to the *Philippians* ch. iv. 21. *Salute every saint in Christ Jesus*, meaning, undoubtedly, the Christians at *Philippi*. And then at ver. 22. *All the saints salute you*: meaning all the Christians in general at *Rome*. It was not needful to say, of this place. The meaning is obvious.

The concluding words of this epistle are these at ver. 23. *Grace be with all them that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity*. Which, I think, may be understood, and paraphrased after this manner. "And grace be with all those, who, like you, love the Lord Jesus Christ, in sincerity."

That is a brief and general account of the epistle itself. I must add somewhat in behalf of the early date of it, which is here assigned by me.

There might be many considerations, inducing the Apostle to write to the *Ephesians*, soon after his arrival at *Rome*. *Ephesus* was a place of great importance, being the chief city of *Asia*, where was a great resort of merchants, and all other people. Here the apostle chose to settle that eminent disciple of his, *Timothie*. Here also St. *John* took up his residence, after he had left *Judea*. It was the place, where *Paul* had been longer, than in any other city, except *Antioch*. Here also he had wrought many, and special miracles, and had great success in his preaching. Acts xix. Moreover, he had intended them a visit. 1 Tim. iii. 4. But had been prevented. When he went to *Jerusalem*, it is likely, that it was earnestly desired, and confidently expected by the Christians at *Ephesus*. Such expectations are sufficiently intimated by St. *Luke*. Acts xx. 15. . . . 17. *The next day we came to Miletus. For Paul had determined to sail by Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia. For he hasted, if possible, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost. And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the church.* Where having made a pathetic discourse, all present were much affected, and gave testimonies of a fervent affection, and high esteem. These things must have made impressions upon the Apostle, and have been well remembered by him: and may have induced him to think of writing first to this church upon his coming to *Rome*, and having liberty of correspondence.

There might be likewise some other reasons for this determination. The epistle is carried by *Tychicus*, who was of *Asia*, and, probably, an *Ephesian*. Mr. *Biscoe* (h) thought, that *Tychicus* accompanied the Apostle in his voyage to *Rome*. But for that I see no ground. I rather think, that like divers others of his fellow-labourers, *Tychicus* had come to *Rome* of his own accord, to meet *Paul*, and to attend upon him: or had been sent by the *Ephesians*, to pay their respects to him, and enquire into the state of his affairs. It seems to me, that *Tychicus* was one of the first, who came to the apostle, and very soon after his arrival at *Rome*. Yea, possibly, *Tychicus* was got thither before him, as some other of the Apostle's friends likewise might be. However, *Tychicus* being now at *Rome*, he was a very fit person to go with a letter from the Apostle to *Ephesus*.

If

(h) Upon the Acts, p. 435.

If we duly attend to the Apostle's situation, after having been above two years in a close confinement at *Cesarea*, we may be able to discern the reason of several things. Particularly, we may perceive, why this is a kind of general epistle, not much concerning itself with the affairs and circumstances of any church: but delivering, first, the doctrine of the gospel, and then the duties of it, with a fulness scarcely equalled in any other of the apostolical epistles. As *Theodore* said: "The (o) former part of the epistle contains the doctrine of the Gospel, the latter part a moral admonition." Or as a learned modern says: "Being somewhat in the manner of an institute." The Apostle might well judge it best to write thus in his first letter, writ after a long silence: and in this manner to remind his friends and converts in *Asia* of the principles of the gospel, and their obligations, as Christians.

We are likewise hence led to discern the great beauty and propriety of the several places of this epistle, where the Apostle speaks of his bonds. ch. iii. 1. *I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentils.* That for their cause, he was now in bonds, appears from the historie of his imprisonment, as related by *St. Luke* in the *Acts*, and particularly, from what is said ch. xxii. 21. 22. and the following verses. There is an especial suitableness in that expression of the Apostle, in a letter writ soon after his arrival at *Rome*, and especially, if it be the first letter writ by him after his being apprehended, as I think it is. And having enlarged somewhat farther upon his having been appointed an Apostle by Christ, for forwarding the gospel among Gentils, he goes on, and endeavors to comfort these Christians, and all Gentil converts in general, with regard to the afflictive dispensation, which he was under, and which might appear very strange to many. ver. 13. *Wherefore I desire, that ye faint not at my tribulations for you, which is your glorie.* Again: iv. 1. *I therefore the prisoner of the Lord beseech you.* And ch. vi. 20. he calls himself *an Ambassador in bonds.* How suitable is this to the Apostle's circumstances, if we consider him now lately arrived in the city of *Rome*, the capital of the Roman Empire, and the seat of the Emperour!

I cannot forbear transcribing that passage. ch. vi. 18... 20. *Praying for all saints . . . and for me, that utterance may be given to me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystrie of the gospel. For which I am an Ambassador in bonds: that I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak.* Wherein I do not think, the Apostle so much desires these Christians to pray for his enlargement, as that he might discharge his commission aright: and speak with the freedom and boldness of an Ambassador from a great Prince: though he was chained as a prisoner, and had not the outward pomp and state, usual with men of that high character. This was very proper at the time of his arrival at *Rome*, where he was likely to continue some while.

There is a like passage in *Col.* iv. 3. 4. which, I think, ought not to be understood very differently.

It is also an argument, that this epistle was writ by the Apostle soon after his coming to *Rome*: that here are no expressions, denoting hopes of enlargement, as there are in the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*: writ, as we suppose, not long before his deliver-

ance. Nor does he here take any notice of successes obtained at *Rome*, or give any intimations of converts made by him there, as he does Philip. i. 12. 13. 14. iv. 22. He seems indeed to have pleased himself with a prospect of recommending the gospel in his present situation. ch. iii. 7 . . . 10. like to what he says 2 Tim. iv. 17. an epistle writ about the same time. But he does not intimate any advantages obtained as yet. Nor does he at the end of this epistle send such salutations, as at the end of the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. All which must lead us to think, that the circumstances of the Apostle at writing this epistle were different from his circumstances at writing those epistles: when his captivity, as is allowed, was near it's period.

Says St. Paul 2 Tim. iv. 12. *And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus*. It is likely, that the Apostle there refers to the epistle, of which we are now speaking. He had just sent, or was sending away *Tychicus* to *Ephesus* with this epistle. I think, I shall presently shew, that the second epistle to *Timothie* was writ in the first year of the Apostle's imprisonment at *Rome*, and not very long after his arrival there. Consequently, this epistle, being there referred to, must have been sent about the same time.

That the epistle to the *Ephesians* is here referred to, has been the opinion of many. So thought (p) *Tillemont*. Who supposing, that the second of *Timothie* was writ in a second imprisonment of the Apostle at *Rome*, placeth the writing of this to the *Ephesians* in the year 65. *Whitby* in his preface to the epistle to the *Ephesians* observes: "In his close of 'this epistle St. Paul speaks thus to them. ch. vi. 21. 22. *That ye may know my affairs and how I do . . . Tychicus shall make known unto you all things. . . .* And in the second epistle to *Timothie* he saith: *Tychicus have I sent unto Ephesus*. 2 Tim. iv. 12." So *Whitby*. But forgetting, as it seems, what he had said in some other places. However, this shews, how natural and easie it is, to think the epistle to the *Ephesians* intended in that place of the second to *Timothie*. And it is what most would think, if not biased by some prejudice.

Theodoret in his general preface to St. Paul's epistles says: "The (q) "Apostle sent to the *Ephesians* and the *Colossians* at the same time, and "sent them by the same messenger," meaning *Tychicus*. But in his preface to the epistle to the *Ephesians*, having quoted Eph. vi. 21. 22. he goes on: "And (r) that he sent *Tychicus* from *Rome*, he shews in his "second epistle to *Timothie*, saying: Do thy diligence to come to me "shortly. . . . And *Tychicus* have I sent to *Ephesus*." 2 Tim. iv. 10. . . . 12. So *Theodoret*, without considering the consequence. For he supposed the second to *Timothie* to have been writ but a short time before the Apostle's martyrdom. But if the epistle to the *Ephesians* was writ when the Apostle was first at *Rome*, (as *Theodoret* allows,) and if he refers to it in his second epistle to *Timothie*; it will follow, that this was writ soon after that to the *Ephesians*, and when the Apostle was first at *Rome*."

However,

(p) *Saint Paul. Art. 49. et Note 58. Mem. Ec. Tom. i.*

(q) Καὶ μὲν τοὶ καὶ ἑφεσίοις καὶ κολοσσαῖσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔγραψε χρόνον, ἐν τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀμφοτέρων διακὼν χρησάμενος. *Theod. T. 3. p. 5.*

(r) Τὸν δὲ μακάριον τυχικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ῥώμης ἀπέστειλε καὶ τὸτο ἐν τῇ πρὸς τιμόθεον ἐπιστολῇ διδάσκει. κ. λ. *Ib. p. 292. A.*

However, there are difficulties attending this opinion, which must be considered.

First, it is said, that the epistles to the *Ephesians* and the *Colossians* were sent by the same messenger. Comp. Eph. vi. 21. 22. Col. iv. 7. 8. The epistle to the *Colossians* was sent away from *Rome*, when the Apostle had hopes of enlargement. Consequently, the epistle to the *Ephesians* was writ about the same time.

I answer, that this is no proof. For *Tychicus* might be sent twice into the same countrey, in the time of the Apostle's two years imprisonment. *Tychicus* might be sent to *Ephesus*, with this letter to the *Ephesians*, soon after the Apostle's arrival at *Rome*, and come back to him, and be able to take another journey into those parts a year after, when the Apostle was about to be set at liberty.

Secondly, it is said, that there is a great agreement between the epistle to the *Ephesians* and that to the *Colossians*. This last, as is allowed, was writ in the second year of the Apostle's confinement, and when it was near it's end. Consequently, the epistle to the *Ephesians* was writ about the same time.

To which I answer: Undoubtedly, there is an agreement between these epistles in several things, taken notice of by (s) *Grotius*, and others. But it does not therefore follow, that they were sent away together. For, as has been observed by (t) *Lightfoot*, it is likely, that the Apostle kept copies of his letters. If so, it might be easie for him to write after the same manner at different times, to people not very remote from each other, and whose circumstances were much alike. Indeed, without keeping copies of his letters, I believe it would be no difficult matter for St. Paul to repeat the Christian principles, and exhortations to Christian virtues, at several times, in like expressions, if the circumstances of men required it.

And there are several things in the epistles themselves, which afford good reason for thinking, that they were not writ, and sent away at the same time: and that the epistle to the *Colossians* was writ some while after that to the *Ephesians*. From what is said in the second chapter of the epistle to the *Colossians*, concerning the worshipping of angels, and other matters, it may be concluded, that the Apostle had received from those parts some intelligence, which he had not, when he wrote the epistle to the *Ephesians*. For there those matters are not at all touched upon.

And though there is a resemblance between these two epistles, they are very different. For the epistle to the *Ephesians* is a good deal longer than

(s) Proxima huic et argumento, et verbis etiam, est illa ad Colossenses, eodem, ni fallor, scripta tempore. *Grot. Præf. in ep. ad Eph. vid. et ejusd. Pr. in ep. ad Coloss.*

(t) "It may be, the parchments 2 Tim. iv. 13. were the originals of those epistles, that he had already written. For that he sent transcripts, and reserved the originals, may be collected from these passages. *I Tertius, who wrote out this epistle.* Rom. xvi. 22. See also 1 Cor. xvi. 21. Col. iv. 18. 2 Thess. iii. 17. For all the epistle beside was written with another hand." *Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 316.*

than that to the *Colossians*, though the fore-mentioned article in the second chapter to the *Colossians* is entirely wanting. And in those places, where there is an agreement, there are differences.

Nor is there in the epistle to the *Ephesians* any notice taken of *Timothie*, or *Epaphras*, or *Mark*, so expressly mentioned in the epistle to the *Colossians*. Which must be reckoned a very strong, and even a demonstrative argument, that these two epistles were not writ, and sent away at the same time.

In this date of the epistle to the *Ephesians* I have (u) followed *Lightfoot*: from whom I have had great assistances in settling the time of St. Paul's epistles. I have likewise had, in this instance, assistances from (x) *Baronius*, (y) *Estius*, (z) *Hammond*, and (a) *Witsius*.

Baronius (b) and *Lightfoot* first speak of the second epistle to *Timothie*: though they do not deny, the epistle to the *Ephesians* to have been writ before it. But as we are now inquiring into the order of time, I have judged it best to adhere to that strictly. A few weeks, yea a few days, might make a great alteration in the Apostle's circumstances at this time. And some of his friends and assistants might be daily coming to *Rome* from the provinces, and getting access to him in his apartment. By comparing these two epistles I am led to think, that when the Apostle wrote the second epistle to *Timothie*, he had been longer at *Rome*, and was better acquainted with the world about him, than when he wrote the epistle to the *Ephesians*.

Basnage is singular in his sentiment concerning the time of this epistle. "That (c) it was writ at *Rome*, when *Paul* was prisoner there, he says, is manifest. But he thinks it to have been the last epistle, which was sent thence by the Apostle. He argues well enough, that it was not sent with the epistle to the *Colossians*. And he supposeth, that *Tychicus* was sent twice into these countreys by the Apostle from *Rome*." He should therefore have concluded, that this letter to the *Ephesians* was carried by *Tychicus*, not after those other epistles, but before them.

Says

(u) As before p. 325.

(x) *Annal.* 59. num. xv. *Vid. et num. xx.*

(y) *Præf. in ep. ad Eph.*

(z) *Præf. in ep. ad Ephes.*

(a) *Wits. de Vit. Paul. Scæ. xii. num. vi. et ix.*

(b) Hæc cum ita sint, nos tamen primum egimus de ipsa ad *Timotheum* scripta epistola, eo quod multa in ea de rebus suis *Romæ* gestis ipse significet, ex quibus intexeretur historia: quarum nulla est mentio in epistola ad *Ephesios*. *Baron. Ann.* 59. num. xv.

(c) Epistolarum omnium, quas primis in vinculis exaravit Apostolus, ea quæ ad *Ephesios* ultima esse videtur. Ludovico enim Cappello non assentimur, qui eodem tempore ad *Colossenses* et ad *Ephesios*, epistolam scriptam esse statuit. . . Agebat *Romæ* *Epaphras*, dum *Paulus* scribit *Colossensibus*, *Col. i. 8.* Urbe autem aberat, cum ad *Ephesios* misit epistolam, in qua ne verbulo quidem meminit *Epaphræ*. Quinetiam non ut ad *Colossenses* sic et ad *Ephesios* nomine suo et *Timothei* scribit. Præterea per *Tychicum* missa est epistola. *Eph. vi. 21.* Quæ de alia prorsus *Tychici* professione intelligenda sunt, quam cujus meminit ad *Colossenses* *iv. 12.* Alioquin *Timothei* ac *Epaphræ* mentionem quoque injecisset. *Ann.* 61. num. vii.

Says St. Paul 2 Tim. iv. 12. *And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus.* I suppose the Apostle here to refer to the epistle to the *Ephesians*, which was carried from *Rome* to *Ephesus* by *Tychicus*. But still, perhaps, it may be questioned, whether those two epistles, that to the *Ephesians*, and the second to *Timothie* were sent away together. *Baronius* (d) says, they were. He says, the Apostle puts the preterit for the present. So Eph. vi. 21. 22. . . . *That ye may know my affairs, and how I do, . . . Tychicus . . . shall make known unto you all things, whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose.* And unquestionably, that way of speaking is not uncommon. Instances are obvious. So Philem. ver. 12. *Whom I have sent again.* Which may be rendered: *whom I am sending again* to you. See also ver. 19. 21. and Philip. ii. 23. So here in 2 Tim. iv. 12. The words may be rendered: *And Tychicus I am sending to Ephesus.* Nevertheless, as that interpretation, in this place, is not certain, I would not be positive. The epistle to the *Ephesians*, I think, was carried from *Rome* by *Tychicus*, either at the same time with the second to *Timothie*, or a short time only before it.

And according to my calculation, the epistle to the *Ephesians* was writ at *Rome*, soon after the Apostle's arrival there in 61. and before the summer of that year. It was the first epistle writ by the Apostle in that city. And it was sent away a short time before the second epistle to *Timothie*, of which I shall speak next, or together with it.

S E C T. X.

The second Epistle to Timothie.

WE come now to the second epistle to *Timothie*, which we suppose to have been sent away together with *A.D.* 61. that to the *Ephesians*, or soon after it.

Many learned men speak of a second imprisonment of *Paul* at *Rome*, and suppose, that this second epistle to *Timothie* was then writ, in 67. or 68. But I do not know, that we have any good account of a second imprisonment of *Paul* at *Rome*. He suffered martyrdom there, as some think, in 64. or 65. or as others, in 67. or 68. But that he might do, without a previous imprisonment of any duration. For he might be apprehended on a sudden, and be put to death presently. Which may be reckoned as likely, as not.

Before I proceed to the proofs, that this second epistle to *Timothie* was writ during *Paul's* imprisonment at *Rome*, when he was sent thither from *Judea* by *Festus*, I would premise, that I suppose, with most learned moderns, that *Timothie* was now at *Ephesus*.

It

(d) Verum eidem Tabellario, nempe Tychico, dedit etiam tunc Paulus epistolam ad Ephesios. Licet in ea ad Timotheum dicat: *Tychicum misi Ephesum*: tamen præteritum tempus pro præsentis usurpasse videtur, sicut cum ad Ephesios de eodem scribens ait: *Ut autem et vos sciatis, quæ circa me sunt . . . nota faciet Tychicus . . . quem misi ad vos ad hoc ipsum.* . . . *Bar. ann. 59. num. xv.*

It has been thought, that *Timothie* was not there, because it is said ch. iv. 12. *Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus*. But that argument is of no force. There was no need to say: I have sent *Tychicus* to you. There are many similar, or parallel ways of speaking in St. Paul's epistles. 1 Cor. xvi. 32. He speaks of his having fought with beasts at *Ephesus*: where he certainly was at that time, as appears from xvi. 8. And 2 Tim. i. 17. he says: *When Onesiphorus was at Rome, he sought me out very diligently*. He does not say, when he was here. *Lightfoot* (e) observes, that from the epistle itself it may be concluded, that *Timothie* was at *Ephesus*. For 1. He directs him to salute the household of *Onesiphorus*. iv. 9. who was an *Ephesian*. i. 16. . . . 18. 2. He directs *Timothie* to take *Troas* in his way to him. ch. iv. 13. which was the way, that *Paul* had gone from *Ephesus*. 2 Cor. ii. 12. and to *Ephesus* again. Acts xx. 5. 3. He warns him of *Alexander*. iv. 14. who was an *Ephesian*. 1 Tim. i. 20. Acts xix. 33. So *Lightfoot*. To which, I think, may be added, 4. *Paul's* salutation of *Priscilla* and *Aquila*. ch. iv. 19. who, probably, were now returned to *Ephesus*, and settled there, where they had been formerly. Acts xviii. 18. 19. . . . 26. and 1 Cor. xvi. 19. For certain they were not now at *Rome*, where *Paul* himself was: though they were there, when he wrote the epistle to the *Romans*. xvi. 3. 4.

Here it may be asked: When did *Timothie* come to *Ephesus*? And how long had he been there? I answer, that by a very easy and probable conjecture, it may be concluded, that he was left there, when *Paul* was going up to *Jerusalem*, with the collections, which he had made among the Gentil Christians, for the poor saints in *Judea*. For *Timothie* is expressly mentioned by St. *Luke* among the Apostle's companie in that journey. Acts xx. 3. 4. 5. And as he was about to sail into *Syria*, he purposed to return through *Macedonia*. And there accompanied him into *Asia*, *Sopater* of *Beroea* . . . and *Timothie*, and of *Asia*, *Tychicus*, and *Trophimus*. *Timothie* therefore was in *Paul's* companie, and went with him as far as *Asia*, in which *Ephesus* stood. And so far, I suppose, all, above mentioned, accompanied *Paul*, but not into *Syria*. I apprehend, that *Timothie* and *Tychicus* staid in *Asia*. For we have not any intimations from St. *Luke*, or St. *Paul*, or any way, that these two were with the Apostle at *Jerusalem*.

Every one is here able to recollect, that when *Paul* went into *Macedonia* in the year 56. about the time of Pentecost, he left *Timothie* at *Ephesus*. 1 Tim. i. 3. But for some reasons, which may be well supposed to have been good and sufficient, he came from thence to *Paul* in *Macedonia*. For he is joyned with *Paul* in the salutation, at the beginning of the second epistle to the *Corinthians*. And, as has been just seen, he attended *Paul*, when he left *Macedonia*, to proceed to *Jerusalem*. But no man can doubt, that *Paul* would be willing to replace *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, where his presence was of great importance, if an opportunity should offer. Such an opportunity there now was. And, very probably, it was embraced. And *Paul* parted with him at *Milerus*, where he had sent for the Elders of the church of *Ephesus* to meet him.

Tillemont

Tillemont says : " It (f) is not said, what became of *Timothie*, during the two years that *St. Paul* was prisoner in *Judea*." I think, I may presume to say, he was all that time at *Ephesus*, and parts adjacent in *Asia*. *Du Pin* was of the same opinion, whose words I transcribe (g) below.

Tillemont adds presently afterwards : " It is however certain, that *Timothie* was at *Rome*, when the Apostle wrote to *Philemon*, the *Philippians*, and the *Colossians* : forasmuch as he is named joyntly with him " in the titles of those three epistles." How *Timothie* came to be then at *Rome*, we shall see presently.

Paul therefore parted with *Timothie* at *Miletus*, as just said. And I think, that when the Elders of *Ephesus* were come to *Miletus*, *Timothie* joyned himself with them, and stood at the head of them : and consequently was one of those, of whom it is said : *And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him : sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more. And they accompanied him to the ship.* Acts xx. 37. 38.

Of this *Paul* takes notice in the most affectionate manner. 2 Tim. i. 4. *Greatly desirous to see thee, being mindful of thy tears, that I may be filled with joy.* Doubtless *Paul* was much affected by the tears of all the rest, but especially *Timothie's* : and was now greatly desirous to see him, who had been so deeply struck with the thoughts of never seeing his face any more.

Timothie, then, was at *Ephesus*, when this epistle was sent to him. And he had been there from the time that *Paul* left *Miletus*, to go to *Jerusalem*, and during his imprisonment in *Judea*.

The observation, that *Paul* here refers to the tears shed by his friends at his parting with them at *Miletus*, appears to me very obvious : though it has been hitherto entirely overlooked, so far as I know. And it will directly lead us to the true date of this epistle. It is a most proper begining of a letter sent by *Paul* to *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, soon after his arrival at *Rome* from *Palestine*, at the time we suppose : but it is very unlikely to be taken notice of in an epistle writ several years afterwards, and after there had been an interview : as there certainly was, when *Paul* was at *Rome*.

I shall now observe divers particulars, confirming the supposition, that *St. Paul's* second epistle to *Timothie* was writ, during the Apostle's imprisonment at *Rome*, and near the begining of it.

1. The circumstances of the Apostle's imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither by *Festus*, and at the time of writing this epistle, are exactly the same.

Says

(f) *S. Timothée Mem. T. 2.*

(g) On pourroit dire néanmoins, et je ne m'eloignerois de ce sentiment, que *S. Paul* le laissa à *Ephese*, quand s'étant arrêté à *Milet*, il envoya querir les prêtres de l'église d'*Ephese*. Acts. xx. ver. 17. Car nous lisons, que comme *S. Paul* partoît pour aller en *Asie* par *Macedoine*, *Timothée* fut un de ceux qui l'accompagnèrent en *Asie*. ch. xx. 4. Et nous ne trouvons plus *Timothée* à sa compagnie, ni à *Jerusalem*, ni pendant sa prison de *Cesarée*. Si cela est, *Timothée* aura été établi par *S. Paul* pour gouverner les églises d'*Asie* en 58. *Du Pin. Diff. Prelim. l. 2. ch. 2. § viii.*

Says St. Luke, Acts xxviii. 16. *Paul was suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him.* And ver. 30. *Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him.*

Here are two remarkable particulars. First, that *Paul dwelt by himself, with a soldier that kept him*: that is, after the manner of the Romans, by an iron chain of convenient length, he was fastened to a soldier, who had one end of the chain upon his left hand, and *Paul* the other end upon his right hand. As was largely shewn (*h*) formerly. To this St. Paul refers in this his second epistle to *Timothie* i. 16. speaking of *Onesiphorus*: *He oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain.* So exactly, Acts xxviii. 20. *Because for the hope of Israel, I am bound with this chain.*

Secondly. The other remarkable particular is, that when at *Rome*, *Paul dwelled in his own hired house, and received all who came in unto him.* Such also was his case at writing this epistle, as appears abundantly from ch. iv. 10. and other places. He had with him *Demas, Crescens, Titus.* The first was gone to *Thessalonica*, without his approbation: the others were gone, whither he had sent them, as it seems. And *Luke* was still with him. And at ver. 21. he sends salutations to *Timothie* from divers persons, and from the church at *Rome* in general, saying: *Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.* Which shews, that people had free access to the Apostle, when he wrote this epistle.

I. Obj. However, it has been objected, that (*i*) when *Onesiphorus* came to *Rome*, *Paul* was close shut up, and *Onesiphorus* had much difficulty in finding him. Which is different from the imprisonment of which St. *Luke* has given an account.

To which I answer, that *Onesiphorus* had no uncommon difficulty in his access to *Paul*, whose words are, 2 Tim. i. 16. 17. *The Lord give mercie to the house of Onesiphorus. For he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain. But when he was at Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and came unto me*: that is, I think: “*Onesiphorus* has been often “with me, and refreshed me, with presents, and with his conversation, “without being at all ashamed of me, though I had a chain upon me.” Which shews, that *Onesiphorus* might come to visit the Apostle, when he pleased: and might give him as much relief, as he saw good. “*Yea*, “says the Apostle, as soon as he came to *Rome*, he made inquiries after “me, and came to see me without delay.”

Here appear not any tokens of *Paul's* being under a very strict confinement. But here are evidences of his being in such a condition, as that represented by St. *Luke*, when he had been brought from *Judea* to *Rome*. *Onesiphorus* seems to have come to *Rome*, soon after the Apostle's arrival

(*h*) See of this work Part i. B. i. ch. x. § ix.

(*i*) In secundis vinculis alia statim rerum facies fuit. Tunc enim *Onesiphorus*, inquit, cum *Romam* venisset, sollicite me quesivit, et invenit. i. 17. An opus erat, ut *Onesiphorus* προσδιδόντες, et cum tanto studio ac solitudine quaereret *Paulum*, et ex tam sedula inquisitione inveniret, si Apostolus aut in eadem domo, aut cum eadem libertate, et non in arcta et abdita custodia prædicasset? *Pearson. De Success. primor. Rom. Episcop. Diss. i. cap. 9. n. viii.*

arrival there. In order to find him out, and know where he was; it was needfull to make some inquiries. How else should any man find a stranger in a great city? Whether he was quite at liberty, or in one of the prisons of it, some inquiries would be needfull. And when *Onesiphorus* had found the place, where *Paul* was, he came to it without any difficulty.

Witsus (k) speaks exactly to the like purpose. And supposeth, that after some inquiries (such as are needfull, when a man comes to a large city, and wants to see a stranger newly arrived,) *Onesiphorus* found *Paul* with the soldier in his own hired house.

The case I take to be this. *Onesiphorus* came to *Rome* upon his own secular business. He knew very well, that *Paul* had been carried thither, as a prisoner. But what was become of him, he did not know: whether he had been set at liberty, or was still a prisoner, or had been put to death. Upon coming to *Rome* therefore, not long after *Paul* had been brought thither, he made anxious inquiries after him. And hearing where *Paul* was, he readily came to him, notwithstanding his disgraceful circumstance, being chained to a soldier. And so long as he staid in *Rome*, he made the Apostle frequent visits, and afforded him such refreshment, as was in his power.

2. Obj. But it is urged, that *St. Paul* says, 2 Tim. ii. 9. (l) — *Wherein I suffer, as an evil doer, even unto bonds.*

To which I answer, that the word, here rendered *bonds*, is the same that is used in other epistles, writ during the Apostle's imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither by *Festus*. Col. iv. 18. *Remember my bonds.* Μνημόνευτέ με τῶν δεσμῶν. The same word is used at least four times in the epistle to the *Philippians*. ch. i. 7. 13. 14. 16. and in *Philem.* ver. 10. and 13. *Hebr.* x. 34. And to the *Ephesians* he says iii. 1. *I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ.* ὁ δεσμιος. And ch. iv. 1. *The prisoner of the Lord.* Not to mention any other places. When *Paul* was so bound, he had reason to say, *he suffered as an evil-doer, or malefactor, even unto bonds.* He was not a malefactor, or notorious offender, nor a criminal: but was innocent in the view of the Roman laws, as well as in point of reason, justice, and equity. But he suffered, *as an evil-doer.* Had he not reason to say so, when he was sent bound from *Judea* to *Rome*? Had he not been prosecuted, as a malefactor? Did not the Jewish multitude, who first laid hold of him, intend to kill him? *Acts* xxi. 31. . . . 36. xxiii. 27. xxiv. 6. Did not the multitude, who heard him with patience for a while, at length say: *Away with such a fellow. For it is not fit, that he should live?* xxii. 22. Does not *Festus* say to King *Agrippa*,

(k) Quando *Onesiphorus* *Paulum* *Romæ* quæsitum venit, non videtur invenisse in carcere conjectum, arctaque custodia detentum, sed militi suo alligatum, in diversiolo. Sic enim *Paulus*: Καὶ τὴν ἄλυσίν με οὐκ ἐπισχένη. . . Et sane quamvis vincula *Pauli* nota fuerint in toto *Prætorio*, non tamen inde consequitur, *Pauli* domum ita notam omnibus fuisse, ut homini peregre advenienti, in urbe quæ orbis compendium erat, ad captivi *Judæi* domum inveniendam diligenti inquisitione non fuërit opus. Præsertim si adtendamus, facta hæc esse initio vinculorum *Pauli*, antequam eum celebritatis gradum esset nactus. *Wits.* ubi supra. sect. 12. num. vi.

(l) Εἰ ὁ κακοπαθὼ μέχρι δεσμῶν, ὡς κακῆργος;

pa, and the large assemblie at *Cesarea*? Ye see this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at *Jerusalem*, and also here, crying, that he ought not to live any longer. xxv. 24. So that he was prosecuted as a malefactor all the while that he was in *Judea*. Nor does it appear, that there was any likelihood of his escape, but by appealing to the Emperour. And was he not after all sent bound to *Rome*, with many obnoxious persons under the command of a Centurion? Certainly, I think, these things afforded sufficient ground for *Paul* to say what he does in this place to *Timothie*.

But to insinuate from these expressions, that *Paul* was now in some close confinement, his friends debarred access to him, and himself forbid the use of pen, ink, and paper, I humbly conceive, is altogether without foundation. It is inconsistent with the whole tenour of the epistle, and with the Apostle's writing, or enditing, and sending such a letter as this to *Timothie*. Wherein too he desires *Timothie* to come unto him.

St. *Paul*'s imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither by *Festus*, was occasioned by his zeal for the liberty of the Gentils, as is manifest from Acts xxii. 21. 22. Of which he also takes notice, Eph. iii. 1. saying: *I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ, for you Gentils*. His imprisonment at *Rome*, at the time of writing this epistle, was owing to the same thing.

For he says here, ch. i. 11. 12. *Whereunto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher of the Gentils. For the which cause I also suffer these things*. This is very observable. And indeed the twelve verses at the beginning of this epistle are a most proper introduction to an epistle, sent to *Timothie* by *Paul*, at the time, for which we argue.

Thus the circumstances of *Paul*'s confinement at the time of writing this epistle, compared with the circumstances of that confinement at *Rome*, of which St. *Luke* has given a general account, and in which it is allowed, that St. *Paul* wrote epistles to the *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, *Philemon*, shew it to be one and the same imprisonment, and that this epistle also was writ about the same time with them.

2. St. *Luke* was with the Apostle at *Rome*, when he wrote this epistle. 2 Tim. iv. 11. And we know from the Acts, that he went with *Paul* from *Judea* to *Rome*, when he was sent thither by *Festus*. He is likewise mentioned in the epistles to the *Colossians* and *Philemon*, writ during this imprisonment. But it would be presumption to say, that St. *Luke* was with the Apostle at *Rome*, in another imprisonment, three, or four, or five years after this: especially, when we see, that his historie of St. *Paul* in the book of the Acts concludes with the account of his two years imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither by *Festus*.

3. Since the Apostle's coming to *Rome*, he had with him, beside *Luke*, who accompanied him, *Demas*, *Crescens*, *Titus*, *Tychicus*, four of his assistants and fellow-laborers. Which might be likely enough to be expected, when *Paul* was sent from *Judea* to *Rome*. But it cannot be said to have been likely at any other season. But at this it was. For *Paul*'s imprisonment in *Judea* had lasted above two years. And it must have been known to all Gentil Christians throughout the world, and observed by them with astonishment, and grief. And his last appearance before *Festus*, and others at *Cesarea*, was a very remarkable thing, and must have

soon come to the knowledge of all Christians in *Syria, Asia, Greece, and Italie*. At that assemblie it was determin'd, that *Paul* should go to *Rome*. He took shipping at *Cesarea* with others. He had a long and dangerous voyage. And after such an imprisonment in *Judea*, as that related by *St. Luke*, with all it's circumstances, it may be reckoned highly probable, that some good number of the Apostle's affectionate friends, especially his fellow-laborers, if not too much engaged, should form a design, and do their utmost, to meet him at *Rome*. It seems to me very likely, that some such persons should with this view get to *Rome*, before *Paul* himself. Accordingly, we have seen four such persons mentioned by *Paul* in this epistle. It is a striking circumstance, and exceedingly favors our argument for the time of this epistle.

4. Says *St. Paul* 2 *Tim.* iv. 20. *Erastus abode at Corinth*. Which is agreeable to the account of *St. Paul's* journey to *Jerusalem*, as related by *St. Luke*. For *Acts* xix. 22. *Erastus* is expressly mentioned as *one of those, who ministred to Paul*, whom he sent from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*. Nor is *Erastus* among those, who went with *Paul* from *Macedonia*. *Acts* xx. 4. It (*m*) is therefore very likely, that he staid at *Corinth*, and did not go with the Apostle to *Jerusalem*. This *Timothie* knew very well. Nevertheless, it (*n*) is very properly mentioned together with other particulars, shewing *Timothie* the reasonableness of his coming to him, and the need, which the Apostle had of his presence.

We should here recollect what was formerly said of the Apostle's situation at *Rome*, after a long and close confinement in *Judea*. And then we shall easily account for *Paul's* mentioning to *Timothie* divers things, which had happened some good while before. In a word, *Paul* may take the same notice of several things, which had happened before parting with *Timothie* at *Miletus*, in the same manner that he would have mentioned them, supposing him to have staid but a few weeks at *Jerusalem*, and then sailed from *Cesarea* to *Rome*, and soon after his arrival at *Rome*, had writ to *Timothie*, to come to him. For all the time of the Apostle's close confinement in *Judea* had been sunk and annihilated in his computation.

5. In the same verse. *Trophimus have I left at Miletus sick*. Another particular, leading to that date of this epistle, for which we argue.

We know from *Acts* xxi. 29. that *Trophimus* was with *Paul* at *Jerusalem*. It may be reckoned probable, that he set out with *Paul* from *Cesarea* to go to *Rome*. *St. Luke* indeed *Acts* xxvii. 2. mentions not expressly any companions of *Paul* in his voyage, beside himself, and *Aristarchus*. Nevertheless *Trophimus* likewise may have embarked with him. The reason of not mentioning him may be, that he did not complete the voyage, having fallen sick, and therefore had been left at *Miletus*. This *Timothie* might know very well. Nevertheless it is fitly taken notice of by *Paul*, in a letter, writ soon after finishing the voyage, and when writing to *Timothie*, to come to him.

But

(*m*) *Erastus remansit Corinthi.*] Fuerat in Macedoniam missus a Paulo. *Acts* xix. 20. Deinde Corinthum redierat, ibique manserat, nec venerat Romam. *Grot. in 2 Tim.* iv. 20.

(*n*) Quod Erastum Corinthi mansisse scribit, non tanquam rem novam incognitamque Timotheo renunciat: refert tamen, uti attinentem ad scopum suum, &c. *Wiss. de Vit. Pauli. Sect. xii. n. vi.*

But when was *Trophimus* left at *Miletus*? *Beza* (o) was inclined to read here *Μελίτη*, *Melita*, *Malta*, instead of *Μιλήτω*, *Miletus*. Which conjecture, is approved by (p) *Grotius*. But if *Miletus* should be reckoned the true reading, *Beza* supposeth, that *Trophimus* might be set on shore in the time of that *slow sailing* mentioned *Acts xxvii. 7.* *Lightfoot* (q) concludes from what is in *Acts xxvii. 2.* that *Paul* had a good opportunity to leave *Trophimus* at *Miletus*.

This will be farther confirmed, if we admit the interpretation given by *Wall*, without any view to the use, which we are about to make of it. "*Acts xxvii. 2.* meaning to sail by the coasts of *Asia*. *Μελλόντες* " *πλεῖν τὰς ἀπὸ τῆν ὁρίων τόπων*. The ship meant to call at some places " in *Asia*. This is a different phrase from that, *ch. xx. 16.* *παρεπλεύσαι* " *ἐφεσόν*. to sail by *Ephesus*, that is, to leave it, to pass by, without calling." It is, then, a very easie and natural supposition, that *Paul* might have an opportunity of setting *Trophimus* on shore at *Miletus*.

6. St. *Paul* desires *Timothie* to come to him shortly. *ch. iv. 9.* And unquestionably he did so. We find his name in the salutations at the beginning of the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, *Philemon*, writ during this imprisonment, and near it's period. *Witsius* (r) observes, that in the *Acts* there is no account of *Timothie*'s accompanying *Paul* to *Rome*. *Timothie* therefore not being there at the beginning of the Apostle's captivity in that city, he might have occasion to send a letter to him, at the time supposed by us. This particular is well enforced by *Witsius* at the beginning of his argument upon the date of this epistle.

7. Ver.

(o) Nēmpē in illa tarda navigatione, cum præterveheretur littus *Asiæ*, sicuti narratur *Act. xxvii. 7.* Quamquam potius conjicio legendum *ἐν μελίτῃ*, in *Melita*. Quod vocabulum, facile fuit in *μιλήτῃ* depravare. *Bez.* in 2 *Tim.* 2p. 20.

(p) Omnino assentior doctissimo *Bezae* legenti *ἐν μελίτῃ*. . . . In itinere *Hierosolymis* *Paulus* *Meliten* attigit, non *Miletum*. *Grot. in loc.*

(q) "But when was he left? Not when *Paul* went toward *Jerusalem*, and sent for the Elders of *Ephesus* to *Miletus*. *Acts xx.* For *Trophimus* went, and was with *Paul* at *Jerusalem*. *xxi. 19.* But it was, when *Paul* returned from *Jerusalem*, as has been said, though it be not particularly mentioned, that he touched there. . . . *Luke* says plainly, that at *Paul*'s coming away from *Judea* in his voyage to *Rome*, it was their resolution to sail by the coasts of *Asia*. *Acts xxvii. 2.* Which would have been a fairer ground to have concluded upon, that *Paul* was at *Miletus* in this voyage, since that was a part of those *Asian* coasts, than to change *Miletus* into *Melita*, upon no ground at all. And certainly the very scope of the Apostle in that passage will not admit of that change. For he is not telling *Timothie* of *Erastus* his abode at *Corinth*, or of *Trophimus*'s sick-stay at *Miletus*, as things unknown to him, but as things very well known, yet mentioned to him, as making to the Apostle's purpose." *Lightfoot's Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 324.*

(r) Pro certo habent, *Timotheum* initio priorum *Pauli* vinculorum *Romæ* non fuisse, Etenim in *Actibus Apostolicis* nihil ultra de *Timotheo* dicitur, quam quod *Paulum* *Hierosolymam* proficiscentem in *Asiam* fuerit comitatus, cap. *xx. 4.* Exinde nulla *Timothei* mentio: de itinere *Hierosolymitano*, nedum de navigatione *Romana*, *ἐδὲ γὰρ*. Quia vero res ipsius adeo *Pauli* rebus innexæ fuere, ipseque tam eximiam sustinuit personam, vix videtur præteriri potuisse in tanta rerum quæ *Paulo* acciderunt varietate: &c. *De Vit. Pauli. scd. 12. num. v.*

7. Ver. 11. St. Paul says: *Take Mark, and bring him with thee.* And doubtless *Timothie* did bring *Mark* to *Rome*. For he is mentioned with others. Col. iv. 10. and *Philem.* ver. 24. and comprehended in those general expressions. *Philip.* iv. 21.

Grotius, in (s) his notes upon 2 *Tim.* iv. 9. 11. says the same of *Timothie*, *Luke*, and *Mark*, that I have done. It is strange, that he did not discern the consequence, which is so obvious: that this second epistle to *Timothie* must have been writ, before the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. But that he discerned this consequence, does not appear clearly from his preface to this epistle. Whether he did, or not, he admits our interpretations. And the consequence is unavoidable.

It follows also from what he says upon ver. 20. of *Trophimus* having been left at *Melita*, in *Paul's* voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*, as before observed, and from some other things said by him in his Annotations on this epistle. Which may be taken notice of hereafter.

8. Ver. 13. *The cloak, that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, especially the parchments.*

As St. Paul went to *Jerusalem* by the way of *Troas*, we are hereby led to the time of this imprisonment: especially, when we consider, that *Timothie* accompanied the Apostle in that journey, as far as *Asia*. And *Paul* here seems to write to *Timothie*, as knowing *Carpus*, and that these things had been left with him.

If it be objected, that (t) *Paul* had at that time several friends with him, who might be willing to take care of those things: We (u) readily answer: It is true; Nor need it to be supposed, that in any other journey *Paul* was without a sufficient number of friends, to perform for him any needful service of that kind. There might be other reasons for leaving those things behind him.

We need not inquire, what were those reasons, nor what were those things. However I shall observe here what *Lightfoot* says of the word, *tendered cloak*, in his account of St. Paul's journey from *Troas* to *Jerusalem*:

(s) Σπέδασον ἔλθειν πρὸς με ταχέως nempe Roman. Et hoc fecit *Timotheus*, ut apparet: *Coloss.* i. 1. *Philem.* i. *Hebr.* xiii. *Philip.* ii. 19. *Grot.* in 2 *Tim.* iv. 9. *vid. et in ver.* 11.

Λεκτὸς ἐστὶ μόνος μετ' ἐμοῦ. Nam post iter illud, quod sine Actorum descripsit, mansit in Italia cum Paulo. *Col.* iv. 14. *Philem.* ver. 24.

Μέρεον ἀναλαβὼν ἀγαγε μετὰ σεαυτοῦ. — Et hoc desiderium Pauli impletum est. Vide *Philem.* 24. *Coloss.* iv. 10. *Id. in ver.* 11.

(t) Quia jubet sibi adferri penulam, quam Troade apud Carpum reliquerat, et libros. — Ineptum autem est vel cogitare Paulum hæc Troade reliquisse, quum tot secum haberet comites, et collectas Hierosolymam perferendas, et navem ubique conduceret. *Ap. Wits. ibid. Sect.* 12. num. iv.

(u) Respondetur: Non magis ineptum esse cogitare, Paulum penulam suam cum libris quibusdam et membranis Troade reliquisse in illo itinere, quod Lucas meminit, quam in alio, quod, supponitur, quocumque. Si enim id consilio factum sit, ratio consilii æque nobis in obscurum manet: quippe nullibi tradita. Si per oblivionem aliquam aut negligentiam ejus qui Paulo ministrabat: quo plures erant, majorisque momenti sarcinæ, eo facilius esse videtur unius alicujus, et vilioris, forsan, neglectus, &c. *Wits. ib. sect.* 12. num. vi.

tem: "When (x) he goes now from thence, it is most likely, was the "time, when he left his cloak, and parchments with *Carpus*. 2 Tim. iv. "13. His cloak. For he was now going among his own nation in *Judea*, "and there he was to wear his Jewish habit. And he left his Roman "garb here, till he should come into those Roman quarters again."

9. The progress of the gospel at the time of writing this epistle, and the other epistles, confessedly writ in the time of St. *Paul's* imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither from *Judea*, appears to be the same, or very much alike.

To the *Philippians* he writes i. 12. 13. *I would, ye should understand, brethren, that the things which have happened unto me, have fallen out rather to the furtherance of the gospel: so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places.* See also ver. 14. . . . 18. In this second epistle to *Timothie* he says. ch. ii. 9.—that though he suffered unto bonds, the word of God was not bound. And see iv. 16. 17. And at ver. 11. he desires, that *Mark* would come to him: for, says he, *he is profitable to me for the ministrie*: supposing, that he should have employment for him, wherein he might promote the interest of the gospel. *Paul* could speak more distinctly of his successes, and of the oppositions, which he met with at *Rome*, in the epistles writ a short time before his enlargement. But even now he appears to have had in prospect those things, which were afterwards accomplished.

10. At ch. iii. 11. he reminds *Timothie* of the persecutions, and afflictions, which he had endured at *Antioch*, *Iconium*, *Lystra*, all well known to *Timothie*. Which is very proper and seasonable, at our supposed time of writing this epistle: more seasonable, than it would have been several years afterwards.

Some, perhaps, may think it reasonable to expect more notice taken of the Apostle's imprisonment in *Judea*, and at *Rome*. But we suppose, that to be the very imprisonment, which he was now under, and of which he often speaks in this epistle, saying, that he suffered trouble, even unto bonds: that he endured all things for the elects sake: that *Onesiphorus* was not ashamed of his chain: that he had made an apologie, when all men forsook him. But if this letter had been writ several years after his imprisonment in *Judea*, and at *Rome*; it would have been reasonable to expect some references to it, as a thing past, in his exhortations to *Timothie*, in speaking of persecutions and afflictions formerly endured by him.

11. Ch. ii. 22. *Flee also youthful lusts.* An exhortation to *Timothie* more suitable now, than several years afterwards. Indeed, this whole epistle is an admonition to *Timothie*, as a Christian, and a Minister, better suiting the time of St. *Paul's* imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither from *Judea*, than any later time.

12. Ch. iv. 16. 17. *At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me. . . . Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentils might hear.* And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.

These words afford a strong argument, that this epistle was writ, when *Paul* was sent bound from *Judea* to *Rome*. For it is much more reasonable

able to think, that *Paul* would speak of such an apologie in an epistle writ soon after it was made, than in an epistle writ five or six years afterwards. That *Paul* speaks of an apologie made at the time supposed by us, is very probable. And this text was so understood by several ancient writers, *Eusebius*, *Jerome*, *Chrysostom*, and *Theodoret*. The words of (y) *Eusebius* I transcribe below in his own language. *Jerome*'s words were transcribed by us (z) formerly, and are fit to be repeated here. They represent the same sentiment with that in *Eusebius*: from whom, probably, and from some other ancients, he learned it. "It (a) should be observed, says he, "that at the time of his first apologie, *Nero*'s government not being yet "quite degenerated, nor disgraced with the horrible wickednesse, which "historians speak of, *Paul* was set at liberty, that he might preach the "gospel in the western parts of the world: as himself writes in the second "epistle to *Timothie*, dictated by him in his bonds, at the time he suffered." And what follows.

And *Chrysostom* in a homilie upon the fourth chapter of this epistle: "How, says (b) he, shall we understand this first apologie? He was at "first brought before the Emperour, and escaped. But when he had "converted his cup-bearer, then he was beheaded."

Theodoret is very exprefs in his comment. "When (c) upon his appeal, he was sent to *Rome* by *Festus*, having apologized for himself, he "was dismissed as innocent, and went into *Spain*, and other nations. . . "By the first apologie therefore he meaneth that which was then made. "And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion. So he calls *Nero*, as "being Emperour, and a cruel man."

Indeed this defense, or apologie, cannot relate to any other time. For he says: *But the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me: that by me the preaching might be fully known, and all the Gentils might hear.* This could not be said at any supposed second imprisonment, when the Apostle was near his end. But must relate to the prospect of successe, which he had soon

(y) . . . τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον, αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν τῷ κηρύγματος διακονίαν λόγος ἔχει γεῖνασθαι τὸν ἀποστόλον· δεύτερον δὲ ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν τελειωθῆναι μαρτυρίῳ: ἐν ᾧ δεσμοῖς ἐλόγιμος τὴν πρὸς τιμόθεον δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν συντάττει, ὁμῶς σημαίνων τὴν τε προτέραν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἀπολογίαν, καὶ τὴν παραποδάς τελείωσιν. . . . Εὐκὸς γίγεται κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἡπιατίτερον τῷ νέρονος διακειμένῳ, ἔσθον τὴν ὑπὲρ τῷ δόγματι τῷ παύλῳ καταδεχθῆναι ἀπολογίαν· πρὸς ἐλθόντος δὲ εἰς ἀβιμίτας τόλμας, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγγχειρῆσθαι.
H. E. l. i. cap. 22. p. 62. A. et D.

(z) See *ch. 114. Vol. x. p. 110. III.*

(a) Sciendum autem, in prima satisfactione, necdum Neronis imperio roborato, nec in tanta erumpente scelera, quanta de eo narrant historiæ, Paulum a Nerone dimissum, ut evangelium Christi in Occidentis quoque partibus prædicaret. Sicut ipse in secunda epistola ad Timotheum, eo tempore quo et passus est, de vinculis dictans epistolam. &c. *De V. I. cap. V.*

(b) Ποίαν δὲ πρῶτην ἀπολογίαν λέγει; Παρέστη ἴδη τῷ νέρονι, καὶ διέφυγεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ δὲ τὸν οἰνοχόον αὐτὴν κατήχησε, τότε αὐτὸν ἀπέτεμεν. *In 2 ep. ad Tim. cap. iv. hom. 10. T. xi. p. 722. B.*

(c) Ἠνίκα τῇ ἐφέσει χειρσάμενος εἰς τὴν ῥάμην ἐπὶ τῷ φησὶ παρεπέμφθη, ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς αὐθὺς ἐφείθη. . . . Πρώτην τούτων ἀπολογίαν τὴν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐκδημίᾳ γεγεννημένην ἐκάλεσε. κ. λ. *In 2 ep. Tim. iv. 26. Tom. 3. p. 506.*

soon after he was brought from *Judea* to *Rome*. At that time these expressions were exceedingly proper, and his expectations were fully answered. As may be collected from *Philip. ii. 12. . . 20.* and *iv. 22.* *Witsius* has some observations upon this place, which (*d*) deserve to be transcribed. So do likewise the observations of another learned writer, (*e*) they being well suited to illustrate this text.

For farther clearing up this point, I must stay somewhat longer here: I cannot but think it very evident, that *Paul* was now brought before the Emperour, and that he here refers to it. *Lightfoot* supposeth, that (*f*) in those words, *at my first answer*, *Paul* does not so much refer to what, or how many answers, he was called to: but intimates, that even at the first pinch and appearance of danger, all that should have been his assistants started from him." And that may be the meaning. Nevertheless it is not impossible, that *Paul* might make two apologies, one soon after the other, at the first of which all forsook him: whereas, at the second, there were some, who appeared with him, and spoke in his behalf. But however that may be, I am of opinion, that *Paul* was brought before *Nero* himself, and that he here speaks of it. Several (*g*) moderns have

(*d*) Puto hæc ad ea quæ Romæ tunc gesta sunt referendæ esse. Ibi enim constitutus tunc fuit Paulus, ut in summo totius mundi loco, unde evangelii ab ipso prædicati sonus, non tanquam bæcinæ, sed tanquam tonitru, quaquaversum audiretur. . . . Porro ea, quæ Romæ, quæ in Prætorio, quæ ad tribunal Cæsaris dicebantur, vel agebantur, in tanta confluentium multitudine, celerî fama, per omnes totius propemodum orbis gentes vulgata fuere. Quibus non parum ponderis ex eo accessit, quod captivus iste, tam mirabilem rerum annunciator, a popularibus quidem suis accusatus, sed a Cæsare absolutus, vel certe non damnatus esset. *Wits. de Vit. Paul. §. 12. num. xxxii.*

(*e*) Idem jam a Paulo indicatum. 2 Tim. iv. 16. 17. In prima meo defensione nemo mihi adfuit, sed omnes, nimirum Christiani, Romæ tum Pauli aggregati, me deseruerunt. . . . Dominus autem mihi adfuit, et confortavit me, ut per me promulgatio evangelii compleretur, et omnes gentes illud audirent: Etenim liberatus fui ex ore leonis, quocum jamjam mihi erat depugnandum. . . . Paulus docet, sese, adjuvante Deo, ab intentata, sibi cum leone depugnatione fuisse ereptum: sese causam suam ita dixisse, ut liber et inviolatus fuerit dimissus e Prætorio: Deum hoc pacto promulgationem evangelii promovisse, et in celebritatem deduxisse, ac ad securitatem. Securitas adiunctionis sita est in voce *πληροφορία*; quæ a nave; plenis velis ac liberrime invehente, est desumpta. Eum igitur finem liberationis suæ Numen Supremum voluerat esse proprium, ut Paulus in posterum eo liberius doctrinam evangelii evulgaret. Roma erat locus celeberrimus. Quidquid ibi gerebatur, id putabatur agi in luce orbis terrarum. Causa itaque Pauli inde innōtuit ac increbuit passim, ac quicunque de ea aliquid audiebant, avidi fuerunt redditi doctrinæ quoque ipsius, quam docebat, audiendæ et cognoscendæ. *J. Ch. Harenberg. Otia Ganderhem. Observ. 8. §. iii.*

(*f*) As before, p. 322.

(*g*) I shall cite an author or two here, though they may not agree with me about the time of *Paul's* appearance before the Emperour.

"Acts xxvii. 24. *Thou must be brought before Cæsar.* By this, and by what *Paul* says, 2 Tim. iv. 17. it seems, that he had a personal hearing before *Nero* himself." *Wall's Crit. Notes upon the N. T. p. 271.*

have perceived this. But though this opinion had never had the Patronage of any great names, I apprehend, it might be deduced with certainty from St. *Luke's* historie in the *Acts*. He is very concise in what he says of *Paul* after his arrival at *Rome*. Nor has he said, that *Paul* was brought before *Nero*. But it may be argued, and concluded from what he has said.

When *Paul* was first brought before *Festus* at *Cesarea*, after he had been left bound by *Felix*, at the end of two years imprisonment, and *Festus* proposed, that he should go up to *Jerusalem*, and be there judged before him, *Paul* said: *I stand at Cæsar's judgement seat, where I ought to be judged.* *Acts* xxv. 9. 10. Then *Festus*, when he had conferred with his council, answered: *Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar? Unto Cæsar shalt thou go.* ver. 12. Therefore that was now determined. When *Festus* first spoke to King *Agrippa* about *Paul's* affair, he said to him: *But when Paul had appealed to be reserved to the hearing, or judgment, of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept, till I might send him to Cæsar.* ver. 21. And when *Festus* actually brought *Paul* before *Agrippa*, and the rest, he said: *He himself having appealed unto Augustus, I have determined to send him.* ver. 25. After *Paul* had pleaded before *Festus*, and *Agrippa*, and that great companie at *Cesarea*, it is said, ch. xxvi. 31. 32. *And the King rose up, and Bernice, and they that sat with them. And when they had gone aside, they talked between themselves, saying: This man doth nothing worthie of death, or of bonds. Then said Agrippa unto Festus: This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar.* After his appeal therefore the sending *Paul* to *Rome* was unavoidable. If *Agrippa* and the rest of that great companie did not dare to dismiss him, though they thought him innocent, but judged it needful, that he should go to *Rome*, it may be reckoned probable, that he was actually brought before the Emperour. And *Festus* wrote a letter concerning *Paul* to the Emperour himself, as may be concluded from ch. xxv. 26. 27. And while *Paul* was in the voyage to *Rome*, he had a vision. *An angel stood by him, saying: Fear not, Paul, thou must be brought before Cæsar.* ch. xxvii. 23. 24. Certainly, therefore, he was brought before him. And that is what he intends, when he speaks of his *apologie*. Which is also confirmed by what follows: *And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.* Whereby must be meant *Nero* himself.

And now we may be able to understand those expressions: *No man stood with me, but all men forsook me.* St. *Luke's* historie of *Paul's* arrival at *Rome* will give great light to those words. *Acts* xxviii. 13. . . 15. *And we came the next day to Puteoli. Where we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven days. And so we went toward Rome. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us, as far as Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns. Whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.* The affectionate and respectful visit of so many *Christians* from *Rome* was very refreshing and comfortable to him, after all the fatigues

Nous ne saurions douter au moins que S. Paul n'ait comparu devant Neron peu de temps avant sa mort, comme on le voit par sa seconde epître à Timothée. Tillem. S. Paul. note 40. Mem. T. i. p. 53. Paris.

fatigues of his voyage, and in the disgraceful circumstances of his appearance. But when he was presented to the Emperour, *no man stood by him. But all men forsook him.* And these are the men, whom he intends: these, and other Christians then at *Rome*. None of them had courage to appear in his favour, and plead in his behalf, as they might have done. But all drew back, and left him alone. *Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me.*

Let me now represent the progress of this affair, as it appears to me, after having consulted (b) *Lightfoot*, and others.

When the prisoners from *Judea* were brought to *Rome*, they were all delivered to the Captain of the Guard, or Prefect of the Prætorium. At the same time *Julius* the Centurion, to whose charge they had been committed, and who had all along *courteously entreated Paul* [Acts xxvii. 3.] spoke honorably of him to the Prefect, or delivered in a written memorial of his voyage, and the several prisoners, whom he had brought with him, inserting, particularly, some things in favour of this prisoner, and also put into his hands the Governour's letter to the Emperour concerning *Paul*. The tenour of which, as may be concluded from the letter of *Lyfias* to *Felix*, ch. xxiii. 25. . . 30. and from other things afterwards recorded in the Acts, omitting the usual forms, not needful to be mentioned here, was to this purpose: "My Lord, when I came into this
" province, committed to my charge by thy favour, I found a prisoner,
" named *Paul*, left bound by my predecessor *Felix*, after he had been two
" years in custodie. In a short time grievous complaints were made
" against him by the chief men of the nation, desiring me to pass sen-
" tence of condemnation upon him. Whereupon I appointed them
" a hearing. And being sat on the judgment-seat, I commanded the
" man to be brought forth. But when the accusers stood up, they al-
" leged no proofs of any thing that could render him criminal in the eye
" of our laws. They had only certain questions against him of their
" own religion, and concerning one *Jesus*, who had died, and whom
" *Paul* affirmed to be alive. At this time the man expressed a desire to
" be heard at thy tribunal. And having conferred with my Council, and
" considering, that he is a citizen of *Rome*, his appeal was allowed to
" be valid. Whereupon I resolved to send him unto thee, as soon as
" I could.

(b) "*Julius*, the Centurion, that had brought *Paul*, and the rest of the prisoners from *Judea*, had been his friend and favourer from his first setting out, and so continued, till his settling at *Rome*. . . His accusers, that were come from *Judea*, to lay in the charge against him, [for we can hardly suppose, but that some were come:] would be urgent to get their business dispatched, that they might be returning to their own homes again. And so would bring him to his trial, as soon as they could. And that his trial was early this year, appears by his own words in the second epistle to *Timothie*, where he speaketh of his answer, that he had been at, and requireth *Timothie* to come to him before winter. 2 Tim. iv. 16. 21.

As he appealed to *Nero* himself, so *Nero* himself heard his cause. Philip. i. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 16. And here it was possible for *Paul* and *Seneca* to see each other. At which time all that had owned him before, withdrew themselves for fear, and dared not stand by him, or appear with him in his danger. *Lightfoot*, as before, p. 322.

"I could. In the mean time King *Agrippa* and *Bernice* came to the place of my residence. Who being Jews by nation and religion, and willing to hear the man, I set him before them, that I might be the better informed concerning him myself. In their presence, and before Me, and many others, Roman Officers, and principal men of this city, he without reserve declared his doctrine, and his concern to promote it, and indeed his whole life from the beginning. After which, when the assemblee, (as honorable as can be expected to be seen in any of the provinces :) were gone aside, they talked between themselves. And they were all agreed, saying: This man doth nothing worthie of death, or of bonds: and he might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed to Augustus. To thee therefore I now send him. And to thy cognizance his cause is referred."

When *Burrhus*, the Prefect of the Prætorium, brought *Paul* before the Emperour, and delivered the Governour's letter; it is not improbable, that he might add some hints in favour of the prisoner, from the character given of him by *Julius*, either by word, or in his memorial. At this audience must have been present, beside †† *Burrhus*, divers other courtiers, of the greatest eminence and distinction, and perhaps *Seneca*. It may be likewise supposed, that some Jews delegated by the Council at *Jerusalem*, appeared, to plead against *Paul*. If there were none, it must have been understood to be a disrespect to the Emperour, and a great prejudice to the cause of the accusers. If there were any such here, it would shew the reasonableness of *Paul*'s expectation, that some of the Christians at *Rome* should have attended likewise.

At this time, (unless there was another audience soon after,) the Emperour pronounced sentence upon *Paul*, and signed the order of his confinement: such as is related by *St. Luke*. Acts xxviii. 16. 30. 31. And though *Paul* was not acquitted, nor set at liberty, it may be esteemed a favourable decision.

It was after this audience of the Emperour, and this sentence, that *Paul* sent for the Jews at *Rome*, to come to him. But when he laid before them his case, and spoke of the proceedings against him in *Judea*, and of his appeal to Cæsar; they were very humble, and even low-spirited, and did not choose to enter into discourse upon the matter.

Paul says: Acts xxviii. 19. *But when the Jews spake against it, I was constrained to appeal to Cæsar: not that I had ought to accuse my nation of.* These last words may be understood by some, as if he had said: "Not that I have any cause of complaint against my nation." Which would be great complaisance indeed, after he had received so much hard usage from the Jews. But the words may be thus rendered: "Not that I have a design to accuse my nation of any thing." And in that manner they are rendered by (i) *Le Clerc*, and (k) *Lenfant*, in their French translations.

†† *Burrhus* is computed to have died in the year of Christ 62. and *Seneca* in the year 65. *Vid. Basn. Ann. 62. num. i. et Ann. 65. num. iv.*

(i) Mais les Juifs s'y opposant, j'ai été contraint d'en appeller à Cæsar: sans que j'aye néanmoins dessein d'accuser ma nation, en quoi que ce soit. *Cl.*

(k) . . . sans que j'aye dessein néanmoins d'accuser ma nation, en quoi que ce soit. *Lenf.*

lations. And it is agreeable to (l) *Beza's* annotation upon the place, who is another good judge. This sense is very becoming *Paul*, and was very suitable to his circumstance and situation at that time. It was very proper to pacify the Jews at *Rome*, who might have been apprehensive of *Paul's* making use of his interest in the Emperour's Court against them, after he had been so ill used in *Judea*. But all he aimed at was the vindication of his own innocence, that he might with greater liberty preach the gospel.

Here we see the ground of the difference between *Paul's* imprisonment in *Judea* and at *Rome*. The difference is manifest. Whilst in *Judea*, it does not appear, that he had any communication with other churches out of it. He is wholly engaged in his own defense, and does but just secure his life against the violence of the unbelieving Jews, and their Council. But when he came to *Rome*, and his apologie was over, he was permitted to live by himself, in his own hired house. There he receives intelligence by messengers of the churches, who come to him from divers parts. He makes converts, and writes letters, and has fellow-laborers, whom he sends abroad, as he pleaseth. We now see the ground of this. As (m) *Jerome* says, "The Apostle being sent to prison by the Emperour, he becomes acquainted with the Emperour's family, and makes the persecutor's house a church." Referring to Philip. iv. 22. When *Paul* was in *Judea*, he was the Governour's prisoner, whose goodwill was restrained by the influence of the people of the countrey. Now he is the Emperour's prisoner, who allows what liberty he pleaseth. And when granted, none dare to controll, or abridge it in any measure. Hence all the advantages of this imprisonment, and the happy conclusion of it. Having so much liberty, and being able to receive all who came to him, he makes many converts, and many friends, some in the Emperour's own family, and near his person. Says the Apostle in this very Epistle iv. 16. 17. *At my first answer no man stood with me. . . . Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and all the Gentils might hear.* It is a case much resembling that of our Apostle before, at *Corinth*. Acts xviii. 9. . . II. *Then spake the Lord unto Paul in the night, by a vision: Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace. For I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee, to hurt thee. For I have much people in this city. And he continued here a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them.* And though he was brought before *Gallio* the Governour, and accused; he was acquitted, and continued yet there a good while. In like manner here, *the Lord stood by Paul, strengthened him, and delivered him.* And he afterwards dwelt two whole years at *Rome*, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things, which concern the Lord *Jesus*, no man forbidding him. Acts xxviii. 30. 31.

Some may say, that during this space several of the Apostle's friends and fellow-laborers were apprehended, and imprisoned. Which seems incon-

(l) Est autem hoc additum a Paulo, ne putarent Judæi ipsum constituisse criminari gentem suam apud Cæsarem: cum hoc unum potius ageret, ut nullo hostium incommodo causam Christi et innocentiam suam tueretur. *Bez.*

(m) A Cæsare missus in carcerem, notior familiaris ejus factus, persecutoris domum Christi fecit ecclesiam. *In ep. ad Philem. T. 4. p. 445. in,*

inconsistent with the supposition of his being committed by the Emperour, with an order for allowing him all the liberty, which he enjoyed. For *Aristarchus* is spoken of, as his fellow-prisoner. Col. iv. 10. and *Epaphras*, Philem. ver. 23. And *Timothie* is said to have been set at liberty. Hebr. xiii. 23. Who therefore must have been confined.

To which I answer, that these imprisonments of some of *Paul's* friends and fellow-laborers do not at all weaken our supposition, but confirm it: forasmuch as *Paul's* liberty was not abridged, but continued the same all along, until he was quite enlarged. Which affords reason to think, that the method of his confinement was appointed, and ordered by an authority above controule. And it is easie to conceive, how it came to pass, that some of *Paul's* friends were imprisoned: when it is considered, that he must have had many enemies, and some of his friends acted imprudently, and there were others, who from envie and ill-will were prompted to behave irregularly, with a view of bringing him and his best friends into danger, by exposing them to general resentment, and especially the resentment of men in power. As we learn from Philip. i. 15. . . . 17. And yet it does not appear, that any of *Paul's* fellow-laborers endured a long imprisonment. It is not unlikely that they were taken up, and imprisoned by some inferior officers, to gratify the furie of the common people, who did not dare to keep them long in custodie, nothing material appearing against them. As *Jerome* (*n*) observes, such frequent short imprisonments and speedy releases were common at the first rise of the Christian religion, before *Nero* became an open persecutor, and before the publication of such edicts, as affected the lives of the followers of *Jesus*.

All these considerations cannot but be of great weight, to determine the time of this epistle. However there are some difficulties, that ought to be taken notice of.

1. Obj. For I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand. 2 *Tim.* iv. 6.

These expressions led (*o*) *Eusebius* of *Cesarea* and (*p*) *Jerome*, who followed him, and (*q*) *Chrysostom*, though he did not follow either, to say, that this was the last epistle of *St. Paul*, writ only a small space of time before his martyrdom. And many learned moderns have been of the same opinion, as is well known.

But let us attend to *Lightfoot*. "There (*r*) is one passage, says he, in "this epistle, which has caused some to doubt about the time of it's "writing.

(*n*) Quod autem crebro Paulus in carcere fuerit, et de vinculis liberatus sit, ipse in alio loco dicit: in carceribus frequenter: de quibus nonnunquam Domini auxilio, crebro ipsis persecutoribus nihil dignum in eo morte invenientibus dimittebatur. Necdum enim super nomine Christiano senatus consulta præcefferant: necdum Christianum sanguinem Neronis gladius dedicarat. Sed pro novitate prædicationis, sive a Judæis invidentibus, sive ab his qui sua videbant idola destrui, ad furorem populis concitatis, missi in carcerem, rursum impetu et furore deposito, laxabantur. . . . id agente Domino, ut in toto orbe nova prædicationis disseminaretur. In *Philem.* ver. 22. T. 4. p. 453.

(*o*) *H. E. l.* 2. cap. 22. (*p*) Quoted Vol. x. p. 111. from *De V. I. cap. v.*

(*q*) Quoted likewise, before. Vol. x. p. 232. 233. (*r*) Vol. i. p. 324.

“ writing. This is what he says iv. 6. *I am now ready to be offered up,*
 “ *and the time of my departure is at hand.* Which would make one think,
 “ that he was now ready to be martyred, and taken away. And it has
 “ made some believe, this was the last epistle that ever he wrote. But
 “ when we compare his own words again, ver. 17. 18. and Philip. i. 25.
 “ and Philem. ver. 22. it maketh past controverſie, that he ſpeaketh not
 “ of his ſudden martyrdom, but that he is to be underſtood in ſome other
 “ ſenſe. . . And indeed the reſolution of the difficulty lies open and conſpi-
 “ cuous in the very text itſelf. *Paul* looked upon *Timothie*, as the prime
 “ and choice man, that was to ſucceed him in the work of the goſpel, when
 “ he himſelf ſhould be dead and gone : as being a young man, not only
 “ of ſingular qualifications for that work, but of whom there had been
 “ ſpecial prophecies to ſuch a purpoſe. 1 Tim. i. 18. He exhorts him
 “ therefore in this place, to improve all his pains and parts to the utmoſt,
 “ *to do the work of an Evangelist, to make full proof of his miniſtrie :*
 “ ch. iv. 5. for that himſelf could not laſt long, being now grown old,
 “ and worn out with travail, and beſide all that, in bonds at preſent, and
 “ ſo in continual danger. Therefore muſt *Timothie* be fitting himſelf
 “ daily to take his work, when he is gone.”

So *Lightfoot*, and, as it ſeems to me, very properly. To the like purpoſe *Eſtius* upon the ſame text. Whom (s) I tranſcribe below.

I likewiſe place below (t) a part of *Baronius's* ſolution of the ſame difficulty, which appears to me very ſufficient.

That *Paul* had now no certain and prophetic view of ſuffering martyrdom immediately, is apparent from ſeveral things in this epistle: particularly, from his deſiring *Timothie* to come to him, and to bring *Mark* with him, *as profitable to him for the miniſtrie*. He ſuppoſed therefore, that he ſhould have an opportunity to employ him in the ſervice of the goſpel.

(s) Quare quæ hic ab Apoſtolo dicuntur non ita ſunt accipienda, quæſi plane ſentiat ſeſe jam jam rapiendum ad martyrium: præſertim cum alia quædam ejusdem epistolæ repugnent huic intellectui. . . . Sed tantum ſignificant, ipſum, etſi de tempore mortis et paſſionis incertum, tamen per carceres et tribunalia parari ad victimam. . . . Quocirca non apparet hæc a Paulo dicta fuiſſe per revelationem aliquam de instante martyrio ſibi factam. . . . Illud etiã conſiderandum eſt, Paulum loqui, ut jam ſenem, et laboribus conſectum, qui proinde non multum vitæ tempus ſibi reliquum arbitretur. Ac quoniam non dubitat, ſe martyrio finiendum, idcirco, et de eo tanquam brevi futuro loquitur: *Ego enim, inquit, jam delibor.* . . . Senſus et connexio eſt: Idcirco, cum tam ſeria obteſtatione te diſcipulum meum officii tui admoneo, quod jam ſenex ſim, et incertus quamdiu futurus ſuperſites. Jam enim tanquam victimam Chriſto deſtinata, per hos carceres, et graviffimos quos patior adverſariorum impetus immolari incipio. *Eſt. ad 2 Tim. iv. 6.*

(t) . . . eo enim ſenſu hæc putant accipienda eſſe verba, quæſi proxime eſſet Paulus martyrio coronandus, ſicque ab eo ſpiritu prophetico eſſe pronunciata. . . . Sed dicant velim: Nonne idem ipſe Paulus in eadem teſtatur epistoſa, ſibi Dominum apparuiſſe, dum in ſummo illo diſcrimine verſaretur, hortatumque eſſe, ac ſeſe prædixiſſe, ut per ipſum in omnes Gentes prædicatio impleteretur? Quomodo igitur hæc ſibi coherent, ut inſtans Pauli conſummatio eſſet, idemque ipſe ſic a periculo liberandus, in omnes Gentes prædicationem evangeliſi propagaturus eſſet? *Et reliqua. Ann. 59. n. xiii.*

gospel. He likewise must have hoped to receive, and use the things left at *Troas*, which he desired *Timothie* to bring to him.

Obj. 2. St. Paul says ch. iv. 18. *And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom.* By which many have supposed, that the Apostle does not express any hope of being now delivered from death, or the present danger, or any other temporal evil, but from sin, and from all unworthie conduct of his own. So say (u) *Le Clerc* and (x) *Whitby*. Paul had been delivered out of the mouth of the lion. But he did not now expect any such deliverance. He only hoped to be preserved from sin, and to be brought to God's heavenly kingdom.

But I do not think, that to be St. Paul's meaning. It is inconsistent with what he had just said: that *the Lord had stood by him, and strengthened him, that by him the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentils might hear.* Which could not be done presently. But must require some time. To me it clearly appears, that the Apostle's words express faith in God, and hope of the divine protection in future difficulties and dangers: or, that God would still deliver him, and uphold him in his service, against all the designs of evil men. And when he had done the work, still remaining for him to do, and fulfilled his testimonie to the gospel, he should be brought safe to God's heavenly kingdom. Accordingly, he was preserved for some while after this, enjoying, so far as we know, as much freedom in preaching the Gospel, as ever he did, till a period was put to his life by martyrdom. As before observed, what the Apostle says here at ch. iv. 16. . . . 18. much resembles what is said Acts xviii. 9. . . . 17. And the Apostle's circumstances at *Corinth* and *Rome* were much alike.

Obj. 3. Once more, it may be said, the state of things shews, this epistle to have been writ many years after the first epistle to *Timothie*, and when Paul was near his death. For he says here ch. i. 15. *This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me. Of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes.* Which implies, that great corruptions now prevailed in *Asia*, particularly, in the church of *Ephesus*.

To which I answer: that if the *Asiatics* here spoken of, were now at *Rome*, or had been lately there; we are not hereby led to think disadvantageously of the *Christians* at *Ephesus*, and in *Asia*, in general. That such are the persons here intended, has been the opinion of many, and is very probable. It was formerly observed, that (y) *Chrysostom* hereby understood such as were at *Rome*. *Esius*, upon the place, says, this was

(u) Non de la mort, mais des mauvaises actions, qu'il auroit fallu que S. Paul fit pour l'éviter. *Clerc*.

(x) Dr. *Whitby's* note upon ver. 18. is, "If he will deliver him, as *Chrysostom* says, why does he say, *I am offered?* Observe therefore his words. He says not, he will again deliver me out of the power of the lion, but only, that he will preserve me from every evil work, and to his heavenly kingdom. The place of *Chrysostom*, which I suppose to be here referred to, may be seen: on 2 ad Tim. cap. iv. hom. x. Tom. xi. p. 722. Ed. Bened.

(y) Ch. 118. Vol. x. p. 358.

(z) was the general opinion of the Greek writers. And indeed it is in (a) *Oecumenius*, who expressly says, *that they which are in Asia is the same, as they which are of Asia*. To the like purpose *Theophylact*: "They (b) *in Asia* are such of *Asia*, as were then at *Rome*." *Dr. Hammond's* paraphrase is to this purpose: "Thou (c) hast heard, I believe, that in my affliction, I have been deserted by all the *Asiatic* Christians at *Rome*, excepting only *Onesiphorus*." So that this interpretation is confirmed by the connexion, it following immediately afterwards: *The Lord give mercie to the house of Onesiphorus. For he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain. But when he was at Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me.* Rightly does *Hammond* say, that *Timothie* had heard of this. It was likely, that before this letter came to *Timothie's* hands, he might have heard in general, how the Christians at *Rome*, particularly those of *Asia*, had carried it toward his great master, now in bonds. But it seems by the Apostle's way of speaking, that he thought he gave *Timothie* some farther information, especially, when he added: *Of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes.* *Beausobre* was for the late date of this epistle. Nevertheless he supposeth (d) the Apostle to speak of some *Asiatics*, who had been with him at *Rome*, but were returned to their own country. *Mr. Mosheim* (e) speaks largely to this place. He understands hereby some *Asiatics* who had left *Paul*, and were gone home. He thinks, they were guilty of unkindness, and are chargeable with inconstance: but he does not suppose, that they forsook the Apostle's doctrine, or endeavored to make innovations.

There is no ground therefore to suppose, that *Paul* here speaks of a general corruption, and defection of the Christians in *Asia*.

I know not of any other objections, that deserve consideration. From what has been argued therefore I conclude, that this epistle to *Timothie* was writ at *Rome*, when *Paul* was sent thither by *Festus* in the year 61.

For

(z) Porro secundum Græcorum expositionem, non est sermo de iis, qui Paulo hæc scribente in Asia erant sed qui ex Asia Romam venerant. *Eph. in loc.*

(a) Οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀσίᾳ τετέσιν οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀσίας *Oecum. in loc. T. 2, p. 261.*

(b) Κατέλιπον αὐτὸν οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ ἀσίᾳ, τετέσιν οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀσίας ἐνδεμῦντες τῇ ἐμῇ. *Theoph. T. 2. p. 806*

(c) Audivisti, ut opinor, ab Asiaticis Christianis, qui erant Romæ, excepto solo Onesiphoro, me desertum fuisse, in mea calamitate. *Hammond. in loc. ex versione Clerici.*

(d) Il y a de l'apparence, que quelques Asiaticques, qui avoient suivi S. Paul à Rome, l'avoient abandonné, et s'en étoient retournés dans leur pays. *Beauf. upon the place.*

(e) Discesserant hi sine dubio, et in patriam reverterant, quod, Paulo Romæ in vincula coniecto, vitæ suæ metuebant, desperebantque, fore aliquando, ut is libertati restitutus itinera, quæ meditabatur, persequeretur. In hoc vitii est aliquid: fratrem enim, et multo magis Dei legatum, cui præsidio et solatio esse possis, in vitæ discrimine positum, relinquere, animi levis est Christianæ disciplinæ immemoris. Verum nihil habet hæc inconstantia, ex quo intelligi possit, ideo hos homines domum rediisse, ut quæ ex Paulo perceperant, dogmata oppugnarent, novasque res inter Christianos molirentur. *Mosheim. De Rel. Christianæ ante Constantin. Sec. i. num. lx. in notis.*

For determining the time of the year we may receive assistance, not only from those who are for this early date, but from those likewise, who are for a later date of this epistle.

From *Paul's* desiring *Timothie* to come to him *before winter*, *Tillemont* (f) concludes, that this epistle was writ near the middle of the year. *Witsius* thinks, it (g) was writ in the begining of the summer. So likewise (h) *Baronius*.

It seems very probable, that *Paul* came to *Rome* about the end of *Februarie*, or soon after, before *April*, or at the utmost in the begining of it. But before the writing of this letter several things had passed. His apologie before the Emperour was over. *Onesiphorus* had made the Apostle divers visits. Several of the Apostle's assistants or fellow-laborers had been with him, since his arrival, and had taken directions from him. *Demas* was gone to *Theffalonica*, *Crescens* to *Galatia*, *Titus* to *Dalmatia*. The epistle to the *Ephesians* likewise, I suppose to have been writ before, and if it had not been sent away, it lay ready, at least, to be carried by *Tychicus*, together with this to *Timothie*. If therefore *Paul* came to *Rome* in *March*, this letter might be sent away in *May*, or the begining of *June*. The direction, ch. iv. 21. *Do thy diligence to come before winter*, might proceed from tendernesse for *Timothie*, the Apostle himself having lately felt the inconveniencies of a winter-voyage. And may also lead us to think, there would be need of *Timothie's* making dispatch, after the receipt of this letter, lest he should be overtaken by bad weather.

In dating this epistle at the time I have done, I have followed (i) *Light-foot*, (k) *Baronius*, (l) *Estius*, (m) *Hammond*, (n) *Witsius*. Who have all well asserted this date. *Witsius*, the last mentioned, has an argument upon the point, which he has all along conducted with great candour, and concluded

(f) Il y prie S. Timothée de le venir trouver avant l'hiver. Ainsi ne pouvoit pas estre plustard que vers le milieu de l'année. S. Paul, art. 49. Mem. Tom. i.

(g) Observant, jussisse hac epistola Paulum, ut festinato ad se accederet, et, si fieri posset, ante hiemem, assumpto secum Marco. Venit autem Paulus Romam, mense, ut creditur, Februario. Pone, scriptam hanc epistolam esse ineunte æstate, potuit Timotheus cum Marco ante hiemem Romæ esse: ubi fuit, quando illæ scribebantur epistolæ, quibus præfixum illius nomen est: quemadmodum et Marcus ibi fuit, quo tempore scribebatur illa ad Colossenses, et ad Philemonem. Quidquamne probabilius est, quam omnia ista ex mandato Pauli esse facta? Ubi supra. sect. 12. num. v.

(h) Sed et cum illud admonet, ut ante hiemem se Romam conferat: certe, si quis exacte consideret tempus, et locum ipsum, Timotheumque agentem in Asia, ut ejusmodi reddi posset epistola, et ipse Troadem ad sumendam penulam proficisceretur, ac Romam ante hiemem se conferret: plane inveniet, hoc ipso anno, ineunte æstate hanc ad Timotheum scriptam epistolam. Baron. ann. 59. num. x.

(i) *Harmonie of the N. T. in his Works, Vol. i. p. 324.*

(k) *Annal. 59. num. x.*

(l) *Præf. in 2. ep. ad Timoth.*

(m) *Præf. in 2. ep. ad Timoth.*

(n) *De Vita et Rebus Pauli Apost. sect. xii. apud Meletem, Leyd. p. 182. &c.*

concluded (o) with much modestie: though to me he seems to have removed every difficulty in a very satisfactorie manner. And he speaks of *Salmero*, as being of the same opinion. And besides, in the course of the argument cites from *Cocceius*, and *Solomon Van Till*, (with whose writings I am but little acquainted,) divers observations, confirming the same opinion. *Cave* likewise was of this opinion, when he wrote the *Lives* of the Apostles, and the first volume of the *Lives* of the primitive Fathers, in English: expressing himself very clearly, and properly, both in (p) the *Life* of *Paul*, and (q) the *Life* of *Timothie*. But when he wrote his *Historia Literaria*, he speaks in the article of *St. Paul*, as (r) if he had quite changed his mind: though in the article of *St. Peter*, as it still stands in the new edition at *Oxford*, he (s) speaks exactly as he had done before.

If he altered his mind, I suppose, it must have been in compliance with *Pearson*, who of late has been followed in this particular by many: who, if they had carefully read the above named authors, might easily have discerned the superiority of their arguments.

To him (t) likewise, I suppose, it must be chiefly ascribed, that by the Apostle's *first answer*, or apologie, many of late have understood an apologie made in a second imprisonment at *Rome*. Which, as (u) before shewn,

(o) *Mea si desideretur iniquitas fateor equidem aliquamdiu me in rationum conflictu animi ancipitem hæsisse, quæ quibus anteponendæ sint. Omnibus tamen perpenſis, non dissimulo, eo me magis propendere, ut scriptionem hujus epistolæ ad priora Pauli apud Romam vincula referendam esse arbitrer. Ib. sect. 12. num. viii.*

(p) "It is not improbable, but that about this time *St. Paul* wrote his second epistle to *Timothie*. I know, that *Eusebius*, and the ancients, and most moderns after them, will have it written a little before his martyrdom, induced thereto by that passage in it, that he was *then ready to be offered, and the time of his departure was at hand*. But, surely, it is most reasonable to think, that it was written at his first being at *Rome*, and that at his first coming there, presently after his trial before *Nero*. In it he appoints *Timothie* shortly to come to him, who accordingly came, and his name is joyned together with the Apostle's, in the front of several epistles, to the *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. *Cave's Life of St. Paul*, sect. 7. num. v. p. 103. 104.

(q) *Life of Timothie. num. vii.*

(r) Epistolam secundam ad *Timotheum* scriptam esse Romæ, in prima Pauli captivitate contendit el. *Hammondus*. Sed errat omnino vir eruditissimus. Quisquis enim totius epistolæ contextum, omnesque hujus temporis circumstantias serio perpende-rit, quin scripta sit anno 64. Paulo ante Apostoli martyrium, dubitare nequit. *De S. Paulo. Hist. Lit. Tom. i. p. 12.*

(s) Durante biennali captivitate Paulus inde scripsit quatuor vel quinque epistolas, ad *Colossenses*, *Ephesios*, *Philippenses* et *Philemonem*, in quibus nullæ notæ, nulla indicia, unde vel divinando quis assequi posset, Romæ Petrum tunc fuisse. . . In posteriori ad *Timotheum*, quam hoc etiam tempore scriptam esse, maxime est probabile. . . Carcere Romano liberatus, dum adhuc in Italia hæreret, scripsit epistolam ad *Hebræos*. *De Petro. H. L. p. 9.*

(t) Paulus Romæ [A. D. lxxvii.] e carcere in discrimen vitæ vocatur ab altero Nerone, et apologiam habet, sive *defensionem suam*, vel *sui*, quod in prioribus vinculis factum non est: ubi habuit tantum *defensionem et confirmationem evangelii*, adversus Judæos scilicet. *Annal. Paulin. p. 24.*

(u) See before, p. 272. . . . 275.

shewn, is contrarie to the general opinion of ancient Christian writers. And indeed appears to me a (x) very unlikely meaning. And to him I suppose it to be entirely owing, that (y) *Paul's* lion, whom (z) all Christians in general had hitherto understood to be the Emperour *Nero*, has on a sudden dwindled into (a) *Elius*, or *Helius*, the Emperour's freed-man and favourite.

Upon the whole, it appears to me very probable, that this second epistle to *Timothe* was writ at *Rome*, when *Paul* was sent thither by *Festus*. And I cannot but think, that this ought to be an allowed, and determined point. Accordingly, I now proceed to mention some observations in the way of corollaries.

1. This second epistle to *Timothie* affords not any argument, that *Peter* was not at *Rome*, when *Paul* came thither a second time, and suffered martyrdom.

Upon these words chap iv. 16. *At my first answer no man stood with me, but all forsook me.* Beza says: "Where (b) was *Peter* then if "he was at *Rome*? Did he desert *Paul* in the time of his difficulty?" But the good man adds: "That *Paul's* general expressions need not to "be understood absolutely without any exception." That is very charitable, and benevolent. But indeed, if *Peter* had then been at *Rome*, he could not have afforded any assistance to his brother Apostle. Nor would *Paul* have expected it of him. For *Peter* himself was an obnoxious person.

(x) Eusebe, S. Jerome, S. Chrysostome en quelques endroits, et Theodoret, ont entendu ceste premiere defense de son premier voyage. S. Chrysostome s'en éloigne en d'autres endroits, et l'entend d'une premiere comparition de S. Paul devant Neron dans son dernier voyage. Mais l'autre sentiment est plus autorisé, et fondé sur le sens le plus naturel du texte, &c. *Du Pin. Diff. Prelim. P. 2. l. 2. ch. 2. §. viii. p. 53.*

(y) In qua defensione tantum erat, et Pauli, et suorum periculum, ut omnes sui eum desererent, et nemo illi adesset. 2 Tim. iv. 16. 17. Sed ereptus est ex ore leonis, nempe Helii Cæsareani. *Ann. Paulin. ibid.*

(z) I refer to the collections of *Grotius* upon 2 Tim. iv. 17. whereby it appears to have been common to give such denominations to bad Princes, not to their officers. And I shall transcribe here a curious passage, to which he only refers, shewing, that *Nero*, for his bad temper, was early called a lion. Adde hæc Scholiastis, in Juvenalis, Sat. v. Seneca sub Claudio, quasi conscius adulteriorum Juliae, Germanici filiae, in Corsicam relegatus, post triennium revocatus est. Qui etsi magno desiderio Athenas intenderet, ab Agrippina tamen, erudiendo Neroni, in palatium adductus, sævum immanemque natum et sensit cito, et mitigavit, inter familiares solitus dicere; non fore sævo illi leoni, quin, gustato semel hominis sanguine, ingenua redeat sævitia. *Lipsius in notis ad Tacit. Ann. l. 12. cap. 9.*

(a) Nobis sane non probatur conjectura doctissimi Pearson, qui communis sententiae pertæsus, Helium Cæsareanum designatum fuisse existimat in Annalibus Paulinis. Neronis potius et furor et dignitas, apta eâ metaphorâ significatur: quomodo defuncto Tiberio Marcius Agrippæ libertus dixit domino suo: Mortuus est Leo. *Basnag. ann. 64. n. 6.*

(b) Ubi tum Petrus, & Romæ erat? Num enim quæso Paulum deseruisset? Sed quod in genere dicitur, etsi non temere sic loquitur Paulus, ita tamen accipiendus est, ut aliqui excipi potuerint, sed perpauci. *Bez. in loc.*

son. *Paul* (c) refers only to such, as by their station were likely to be of some use to him, if they had appeared with him, and had exerted themselves in his behalf.

But though *Peter's* not appearing upon that occasion affords not any argument, that he was not then at *Rome*: the entire silence concerning him throughout this epistle affords good reason to think, he was not then at *Rome*. For ch. iv. 2. *Paul* sends salutations from *Eubulus*, *Pudens*, *Linus*, and *Claudia*. If *Peter* had been then at *Rome*, he would have been mentioned likewise. We do justly argue from *St. Paul's* omitting *Peter* among his salutations sent to divers of the *Roman* Christians, ch. xvi. that *Peter* was not then in that city. It is also rightly argued from the silence concerning *Peter* in the epistles to the *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, that *Peter* was not at *Rome*, when they were writ. To which ought to be added this second epistle to *Timothie*, as farther confirming the same thing, if written about the same time. But then, if it was written in the year 61, as I suppose; it will not afford any argument against *Peter's* being at *Rome* in 64. or 65. and then suffering martyrdom there. About which there ought not to be any doubt. That *Peter* suffered martyrdom at *Rome*, is said by the same writers, that speak of the martyrdom of *Paul* there. The (d) martyrdoms of both the Apostles have a like degree of credibility. For neither is *Paul's* martyrdom at *Rome* founded upon the testimonie of any sacred book of the New Testament. If this second epistle to *Timothie* was writ at the time here argued for, we have no proof from scripture, that *Paul* was a second time at *Rome*. Nevertheless, he must have been there a second time, if he suffered martyrdom there, as ecclesiastical historie says. Consequently, the martyrdom of *Paul* at *Rome*, has no other, nor better evidence, than the martyrdom of *Peter* in the same city.

2. We cannot conclude from this second epistle to *Timothie*, that *St. Luke* was qualified to write the historie of the Apostle *Paul*, for the space of several years lower than he has done in the book of the Acts.

Whitby says upon ver. 11. of the iv. chapter of this epistle: "Hence it appears, that *Luke* must be alive in the 12. or 13. year of *Nero*, when this epistle was indited." *St. Luke* might be then alive. But this epistle, if writ in the 7. or 8. of *Nero*, affords not any proof, that *Luke* lived to the 12. or 13. of *Nero*, or that he was then with *Paul*. And it may be reckoned probable, that *St. Luke* did not accompany the Apostle after his release from his imprisonment at *Rome*.

Again, says *Wall* upon Acts xxviii. 30. 31. "St. *Luke* wrote this book about the year 63. . . . It is a wonder, that he did not add the historie of the rest of his life, whither he went, when he was set free, and what he did in the five years afterwards. One might have guessed, that *Luke* died about this time. But it was not so. He was with
" *Paul*

(c) Loquitur de iis qui prodesse potuerant, et qui gratiâ valebant apud aulicos. . . . Potest et ita exponi: Omnes, id est, pene omnes. *Est. in loc.*

(d) Denique si mentitur traditio de loco Petri martyrii atque sepulchro, quo nobis indicio liquebit Paulum Romæ interfecum fuisse atque conditum? Unum nobis est argumentum fama constans, in quo etiam fundamento collocatur quæ per animos invalit, de Petri in urbem et adventu et morte, immota explorataque Veterum sententia. *Basiag. Ann. 64. num. x.*

“*Paul* a little before *Paul* died. As appears from 2 *Tim.* iv. 11.” But, that *St. Luke* was alive, and with *St. Paul* in the year 67. or 68. cannot be inferred from this epistle, if it was writ in the year 61.

3. We are now able to vindicate the character of *Demas*.

Says *Wall* upon 2 *Tim.* iv. 10. “At the former imprisonment, five years ago, *Demas* was one of *Paul*’s fellow-laborers. As we learn “from *Philem.* ver. 24.” But that remark will appear preposterous, if the second epistle to *Timothie* was writ before that to *Philemon*, as I think it was.

Upon our order of the epistles the case will stand thus. Some time after *Paul*’s coming from *Judea* to *Rome*, upon the appearance of some unexpected difficulties, *Demas*, who had come to *Rome* to meet *Paul*, was discouraged. He did not apostatize from the Christian religion. But out of too great regard for his own safety, he absented himself from the Apostle, and went where *Paul* had rather he should not have gone. This is what *St. Paul* intends, when writing to *Timothie*, he here says: *Demas* hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto *Theſſalonica*. ch. iv. 10. But it was not very long, before he returned. Accordingly, *Paul* makes honorable mention of him, *Col.* iv. 14. and *Philem.* 24. epistles, writ near the end of his confinement at *Rome*.

How disagreeable, to think, that a fellow-laborer of *Paul*, who had attended him in his bonds, near the end of a two years imprisonment at *Rome*, should afterwards forsake him! According to our account, his fault, whatever it might be, was first, and his repentance last: and so sincere and compleat, that *Paul* readily accepted of it, and joins him with his best friends in the salutations sent to *Colosse*, and *Philemon*. And, perhaps, *Demas* had been very useful at *Theſſalonica*, though the Apostle did not send him thither.

Grotius upon 2 *Tim.* iv. 10. says: “We (*e*) conclude from *Philem.* ver. 24. and *Col.* iv. 14. that *Demas* repented of his fault.” But that is inconsistent with the late date of the second epistle to *Timothie*. For if those texts prove *Demas*’s repentance, the second to *Timothie* must have been writ before those two epistles: as (*f*) *Beza* perceived, when he allowed the repentance of *Demas*.

4. *Cave*’s (*g*) argument for the time of *St. Mark*’s writing his Gospel, built upon the supposition, that this second epistle to *Timothie*, in which that Evangelist is mentioned, was writ just before *St. Paul*’s martyrdom, is of no value.

5. This

(*e*) Vide hic etiam bonos interdum metu aut malis exemplis mutari. Quare qui stat, videat ne cadat. Sed et culpæ hujus poenituisse Demam colligimus ex loco *Philem.* 24. et *Coloss.* iv. 14. *Grot.* ad 2 *Tim.* iv.

(*f*) Videtur ille postea resipiscens ad Paulum revertisse, cum fiat ejus mentio in epistola ad Philemonem, quam probabile est post hanc scriptam fuisse, cum in ea fiat mentio Timothei ipsius in inscriptione, atque etiam Marci, quasi jam cum Paulo versantis. *Bez.* ad 2 *Tim.* iv. 10.

(*g*) Factum id circa annum 65. Petro et Paulo jam morte sublati. Cum enim illum epistola secunda ad Timotheum non longe ante martyrium scripta Romam accersiverat Paulus: probabile est, Marcum vel eodem, vel saltem sequenti anno illuc venisse, ibique Evangelium vel primum condidisse, vel prius conditum edidisse. *H. L. T. i. p. 24. in Marco*

5. This second epistle to *Timothie* affords not any argument against the supposition, that the epistle to the *Hebrews* was writ by St. *Paul* in the year 63. about the time of his being released from his confinement at *Rome*.

Le Clerc, in his French edition of the New Testament, in his notes upon Hebr. xiii. 23. says: "Nothing (*b*) of that kind happened to *Timothie* during the life of St. *Paul*. If it had, he would not have failed "to take notice of it in his second epistle to him, writ a very short time "before his death. And he would have thence taken occasion to say "something to *Timothie*, by way of commendation, and encouragement, "or otherwise. If then *Timothie* was not imprisoned, during *Paul's* "life; the mention of these his bonds, and his release, proves this "epistle to the *Hebrews* not to have been written, till after *Paul's* death." *Le Clerc* speaks also to the like purpose in his (*i*) Ecclesiastical Historie. And some before *Le Clerc* must have been affected with this difficulty. As may be concluded from *Beza's* notes upon Hebr. xiii. 23.

To which I answer, *first*, that the original word, rendered by us, *set at liberty*, may signify (*k*) *send abroad on an errand*. But upon that I do not now insist, and therefore say, *Secondly*, the epistle to the *Hebrews* is now generally supposed to have been writ by *Paul* in the year 63. soon after his release from his imprisonment at *Rome*. And we know, from the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, that *Timothie* was with *Paul* at that time, when his imprisonment was near the period. It is not at all improbable, that *Timothie* might be imprisoned, and soon set at liberty again: as divers of *Paul's* fellow-laborers were. But it is unreasonable to expect, that any notice should be taken of these things, in either of the epistles to *Timothie*: one of which was writ before *Paul's* first imprisonment, as it is called: and the other soon after the beginning of it.

6. There can be no ground from this epistle to conclude a second imprisonment of *Paul* at *Rome*. For it was writ in the time of his imprisonment in that city, when he had been sent thither from *Judea* by *Festus*.

7. There may be many other things said upon a supposition, that this epistle was writ in a second imprisonment of *Paul* at *Rome*, in the year 67. or thereabout. All which must now fall to the ground.

It is often said, that error is endless. And it is certain, that one error is productive of another. This in particular is so. It has occasioned forced and wrong interpretations of divers texts of this epistle, and many

(*b*) Il n'étoit rien arrivé de semblable à Timothée, pendant la vie de S. Paul, qui lui écrivit sa 2 epître tres peu de tems avant que de mourir, et qui n'auroit pas manqué d'en parler en quelque occasion. &c. *Notes sur Hebr. xiii. 23.*

(*i*) Mentio fit Timothei in vincula coniecti et dimissi. cap. xiii. 23. Quod non contigerat ante posteriorem ad Timotheum, ubi nulla ejus rei, uti nec in priore, vel minima mentio. Quam tamen Paulus non prætermisisset, si quid simile contigisset, cum ad laudem Timothei, at constantiam in eo augendam, multum faceret. Itaque in vincula, post conscriptas demum ad eum epistolas, aut etiam post mortem Pauli, coniectus fuerit. *H. E. A. D. 69. p. 459.*

(*k*) *Vid. Mill. Prolegom. num. 68. 69.*

many false and groundless suppositions, so contrarie to the truth of historie. I shall take notice of but one more, beside those, which have been already mentioned. *Tillemont* in his historie of *St. Paul's* affairs, in the year 65. some while after he had been set at liberty from his captivity at *Rome*, says: "It (*l*) was, perhaps, at this time, that he suffered at *Antioch* in "*Pisidia*, at *Iconium*, and *Lystra*, the afflictions, which he mentions in "general, in his second epistle to *Timothie.* ch. iii. 11." Which to me appears very absurd, and I had almost said, ridiculous.

I shall now mention one observation more, of a different kind.

8. We have no reason upon the whole to regret *St. Paul's* imprisonment at *Rome*.

When we read the opinion of that great companie, which had heard *Paul's* pleading at *Cesarca.* Acts xxvi. 31. *This man doth nothing worthy of death, or of bonds:* and what *Agrippa* said to *Festus*, in the next verse, *This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed to Cesar:* we may be disposed to wish, that appeal had not been made, thinking, that in that case he might now have been set at liberty. But if we consider things maturely, we shall perceive it to have been necessarie. It was indeed prudently made, being the only probable means of his escape from the continued persecutions of the enraged Jews.

But beside that, there are very many advantages attending it. Which ought to reconcile us to it, and induce us to acknowledge the overruling Providence of God in it. Without that appeal *Paul* would not have been mentioned to *Agrippa*. Nor should we have had that excellent apologie for himself, and his doctrine, which he made before *Agrippa*, and *Festus*. We should not have had the fine historie of the Apostle's voyage to *Rome*, in which are so many affecting incidents. And though he came to *Rome* as a prisoner, he had there a great deal of liberty. *Nor was the word of God bound.* As he was able to say in this epistle, writ soon after his settlement at *Rome.* 2 Tim. ii 9. And in his epistle to the *Philippians*, i. 12. . . 14. writ afterwards, are these remarkable words: *But I would, ye should understand, brethren, that the things which have happened unto me, have fallen out rather to the furtherance of the gospel. So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places. And many of the brethren, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear.* Says *St. Luke:* *Two whole years Paul dwelt in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him. Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things, which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.* Acts xxviii. 30. 31.

Jerome thinks, it (*m*) was a handsome dwelling, in which was a spacious

(*l*) *St. Paul.* art. 47. *Mem. Ec. T. i.*

(*m*) *Simul autem et prepara mihi hospitium.* Non puto tam divitem fuisse Apostolum, et tantis sarcinis onustum, ut preparato egeret hospitio et non una contentus cellula, breves corporis sui spatia ædes amplissimas existimaret. . . Si autem hoc non dispensatorie, sed vere quis existimet imperatum, Apostolo magis quam Paulo hospitium præparandum est. Venturus ad novam civitatem, prædicaturus crucifixum, et inaudita dogmata delaturus, sciebat

ad

cious room, where *Paul* could receive a good deal of company, and display his apostolical gifts to advantage. So he beforehand wrote to *Philemon*, to prepare him a lodging. ver. 22. Not that he should want many things for his own accommodation. But he wished to have a dwelling in a frequented part of the city of *Colossæ*, and large enough to admit conveniently all who were desirous to be informed concerning his doctrine.

Paul had a great desire to go to *Rome*, and testify there the gospel of Christ. He thought, it is likely, that he should there have a good opportunity to propose it to Jews and Gentils, of inquisitive tempers, and distinguished characters. Rom. i. 9. 10. . . . *Without ceasing making mention of you always in my prayers : making request, (if by any means now at length I might have a prosperous journey by the will of God :) to come unto you.* And ver. 14. 16. *I am debtor both to Greeks and Barbarians, to the wise and unwise. So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also. For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ. For it is the power of God unto salvation, . . . to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.* See likewise ch. xv. 28. . . . 32. Well, *Paul's* desire was fulfilled. He was brought to *Rome* : and although not in the way, and in the circumstances, which himself would have chosen : yet I suppose, that in the end he had good reason to be well satisfied. Indeed, I think, that the time of his abode at *Rome*, must have been, upon the whole, as comfortable, and honourable, and useful, as any period of the like duration, since his conversion to the faith of Christ. He was bound, and was guarded by a soldier. But it needs not to be supposed, that the chain was always upon his hand. And notwithstanding the disgraceful circumstance of his bonds, and the disadvantage of his outward appearance in some respects : such were the dignity and importance of his behaviour, such the superiority of his discourse above that of all other men, and such the works, which God enabled him to perform, as could not but secure him the regard of all serious and discerning men. And (n) success in his work would alleviate all his sufferings. For which reason we also ought to rejoice in them, and on account of the testimony thereby given to the truth and innocence of the Christian doctrine.

In the introduction to the first part of this work, where our concern was with facts occasionally mentioned in the books of the New Testament, I said : *Here is withall an account of proceedings and sentences of Courts*

ad se plurimos concursuros : et necesse erat, primum, ut domus in celebri esset urbis loco, ad quam facile conveniretur. Deinde ut ab omni importunitate vacua, ut ampla, quæ plurimos caperet audientium : ne proxima spectaculorum locis, ne turpi vicinia detestabilis : postremo, ut in plano potius sita esset, quam in cœnaculo. Quam ob causam eum existimo etiam Romæ in conducto mansisse biennio. Nec parva, ut reor, erat mansio, ad quam Judæorum turbæ quotidie confluebant. *Hieron. in Philem. ver. 22. T. 4. p. 453.*

(n) Simul autem admirandum de magnanimitate Apostoli, et in Christum mente ferventis. Tenetur in carcere, vinculis stringitur, squalore corporis, carorum separatione, pœnalibus tenebris coarctatur : et non sentit injuriam, non dolore cruciatur, nihil novit aliud, nisi de Christi evangelio cogitare. *Hieron. in Philem. Tom. 4. p. 450. m.*

Courts of Judicature, in cities of the first rank, and most general resort: and of some discourses made before persons, next under the Roman Emperour, of the highest rank and distinction: Referring to the historie in Acts xxiii. xxiv. xxv. xxvi. But now I should choose to say: And of some discourses made before persons of the highest rank and distinction, not excepting the Roman Emperour himself. For from what has been just now argued, it appears to be very probable, that *Paul*, when brought to *Rome*, pleaded once, if not twice, before *Nero*. And though those pleadings may have been very short: yet from thence, and from the treatment, which *Paul* had presently afterwards in the Imperial City, ariseth a very forcible argument for the innocence of the Christian doctrine, and it's teachers.

Every one perceives, that *St. Paul's* pleadings upon the occasions before referred to, in the presence of the Jewish Council at *Jerusalem*, and before *Felix*, and *Festus*, and *Agrippa*, at *Cesarea*, do us great honour. Particularly, in this last mentioned apologie, the doctrine, which *Paul* preached, as received from heaven, was reported to those great personages, and the honourable companie attending them. He lays before them the historie of his life, from his youth up, before he was a Christian, and afterwards. He plainly declares his doctrine, and the zeal, with which he had spread and propagated it every where, among Jews and Gentils, and his unwearied diligence in the cause, in which he was engaged. And in the end all acknowledge, that he did nothing contrarie to the peace of society: and that he might have been set at liberty. But having appealed to the Emperour, it was now requisite, that the cause should be referred to his tribunal, and be finally determined there.

Here therefore is another testimonie to the innocence of *Paul*, and his doctrine. *Festus* the Governour of *Judea*, certainly wrote a letter to the Emperour, giving an account of *Paul*. Of this all may be satisfied, who observe what is said. Acts xxv. 24. . . 27. So *Lysias*, the Tribune, and commanding officer at *Jerusalem*, when he sent *Paul* to *Felix* at *Cesarea*, wrote a letter, containing an account of the prisoner, and the proceedings against him hitherto. Ch. xxiii. 25. . . 30. In like manner now acted *Festus*. Nor can it be imagined, that any Governour should presume to falsify, prevaricate, or disguise, in such a letter. It might be very respectful to the Emperour, and favorable to the prisoner. But there could be nothing but truth. And there must have been all the truth, that was needful to give a just notion of the cause. And yet *Paul* is not condemned, but obtains an order for such a custodie, as leaves him at liberty to dwell by himself, in his own hired house, and to receive all who came to him, and to discourse to them of his doctrine. Here he was two years: during which time he had no molestation. And at length he was released. He was all that time in one place. And the place of his abode was well known. He might have been called for at any time. But there were no complaints made against him, or no such, as could induce those in power to change the order first given.

When *Paul* lay bound in the castle of *Antonia* at *Jerusalem*, after he had been brought before the Jewish Council, and his life was in imminent danger; the night following, the Lord stood by him, and said: Be of good cheer, *Paul*. For as thou hast testified of me in *Jerusalem*, so must thou bear witness

witnesse also at Rome. Acts xxiii. 11. Which word of our Lord was fully accomplished : as we are assured in the historie, which St. *Luke* has given of the Apostle's going to *Rome*, and dwelling in that city two whole years, and in the epistles, writ by himself, during that period. Which by the divine goodnesse are still preserved to us.

According to the preceding argument, the second epistle to *Timothie* was sent away from *Rome*, about the summer of the year 61. probably, in May, or June.

S E C T. XI.

The Epistle to the Philippians.

THERE still remain three epistles of St. *Paul* to be considered by us, which are generally allowed to have been writ during the time of his imprisonment at *Rome* : the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. And I shall speak of them in the order, in which they have been just named.

A.D. 62. The epistle to the *Philippians* was writ in the second year of the Apostle's imprisonment. *Timothie*, who had come to him from *Ephesus*, according to his desire, 2 Tim. iv. 9. 21. is joyned with the Apostle in the inscription at the beginning of the epistle. It seems to have been writ not long before the end of his two years imprisonment. For he had some hopes of a release. ch. i. 24. 25. *Nevertheless to abide in the flesh, is more needful for you. And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide, and continue with you all, for your furtherance, and joy of faith.* Yea he expresseth hopes of making the *Philippians* a visit. ver. 26. *That your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me, by my coming to you again.* And ch. ii. 19. *But I trust in the Lord Jesus, to send Timothie shortly unto you . . . and ver. 23. 24. Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also myself shall come shortly.* But though he had hopes of obtaining his liberty, he was not yet certain of it. As appears from those words just cited, *so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me* : and from what he says ch. ii. 17. *Yea, if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all.* See also ch. i. ver. 20. In the mean time, he sends back to them *Epaphroditus*, who had come to *Rome*, with a kind present from the Christians at *Philippi*, and who had been dangerously sick, but was now recovered. And it is likely, that by him this epistle was carried. So it follows in ver. 25. . . 30 of the second chapter. *Yet I supposed it necessarie, to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, but your messenger, and he that ministred to my wants. . . . I have sent him therefore the more carefully : that when ye see him again, ye may rejoice.* Of their kind regard to him he speaks again, ch. iv. 10. . . . 19. In the end of the epistle he sends salutations to the *Philippians* from the brethren that were with him, and from all the saints, chiefly those of *Cesar's household*. Who may be supposed to be the Apostle's converts, and the persons, who chiefly contributed to his being set at liberty, and had already given him hopes of it, and

and may likewise have been friendly to him in other respects. And at the begining of this epistle, ch. i. 13. speaking of the progresse of the gospel, he says : *So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places.*

The salutations in this epistle are singular, being different from those at the end of the other epistles, writ about the same time. First it is said : *The brethren which are with me greet you* : intending, as I apprehend, *Mark*, and others, the Apostle's fellow-laborers, mentioned by name near the end of the epistles to the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, but not so mentioned here. Then it is added. *All the saints salute you* : meaning all the Christians at *Rome*, in general, chiefly they that are of *Cesar's household*. The kind present from the *Philippians*, it is likely, had recommended them to the notice of all at *Rome*. That testimonie of respect for the Apostle was highly pleasing, and very edifying to the Christians in that city. It seems to have been a handsome sum. And it may be reckoned probable, that the collections made for the Apostle at *Rome*, and the contributions brought in from abroad, were all put into one bank, and lodged in the hands of some person, or persons of good credit, and substance. Possibly, there was now a superfluity. For *St. Paul* says to these *Philippians* : *I have all, and abound. I am full.* If there was any thing superfluous, beyond what was requisite for his maintenance at *Rome*, it would be of use for defraying the expences of the journeys, which he had in view. And this may be one reason, why this epistle is inscribed *to all the saints, which are at Philippi, with the Bishops and Deacons*. For there must have been such officers in many of the churches, to which the Apostle sent letters, though they are not mentioned. But the Bishops and Deacons at *Philippi* had encouraged the contributions made for the Apostle, and had assisted in conveying them to him. And therefore they could not be omitted.

St. Paul came to *Rome*, as I suppose, in the spring of the year 61. *There he dwelled two whole years in his own hired house.* Acts xxviii. 30. Consequently, his captivity ended in the spring of the year 63.

Hereby I am led to think, that this epistle to the *Philippians* was writ in the year 62. It was carried by *Epaphroditus*. Some time after he was gone, I suppose, (as (o) does *Mill* likewise,) that *St. Paul* sent *Timothie* to *Philippi*, agreeably to his design, mentioned ch. ii. 19. . . 23. And when he wrote the epistle to the *Hebrews*, in the spring of the year 63. he was in expectation of *Timothie's* return to him. Hebr. xiii. 23. According to this computation, the epistle to the *Philippians* was writ, and sent away, in the year 62. and some while before the end of it.

(o) De visendis enim Philippensibus, ubi primum e carcere evaserit, omnino cogitat. . . Et quidem paullo post missas hanc literas libertatem adeptus, Timotheum in Macedoniam misit, uti liquet ex Hebr. xiii. 23. &c. *Mill. Prol. num.* 68.

S E C T. XII.

The Epistle to the Colossians.

A. D. 62. **T**HE epistles to the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, were sent away together. *Chrysostom*, as (p) formerly observed, thought, that the epistle to *Philemon* was first writ. That he concluded from Col. iv. 7. . . . 9. However, I shall first speak of the epistle to the *Colossians*, according to the order, in which the epistles lye in our volume of the New Testament.

The epistle to the *Colossians* was carried by *Tychicus* and *Onesimus*, as we perceive from ch. iv. 7. . . . 9. *All my estate shall Tychicus declare unto you. . . . Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts : with Onesimus, a faithfull and beloved brother, who is one of you. They shall make known unto you all things (which are done) here.*

These two letters, as before said, were sent away at the same time. But it is likely, that the letter to *Philemon* was first delivered. For till *Onesimus* had been received by his master, he could not be a fit person, to joyn in delivering a letter to the church of *Colosse*.

Timothie joyns with the Apostle at the begining in the salutation to the saints and faithful brethren in Christ, which are at *Colosse*. Near the end of the epistle are salutations from *Aristarchus*, said by the Apostle to be his fellow-prisoner, from *Mark*, Jesus called *Justus*, *Epaphras*, *Luke the beloved Physician*, and *Demas*.

It might have been expected, that this letter should be carried by *Epaphras*, who had come to the Apostle at *Rome* from *Colosse*. ch. i. 7. 8. But he was now the Apostle's fellow prisoner, as is said, *Philem.* ver. 23. However he and *Aristarchus* may have been set at liberty about the same time with *St. Paul*. Such things were frequent in the early days of the gospel, and before *Nero* became a persecutor, according to an observation of *Jerome* in his Commentarie upon the epistle to *Philemon*, ver. 22. cited by us (q) not long ago.

As *Timothie* joyns with the Apostle in the salutation at the begining of this epistle, he was still at *Rome*, and not yet sent away to *Philippi*. I therefore conclude, that this epistle was writ about the same time with that to the *Philippians*, in the year 62. and some while before the end of it.

(p) See ch. 118. Vol. x. p. 332.

(q) See before, p. 279.

S E C T. XIII.

The Epistle to Philemon.

PHILEMON was a citizen of *Colosse*, in *Phrygia*.

Paul (r) writes this epistle to him in behalf of *Onesimus*, a slave, who had robbed his master, and run away. A. D. 62.

Him *Paul* had converted to the Christian faith at *Rome*, during his bonds, which are several times mentioned in this epistle.

Timothie is joyned with *Paul* in the salutations at the begining of the epistle. At ver. 23. and 24. the Apostle sends salutations from *Epaphras*, then his fellow-prisoner : from *Mark*, whom *Timothie* had brought with him to *Rome*, according to *Paul's* desire. 2 Tim. iv. 11. from *Luke* and *Aristarchus*, who had accompanied the Apostle in his voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*, and had continued with him ever since : and from *Demas*, who had departed from the Apostle for a while, but was now returned. Compare 2 Tim. iv. 10.

From ver. 19. it is argued by (s) *Jerome*, as well as by some learned Commentators of late times, that the whole of this epistle was sent in the Apostle's own hand-writing.

St. Paul had now good hopes of obtaining his liberty. For he says at ver. 22. *But withall prepare me also a lodging. For I trust, that through your prayers I shall be given unto you.* Nevertheless, as *Timothie* joyns with the Apostle in the salutations, at the begining of the epistle, I think, it was not yet fully determined. For *Paul* says to the *Philippians*, ii. 23. that he hoped to send him to them presently, so soon as he should see, how it would go with him. As *Timothie* was still at *Rome*, and not sent away to *Philippi* ; it may be argued, that the Apostle did not yet certainly know the success of the attempts made use of by his friends to procure his liberty. I therefore conclude, that this epistle was writ about the same time with that to the *Philippians*, in the year 62. and some while before the end of it.

These three epistles, to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, are also placed by *Mill* (t) in the year 62.

I will now add a few observations concerning the epistle to *Philemon*.

Philemon's station is not certainly known. *Grotius* thought, he (u) dwelt at *Ephesus*, and was one of the Elders of that church. *Beausobre* in

(r) Totum autem, pro quo rogat, illud est : Onesimus, servus Philemonis, fugam furto cumulans, quædam rei domesticæ compilarat. Hic pergens in Italiam, ne a proximo facilius posset apprehendi, pecuniam domini per luxuriam prodegerat. &c. *Hieron. in Philem. T. 4. p. 449. Vid. et Theodoretum argum. in ep. ad Philem. T. 3. p. 516.*

(s) Quod dicit, tale est. Quod Onesimus furto rapuit, ego me spondeo redditurum. Cujus sponsonis epistola hæc et manus testis est propria. Quam non solito more dictavi, sed mea manu ipse conscripsi. *Hier. ib. p. 452.*

(t) *Vid. Prolegom. num. 68. . . 70. et 80. . . 82.*

(u) *Philemoni dilecto.*] Videtur habitasse Ephesi, ubi Onesimus postea episcopatu

in his notes upon the first verse of this epistle speaks of *Philemon*, as (x) one of the Pastours of the church of *Colosse*.

To me it appears evident, that *Philemon* was an inhabitant of *Colosse*. For his servant, *Onesimus*, is recommended by St. *Paul* to the church in that city, and said to be one of them. iv. 7. And the Christians at *Colosse* are required by the Apostle to say to *Archippus*, Take heed to the ministrie, which thou hast received. ver. 17. Which *Archippus* is saluted in the epistle to *Philemon*. ver. 2.

Theodoret expressly says, that (y) *Philemon* was a citizen of *Colosse*, and that the house, in which he dwelt, was still remaining there. *Theophylact* (z) calls him a *Phrygian*. *Jerome* likewise says, he (a) was of *Colosse*. But he bestows so many words, to make it out, that we may be led to think, there were some in his time, who disputed it.

Philemon, therefore, was a *Colossian*. But whether he was an Elder there, or only a private Christian, in good circumstances, is not so certain. The inscription is, . . . unto *Philemon*, our dearly beloved, and fellow-laborer. Which last expression is ambiguous. It may imply, that *Philemon* was an Elder in the church of *Colosse*. Or no more may be intended thereby, than in general, that *Philemon* was some way usefull in helping forward the gospel. In the Apostolical Constitutions (b) *Philemon* is said to have been ordained Bishop of *Colosse* by the Apostles. But their testimonie is of very little weight. I do not perceive *Jerome* to say expressly, that (c) *Philemon* was Bishop, or Elder at *Colosse*. Perhaps he was not positive about it in his own mind. The Author of the Commentarie upon thirteen of St. *Paul*'s epistles, by some reckoned to be *Hilarie*,

copatu functus est, ut et Ignatii literæ, et alii scriptores tradunt. . . . Et adiutori meo] id est uni Presbyterorum illorum, qui Ephesi plures erant. Act. xx. 17. *Grot. in Philem. ver. 1.*

(x) Il paroît par là, que *Philemon* étoit un des Pasteurs de l'église de Colosses. *Beauf.*

(y) Πόλιν δὲ εἶχε τὰς κολασσάς. Καὶ ἡ οἰκία δὲ αὐτῷ μέχρι τῆ παρόντος μεμένηκε. *Theod. arg. ep. ad Philem. T. 3. p. 516.*

(z) *Theoph. ep. ad Philem. T. 2. p. 861.*

(a) Si autem *Philemon*, ad quem hæc epistola scribitur, *Onesimi* dominus est . . . et ad *Colossenses* refertur, quod ex iis sit, ratio nos ipsa et ordo deducit, quod et *Philemon* *Colossensis* sit, et eo tempore communem ad omnem ecclesiam *Onesimus* epistolam tulerit, quo privatas et sui commendatrices ad dominum literas sumferat. Est et aliud indicium, quod in hac eadem epistola et *Archippus* nominatur: cui hic cum *Philemone* scribitur: Dicite, inquit, *Archippo*: Vide ministerium quod accepisti a Domino, ut illud impleas . . . Ex quo puto, aut Episcopum fuisse *Colossensis* ecclesiæ, cui admonetur studiose et diligenter præesse, ut evangelii prædicatorem. Aut si ita non est, illud mihi impræsentiarum sufficit, quod et *Philemon*, et *Archippus*, et *Onesimus* ipse, qui literas perferebat, fuerint *Colossenses*. &c. *Comm. in Philem. T. 4. p. 445.*

(b) *Const. Ap. l. 7. cap. 46.*

(c) Scribunt igitur *Paulus* et *Timotheus* *Philemoni* carissimo et cooperatori: qui ideo carissimus dictus est, quod in eodem Christi opere versetur. *In ep. ad Philem. p. 446.*

Hilarie, Deacon of *Rome*, says, that (*d*) *Philemon* had no ecclesiastical dignity, but was one of the laity. And *Oecumenius*, in his prologue to the second epistle of *St. John*, formerly (*e*) cited, appears also to have thought *Philemon* to be a man in private station.

Perhaps some have been the rather unwilling to allow, that *Philemon* was a Bishop, or Elder, because he had a wife, whose name was *Apphia*, and because he was a man of substance, who had one slave at least, if not more. Nevertheless we have just observed two learned men, of very good judgement, *Grotius* and *Beausobre*, who were not much swayed by those considerations. One of whom thought *Philemon* to have been an Elder in the church of *Ephesus*: the other, one of the Pastours of the church of *Colosse*. To them I can now add (*f*) *Dr. Doddridge*.

However, as the thing is of no great importance, so I must acknowledge, that it is not very easie to be decided. *St. Paul's* expression, *fellow-laborer*, as before observed, is ambiguous. His manner of address, which is very earnest, farther induces me to hesitate. If *Philemon* had been an Elder, he must have known his duty. And could not have needed so pressing an exhortation to receive a penitent, and him one of his familie.

Onesimus, unquestionably, was received by the church of *Colosse*, as a good Christian, upon the Apostle's recommendation. It is as reasonable to think, that *Philemon* was reconciled to him: and, probably, gave him his freedom. In the Apostolical Constitutions (*g*) he is said to have been Bishop of *Beroea* in *Macedonia*. When *Ignatius* wrote his epistle to the *Ephesians*, about the year 107. their Bishop's name was *Onesimus*. And *Grotius* (*h*) thought him to be the same, for whom *Paul* interceded with *Philemon*. But that (*i*) is not certain.

S E C T. XIV.

The Epistle to the Hebrews.

I SHALL inquire, 1. to whom it was writ. 2. in what language. 3. by whom. 4. the time and place of writing it.

I. In the first place let us consider, to whom this epistle was writ. *A. D. 63.*

Sir Isaac Newton thought "That (*k*) this epistle was writ to Jewish believers, who left *Jerusalem* about the time that the war broke out, and went into *Asia*." According to this account,

(*d*) *Philemon* nulla erat ecclesiasticæ ordinationis præditus dignitate, sed vir laudabilis, unus ex plebe. &c. *Proleg. in ep. ad Philem.*

(*e*) See p. 120.

(*f*) See his preface to *Philemon*. p. 585. and his *Paraphrase of the first verse*. p. 589. of the *Family-Expositor*. Vol. v.

(*g*) *Lib. 7. cap. 46.*

(*h*) See before note (*u*) p. 295.

(*i*) *Vid. Basnag. Ann. 60. num. xxxvii.*

(*k*) "The epistle to the *Hebrews*, since it mentions *Timothy*, as related to
"the

account, the epistle could not be writ, till some while after the breaking out of the war in *Judea*, in the year 66. But it will be difficult to shew, that *Paul*, whom Sir *Isaac* allows to be the writer, lived so long. Not now to mention any thing else.

Dr. *Wall* was inclined to the same opinion, or somewhat not very different. "I (l) agree, says he, that the epistle was writ to *Hebrews*, that is, to the *Hebrew* Christians of some place. But for the place or country, I think, they were rather the *Hebrew* Christians of *Asia*, (*Ephesus*, *Miletus*, and thereabout,) *Macedonia*, *Greece*, &c. where St. *Paul* had spent most of his time, than that they were those of *Jerusalem*, &c."

The late Mr. *Wetstein* conjectured, that (m) the epistle was writ by *Paul* to the Jewish believers at *Rome*, soon after he had been released from his confinement in that city. Which conjecture, I believe, will be followed by very few. And as it has no ancient authority, and is destitute of all appearance of probability; I suppose, it need not to be confuted.

Lightfoot thought, "That (n) this epistle was sent by *Paul* to the believing Jews of *Judea*, a people, says he, that had been much engaged to him, for his care of their poor, getting collections for them all along in his travels." He adds: "It is not to be doubted indeed, that he intendeth the discourse and matter of this epistle to the Jews throughout their dispersion.—Yet does he endorse it, and send it chiefly to the *Hebrews*, or the Jews of *Judea*, the principal part of the circumcision, as the properest centre, to which to direct it, and from whence it might be best diffused in time to the whole circumference of the dispersion."

Whitby, in his preface to the epistle to the *Hebrews*, is of the same opinion, and argues much after the same manner with *Lightfoot*.

So likewise (o) *Mill*, (p) *Pearson*, (q) *Lewis Cappell*, and *Beza* in his preface to this epistle, and the editors of the French N. T. at *Berlin*, in their general preface to St. *Paul's* epistles, and in their preface to this epistle in particular. Of this Mr. *Hallett* had no doubt, who in his Synopsis of the epistle says: "This epistle was particularly designed for the
" *Hebrew*

"the *Hebrews*, must be written to them, after their flight into *Asia*: where *Timothy* was Bishop, and by consequence after the war was begun." *Newton's Observations upon the Apoc. of St. John. ch. i. p. 244.*

(l) *Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 317. 318.*

(m) Si conjecturæ locus est, existimaverim potius ad Judæos qui Romæ degabant, et Christo nomen dederant, scriptam fuisse: quo admissio, facile intelligitur, qui factum, tum ut *Paulus*, qui Româ quidem, sed non Italiâ, excedere jussus erat, brevi se rediturum speraret, tum ut Itali Romanos salutarerent. *Wetsten. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 386. 387.*

(n) *Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 340.*

(o) Per Hebræos autem istos potissimum fideles Hierosolymitanos intelligit, apud quos ante duos annos versatus fuerat. Hinc illud, ἵνα ἀποκατασταθῶ ὑμῖν. cap. xiii. 19. *Mill. Proleg. num. 83.*

(p) *Annal. Paulin. p. 20. 21.*

(q) Ex quibus conjicere licet, hanc epistolam a Paulo sub finem priorum vinculorum Româ scriptum fuisse ad Hierosolymitanos Judæos, qui in Christum crediderant. *L. Capp. Hist. Ap. p. 80.*

“*Hebrew* Christians, that dwelt in one certain place, and was sent thither, as appears from the Apostle’s saying, ch. xiii. 19. 23. *I beseech you the rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner. . . . I will see you.* And what particular place can this be supposed to be, but *Judea*? There the Christians were continually persecuted by the unbelieving Jews, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, and as St. Paul takes notice 1 Thess. ii. 14. Hebr. x. 32. . . . 36. xii. 4. 5. By these persecutions the *Hebrew* Christians were tempted to apostatise from Christianity, and to think, there was strength in the arguments urged by the persecutors in favour of Judaism. The Apostle therefore sets himself to guard against both these dangers.” And what follows.

This appears to me to be the most probable opinion.

For 1. It is the opinion of the ancient Christian writers, who received this epistle.

It may be taken for granted, that this was the opinion of (r) *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and (s) *Jerome*, and (t) *Euthalius*, who supposed this epistle to have been first written in *Hebrew*, and afterwards translated into *Greek*. It may be allowed to have been also the opinion of many others, who quote this epistle, as writ to *Hebrews*, when they say nothing to the contrary. Nor do I recollect any ancients, who say it was writ to Jews living out of *Judea*.

Chrysostom says, that (u) the epistle was sent to the believing Jews of *Palestine*. And supposeth, that the Apostle afterwards made them a visit. *Theodoret* (x) in his preface to the epistle, allows it to be sent to the same Jews. And *Theophylact* (y) in his argument of the epistle expressly says, as *Chrysostom*, that it was sent to the Jews of *Palestine*. So that this (h) was the general opinion of the ancients.

2. There are in the epistle many things especially suitable to the believers in *Judea*. Which must lead us to think, it was writ to them. I shall select divers such passages.

1.) Hebr. i. 2. . . . has in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.

2.) Ch. iv. 2. For unto us was the gospel preached, as well as to them.

3.) Ch. ii. 1. . . . 4. Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things, that we have heard . . . how then shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him: God also bearing them witness with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost.

Does

(r) *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 14.*

(s) *Scripserat ut Hebræus Hebræis Hebraice, id est, suo eloquio disertissimi. De V. I. cap. 5.*

(t) *Argum. ep. ad Hebr. ap. zac. p. 670.*

(u) Πᾶς δὲ Ἦσαν ἐπιστάλλει; Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ παλαιστίνη. . . . Δύο μὲν ἔν τῃ ἐπόμην ῥώμῃ δεδεμένους· εἴτα ἐφείβη, εἴτα εἰς τὰς σπανίας ἦλθεν. εἴτα εἰς ἰουδαίαν ἔβη, ὅτε καὶ ἰουδαίους εἶδε. Καὶ τότε πάλιν ἦλθεν εἰς ῥώμην, ὅτε καὶ ὑπὸ νέεωνος ἀνηρέθη. *Pr. in ep. ad Hebr. T. 12. p. 2.*

(x) *Vid. Theodoret. argum. ep. ad Hebr.*

(y) Τοῖς ἐν παλαιστίνη δὲ καὶ ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπιστάλλει. *Theophyl. arg. ep. ad Hebr. p. 872.*

(h) *Voyez la pref. de Beaufobre sur l'épître aux Hebr. num. xxxviii.*

Does not that exhortation, and the reason, with which it is supported, peculiarly suit the believers of *Judea*, where Christ himself first taught, and then his disciples after him, confirming their testimonie with very numerous and conspicuous miracles?

4.) The people, to whom this epistle is sent, were well acquainted with our Saviour's sufferings, as they of *Judea* must have been. This appears in ch. i. 3. ii. 9. 18. v. 7. 8. ix. 14. 28. x. 11. xii. 2. 3. xiii. 12.

5.) Ch. v. 12. *For when ye ought to be teachers of others*, and what follows, is most properly understood of *Christians in Jerusalem*, and *Judea*, to whom the gospel was first preached.

6.) What is said ch. vi. 4. . . . 6. and x. 26. . . 29. is most properly applicable to apostates in *Judea*.

7.) X. 32. . . 34. *But call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were illuminated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions* . . to the end of ver. 34. This leads us to the church of *Jerusalem*, which had suffered much, long before the writing of this epistle, even very soon after they had received the knowledge of the truth. Comp. Acts viii. 1. ix. 1. 2. xi. 19. and 1 Thess. ii. 14. *Grotius* (i) supposed as much.

8.) Those exhortations, ch. xiii. 13. 14. must have been very suitable to the case of the Jews of *Jerusalem*, at the supposed time of writing this epistle, a few years before the war in that countrey broke out.

9.) The regard shewn in this epistle to the rulers of the church, or churches, to which it is sent, is very remarkable. They are mentioned twice or thrice: first in ch. xiii. 7. *Remember your rulers, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith imitate, considering the end of their conversation*. These were dead, as (k) *Grotius* observes. And *Theodoret's* note is to this purpose: "He (l) intends the saints that were dead, " *Stephen* the proto-martyr, *James* the brother of *John*, and *James* called " the Just. And there were many others, who were taken off by the " Jewish rage. Consider these, says he, and observing their example, " imitate their faith." Then again, at ver. 17. *Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves. For they watch for your souls. . . . And once more ver. 24. Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints*. Upon which *Theodoret* says: "This (m) way of speaking intimates, that their rulers did not need such instruction. For which " reason he did not write to them, but to their disciples." This is a fine observation. And *Whitby* upon that verse, says: "Hence it seems evident, that this epistle was not sent to the Bishops or rulers of the church, but to the whole church, or the laity." And it may deserve to be considered,

(i) Post Stephani mortem vehementer vexati fuere illi in Judæa Christiani, ut videre est Act. xi. 19. 1 Thess. ii. 14. *Grot. ad Hebr. x. 34*.

(k) Loquitur autem de iis, qui jam obierant, ut ostendunt sequentia. Qui vobis locuti sunt verbum Dei: nempe in diversis oppidis: forte etiam diversis temporibus, cum mortuis alii successerint. *Id. ad Hebr. xiii. 7*.

(l) In ep. ad Hebr. cap. xiii. Tom. 3. p. 459. D.

(m) Αιμύττεται ὁ λόγος, ὡς οἱ προσκαίοντες αὐτῶν τοιαύτης διδασκαλίας ἐκ ἔχρησαν· οὐ δὴ χάριν ἐκ ἐκείνων ἐπείσσειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαθηταῖς. *Ibid. p. 462. D*.

sidered, whether this repeated notice of the rulers among them does not afford ground to believe, that some of the Apostles were still in *Judea*? Whether there be sufficient reason to believe that, or not, I think these notices very proper and suitable to the state of the Jewish believers in *Judea*. For I am persuaded, that not only *James*, and all the other Apostles, had exactly the same doctrine with *Paul*: but that all the Elders likewise, and all the understanding men among the Jewish believers, embraced the same doctrine. They were, as I apprehend, the multitude only, *πληθος*, plebs, or the men of lower rank among them, who were attached to the peculiarities of the Mosaic law, and the customs of their ancestors. This may be argued from what *James* and the Elders at *Jerusalem* say to *Paul*. Acts xxi. 20. . . . 22. *Thou seeest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are that believe. And they are all zealous of the law. . . . What is it therefore? The multitude must needs come together. . . .* It is hence evident, that the zeal for the law, which prevailed in the minds of many, was not approved by *James*, or the Elders. That being the case, these recommendations of a regard for their Rulers, whether Apostles, or Elders, were very proper in an epistle sent to the believers in *Judea*.

For these reasons I think, that this epistle was sent to the Jewish believers at *Jerusalem*, and in *Judea*.

But there are objections, which must be considered.

1. Obj. Ch. vi. 10. *God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love . . . in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister.* Upon which Dr. *Wall* (n) remarks: "Here again we are put upon thinking, to what church, or what Christians, this is said. For as to those of *Jerusalem*, we read much in *Paul's* former letters, of their poverty, and of their being ministered to by the Gentil Christians of *Galatia*, *Macedonia*, *Corinth*: and in the Acts, by the *Antiochians*: but no where of their ministering to other saints. If it is of them that St. *Paul* speaks this, it must be meant of their ministering to their own poor. For that they were famous at first, when their rich men sold their lands, and brought the money to the Apostles, and they had all things in common, and none lacked. But in the time since that, they were very poor, and were relieved by other churches." The late Mr. *Wetstein*, whose (o) words I place below, argued much after the same manner with Dr. *Wall*. This objection, perhaps, might be strengthened from Hebr. xiii. 2. *Be not forgetful to entertain strangers.* And from ver. 16. *To do good, and to communicate, forget not.*

Ans. But the poverty of the Jews in *Judea*, and the contributions of the Gentil churches for their relief, are no reason, why such admonitions as these should not be sent to them. They are properly directed to all Christians that they may be induced to exert themselves to the utmost. The Gentil churches, among whom St. *Paul* made collections

(n) *Critical Notes upon the N. T.* p. 306.

(o) *Secundo non possunt intelligi, qui Hierosolymis degebant. Hi enim pauperiores erant, et opus habebant, ut eorum inopia ab aliis ecclesiis sublevaretur. . . .* *Iis vero, ad quos hæc epistola scripta est, commendatur beneficentia.* xiii. 16. vi. 10. *Erant ergo tales, non qui stipem accipere, sed qui dare debebant, solebantque.* *Wetst. ubi supr.* p. 368. *fin.*

tions for the saints in *Judea*, were not rich. As he says. 1 Cor. i. 26. *For ye know your calling, brethren . . . not many mighty, not many noble, are called. . . .* And of the churches in *Macedonia*, he says. 2 Cor. viii. 2. . . . *How that in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy, and their deep poverty, had abounded unto the riches of their liberality.* In like manner there might be instances of liberality to the distressed among the believers in *Judea*. There is a very fine example recorded. Acts ix. 36. . . . 39. Nor was there ever any city or countrey in the world, to whom that exhortation, *be not forgetful to entertain strangers, or be not unmindfull of hospitality*, τῆς φιλοξενίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε, could be more properly given, than *Jerusalem*, and *Judea*. For the people there must have been much accustomed to it at their festivals, when there was a great resort thither from all countreys. And the writer of an epistle to the Christian inhabitants of *Jerusalem* and *Judea* would naturally think of such an admonition: being desirous, that they should not fall short of others in that respect. And we may here not unfitly recollect the historie of St. Paul's going to *Jerusalem*, and how he, and his fellow-travellers were entertained at *Cesarea*, in the house of *Philip* the Evangelist, and at *Jerusalem*, in the house of *Mnason*, an old disciple. As related Acts xxi. 8. . . . 16.

2. Obj. Upon ch. xiii. 18. 19. the same (p) Dr. Wall says: "One would think, that Paul should have prayed and purposed to go any whither, rather than to *Jerusalem*, where he had been so used: and where he fell into that five years imprisonment, from which he was but just now delivered." To the like purpose also (q) Mr. Wetstein.

But there is not any improbability, that Paul might now desire to see his countreymen in *Judea*: if he might go thither with safety, as I think he might. Almost three years had now passed, since he left *Judea*. And his trial, or apologie, had been over two years. And he was now set at liberty by the Emperour himself. No man, not very presumptuous, would admit a thought of disturbing him. However, I suppose, that the Apostle would behave discreetly: so as to give no needless provocation to any, and that he would stay but a short time in *Judea*, and then go to *Ephesus*. There have been men of good sense, who have supposed, that Paul went to *Jerusalem* about this time, particularly Chrysostom (r) among the ancients, and (s) divers moderns, one of whom is (t) Pearson.

3. Obj. "St. (u) Peter's epistles were written to the Hebrew Christians, scattered in *Asia*, and *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bithynia*. St. Paul must have written an epistle to those Hebrew Christians, to whom St. Peter writes his two epistles. For St. Peter, 2 ep. iii. 15. cites to them what Paul had written unto them. No epistle of Paul
" was

(p) As before. p. 316.

(q) Ubi supra. p. 386.

(r) See before. p. 299.

(s) Lud. Cappell. Hist. Apost. p. 39. Lenfant et Beaufobre Pref. generale sur les epitres de St. Paul. num. lv.

(t) Paulus e Creta cum Timotheo in Judæam navigat. Heb. xiii. 23. Annal. Paulin. p. 21. A. Chr. 64.

(u) Wall, as before. p. 318. 319.

“ was written to *Hebrews*, particularly, but this. So that these must be “ the *Hebrews* of the above named countreys.”

To which I answer, that St. *Peter's* epistles were not sent to Jews, but to Gentils, or to all Christians in general, in the places above mentioned, as will be clearly shewn hereafter. When St. *Peter* says, *as Paul has written unto you*, he may intend *Paul's* epistle to the *Galatians*, and (x) some other epistles, writ to Gentils. If he refers at all to this epistle to the *Hebrews*, it is comprehended under that expression ver. 16. *as also in all his epistles*.

4. Obj. This epistle to the *Hebrews* seems to have been writ in *Greek*. But if it had been sent to the Jewish believers in *Judea*, it would have been writ in *Hebrew*.

To which I answer, that allowing the epistle to have been writ in *Greek*, it might be sent to the believers in *Judea*. If St. *Paul* wrote to the Jewish believers in *Palestine*, he intended the epistle for general use, for all Christians, whether of Jewish or Gentil original. Many (y) of the Jews in *Judea* understood *Greek*. Few of the Jews out of *Judea* understood *Hebrew*. The *Greek* language was almost universal, and therefore generally used. All St. *Paul's* epistles are in *Greek*, even that to the *Romans*. And are not both St. *Peter's* epistles in *Greek*? and St. *John's*, and St. *Jude's*? Yea, did not St. *James* likewise write in *Greek*, who is supposed to have resided at *Jerusalem*, from the time of our Lord's ascension to the time of his own death? His epistle is inscribed to the twelve tribes, scattered abroad. But I presume, that they of the twelve tribes, who dwelt in *Judea*, are not excluded by him, but intended. Nor could he be unwilling, that his epistle should be read and understood by those, who were his special charge. The epistle writ by *Barnabas*, a *Levite*, or ascribed to him, was writ in *Greek*. Not now to mention any other Jewish writers, who have used the *Greek* language.

II. Thus we are unawares brought to the inquirie, In what language have been doubts about it among both ancients and moderns. So that we are obliged to take some particular notice of this point. But I should have deferred the consideration of it, till we had observed the writer of the epistle, if the just mentioned objection had not brought this inquirie in our way in this place.

And it may be recollected, that (z) I formerly alleged divers learned and

(x) Videtur respicere Petrus ad Rom. ii. 4. ubi de Dei longanimitate similia habet his quæ docet hic Petrus: dicereque ad Asiaticos scriptam epistolam, quæ ad Romanos data, eo quod epistolæ Pauli, quanquam ad singulas ecclesias, et homines singulos, missæ, omnium Christianorum illius ævi communes jure haberentur. *Cleric. H. E. A.* 69. p. 459.

(y) Ils n'ont point eu d'autre raison de croire, que S. Paul avoit écrit en Hebreu, que celle qu'il écrivoit à des Hebreux. Or cette raison, toute vraisemblable qu'elle paroît, n'est point convaincante, parcequ'il est certain, que la langue Grecque étoit entenduë dans la Judée, quoiqu'elle ne fût pas la langue vulgaire. Tous les auteurs du nouveau Testament ont écrit en Grec, bien qu'ils écrivissent pour tous les fideles, soit Hebreux, soit Gentils. *Beauf. Pref. sur l'epître aux Hebreux. num. xv.*

(z) See Vol. viii. p. 189. . . . 191.

and judicious moderns, who have been of opinion, that *Greek*, and not *Hebrew*, was the original language of this epistle. To them I now add several others: (a) *James Cappell*, (b) *S. Basnage*, (c) *Mill* in his *Prolegomena* to the New Testament, and (d) the late Mr. *Wetstein*, and also (e) *Spanheim* in his *Dissertation* concerning the author of this epistle, which well deserves to be consulted. One argument for this, both of (f) *Spanheim*, and (g) *Wetstein*, is taken from the *Greek* paronomasias in the epistle, or the frequent concurrence of *Greek* words of like sound. Which seems to be an argument, not easie to be answered.

Some ancient Christian writers were of opinion, that the epistle to the *Hebrews* was writ in the *Hebrew* language, and (h) translated into *Greek* by *Luke*, or *Clement* of *Rome*. *Jerome* (i) in particular seems to have supposed, that this epistle was writ in *Hebrew*. And *Origen* also is sometimes reckoned among those, who were of this opinion. But I think, I have shewn it to be probable, that (k) he thought it was writ in *Greek*. It seems likewise, that they must have been of the same opinion, who considered the elegance of the *Greek* language of this epistle as an objection against it's having been writ by *St. Paul*. For if the *Greek* epistle had been supposed to be a translation, the superior elegance of the stile of this epistle above that of the other epistles of *Paul* could have afforded no objection against his being the author of it.

Indeed

(a) *Jacob. Cappell, observat. in ep. ad Hebr. §. ii. et iii.*

(b) *Ann. 61. num. vi.*

(c) Et sane magis adhuc inutilis est eorum sententia, qui hanc epistolam Paulo quidem Hebraice scriptam volunt ab alio autem aliquo traductam fuisse in sermonem Græcum. Nihil enim clarius atque evidentius, quam eam lingua Græca primitus conceptam fuisse. &c. *Prolegom. num. 95. . . . 98.*

(d) Ad hæc observamus, 1. epistolam ad Hebræos, quæ nunc Græce exstat, non est interpretis, sed ipsius auctoris. Qui putant ad Hebræos non aliter quam Hebraice, scribi debuisse, manifesto falluntur. Omnes enim novi fœderis libri, etiam Matthæi, ut ad ipsum vidimus, lingua Græca scripti sunt. Hanc linguam plerique Judæi norant. *Wetsten. T. Gr. T. 2. p. 385.*

(e) *Spanh. De Auctore epist. ad Hebr. Part. 3. cap. ii. Tom. 2. p. 245. . . . 252.*

(f) Nono, decretorium fere argumentum est a Græcorum idiotismis, hac in epistola passim conspicuis. Pauca hæc de multis. Auctor cap. v. versu 8. elegantem adhibet παρανομασίαν. Scil. Ἐμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε, qualem Hebraismus non ferebat. Græci contra mire sibi in talibus placent. &c. *Spanh. ubi supr. n. xii. p. 249.*

(g) Porro manifestæ reperiuntur paronomasiz, et ὁμοιοτέλευτα, quæ si in aliam linguam, convertantur, pereunt. Hebr. v. 8. . . . et ver. 14. καλῶτε κ' κακῶ. vii. 3. ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, xi. ἐπρέσθησαν, ἐπιωράσθησαν. xi. 10. βρώμασι κ' πόμασι. xiii. 14. μένσαν κ' μέλλεσαν. Talia auctor potius sectatur quam interpretes. *Wetst. ib. p. 385.*

(h) See ch. ii. Vol. i. p. 56. ch. 22. Vol. ii. p. 474. 492. and Vol. viii. p. 146. 147. 149.

(i) Ch. 114. vol. x. p. 113.

(k) See ch. 38. Vol. iii. p. 259. 260. and vol. viii. p. 189.

Indeed the ancients, as *Beaufobre* said (l) formerly, had no other reason to believe, that *St. Paul* wrote in *Hebrew*, but that he wrote to the *Hebrews*. So likewise says (m) *Cappellus*. The title deceived them. And because it was writ to *Hebrews*, they concluded it was writ in *Hebrew*. For none of the ancients appear to have seen a copie of this epistle in that language.

III. I now proceed to the third inquirie, who is the writer of this epistle. And many things offer in favour of the Apostle *Paul*. Who was the Writer.

1. It is ascribed to him by many of the ancients.

Here I think myself obliged briefly to recollect the testimonies of ancient Authors, which have been produced at large in the preceding volumes. And I shall rank them under two heads: first the testimonies of writers who used the *Greek* tongue, then the testimonies of those who lived in that part of the Roman Empire, where the *Latin* was the vulgar language.

There are some passages (n) in the epistles of *Ignatius*, about the year 107. which may be thought by some to contain allusions to the epistle to the *Hebrews*. This epistle seems to be referred to by (o) *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, in his epistle, writ to the *Philippians* in the year 108. and (p) in the Relation of his Martyrdom, writ about the middle of the second centurie. This epistle is often quoted as *Paul's* by (r) *Clement* of *Alexandria*, about the year 194. It is received, and quoted as *Paul's* by (s) *Origen*, about 230. It was also received as the Apostle's by (t) *Dionysius* Bp. of *Alexandria* in 247. It is plainly referred to by (u) *Theognostus*, of *Alexandria*, about 282. It appears to have been received by (x) *Methodius*, about 292. by (y) *Pamphilus*, about 294. and by (z) *Archelaus*, Bp. in *Mesopotamia*, at the begining of the fourth centurie, by (a) the *Manicheans* in the fourth, and (b) by the *Paulicians*, in the seventh centurie. It was received, and ascribed to *Paul* by (c) *Alexander*, Bp. of *Alexandria*, in the year 313. and by (d) the *Arians* in the fourth centurie. *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Cesarea*, about 315. says, there (e) are fourteen epistles of *Paul*, manifest and well known: but yet there are some, who reject that to the *Hebrews*, alleging in behalf of their opinion, that it was not received by the church of *Rome*, as a writing of *Paul*. It is often quoted by *Eusebius* himself,

(l) Vol. viii. p. 190. See likewise here p. 303. note (y).

(m) Qui volunt hanc epistolam Hebraice scriptam, nos decepit titulus. Cum enim ad Hebræos scribebatur, Hebraice quoque scribi debuissent opinati. Sed meminisse debuerant, etiam Hierosolymis magnum fuisse linguæ Græcæ usum. Cis Hierosolymam paucissimi Judæi aliter quam Græce loquebantur. *Jac. Capp. Observat. in Nov. Testam. p. 109.*

(n) See Vol. i. p. 174. . . . 176. (o) See Vol. i. p. 213. 214.

(p) P. 223.

(r) Vol. ii. p. 474. and 503. 504.

(s) Vol. iii. p. 237. 249. 250.

(t) Vol. iv. p. 663. and 735.

(u) Vol. v. p. 162. . . . 164.

(x) Vol. v. p. 258. . . . 261.

(y) Vol. v. p. 326.

(z) Vol. vi. 14.

(a) Vol. vi. p. 336.

(b) P. 428. . . . 432.

(c) Vol. vii. p. 250.

(d) P. 280. . . . 282.

(e) Vol. viii. p. 100. 101. See also p. 110.

(f) himself, as *Paul's*, and sacred scripture. This epistle was received by (g) *Athanasius*, without any hesitation. In his enumeration of St. *Paul's* fourteen epistles, this is placed next after the two to the *Thessalonians*, and before the epistles to *Timothie*, *Titus*, and *Philemon*. The same order is observed (h) in the Synopsis of Scripture ascribed to him. This epistle is received as *Paul's* by (i) *Adamantius* author of a Dialogue against the *Marcionites* in 330. and by (k) *Cyril of Jerusalem*, in 348. by (l) the council of *Laodicea*, in 363. Where St. *Paul's* epistles are enumerated in the same order, as in *Athanasius*, just taken notice of. This epistle is also received as *Paul's* by (m) *Epiphanius*, about 368. by (n) the Apostolical Constitutions, about the end of the fourth century, by (o) *Basil*, about 370. by (p) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, in 370. by *Amphilochius* (q) also. But he says, it was not received by all, as *Paul's*. It was received by (s) *Gregorie Nyssen*, about 371. by (t) *Didymus of Alexandria* about the same time, by (u) *Ephraim the Syrian*, in 370. and by (x) the churches of *Syria*, by (y) *Diadore of Tarsus* in 378. by (z) *Hierax*, a learned *Egyptian*, about the year 302. by (a) *Serapion*, Bishop of *Thmuis*, in *Egypt*, about 347. by (b) *Titus*, Bp. of *Bosra*, in *Arabia*, about 362. by (c) *Theodore*, Bp. of *Mopsuestia*, in *Cilicia*, about the year 394. by (d) *Chrysostom*, at the year 398. by (e) *Severian*, Bp. of *Gabala*, in *Syria*, 401. by (f) *Victor of Antioch*, about 401. by (g) *Palladius*, author of a Life of *Chrysostom*, about 408. by (h) *Isidore of Pelusium*, about 412. by (i) *Cyril*, Bp. of *Alexandria*, in 412. by (k) *Theodoret*, at 423. by (l) *Eutheries*, Bp. of *Tyana*, in *Cappadocia*, in 431. by (m) *Socrates*, the Ecclesiastical Historian, about 440. by (n) *Euthalius*, in *Egypt*, about 458. and, probably, by (o) *Dionysius*, falsely called the *Arcopagite*, by (p) the Author of the *Quæstiones et Responsiones*, commonly ascribed to *Justin Martyr*, but rather writ in the fifth century. It is in (q) the *Alexandrian* manuscript, about the year 500. and (r) in the *Stichometrie* of *Nicephorus*, about 806. is received as *Paul's* by (s) *Cosmas of Alexandria*, about 535. by (t) *Leontius of Constantinople*, about 610. by (u) *John Damascen* in 730. by (x) *Photius*, about 858. by (y) *Oecumenius*, about the year 950. and by (z) *Theophylact* in 1070. I shall not go any lower.

I shall

- (f) Vol. viii. p. 147. . . . 150. (g) Vol. viii. p. 227. and 232.
 (h) P. 243. . . 245. (i) P. 256. (k) Vol. viii. p. 270. 271. and 273.
 (l) P. 292. 293. (m) Vol. viii. p. 304. and 308. (n) P. 394.
 (o) Vol. ix. p. 113. 114. (p) P. 133. (q) Vol. ix. p. 147. 148.
 (r) P. 156. (s) P. 173. (t) Vol. ix. p. 191.
 (u) P. 217. 218. (v) P. 352. (w) See Vol. vi. p. 83.
 (x) The same. p. 45. (y) Vol. vi. p. 51. and 336.
 (z) Vol. ix. p. 395. 396. (aa) Vol. x. p. 312. 335. (ab) Vol. xi. p. 3.
 (ac) Vol. xi. p. 38. (ad) P. 60. (ae) P. 69. (af) P. 75.
 (ag) Vol. xi. p. 80. 84. (ah) P. 123. (ai) P. 452. (aj) Vol. xi. p. 212.
 (ak) Vol. xi. p. 219. 220. (al) See Vol. i. p. 262. the 2d ed.
 (am) Vol. xi. p. 240. (an) P. 249. (ao) Vol. xi. p. 269. (ap) P. 383.
 (aq) P. 393. (ar) P. 401. (as) P. 410. (at) P. 418.

I shall now rehearse such authors, as lived in that part of the Roman Empire, where the *Latin* was the vulgar tongue.

Here in the first place offers *Clement* in his epistle to the *Corinthians*, writ about the year 96. or as some others say, about the year 70. For though he wrote in *Greek*, we rank him among *Latin* authors, because he was Bishop of *Rome*. In his epistle (*a*) are divers passages generally supposed to contain allusions; or references to the epistle to the *Hebrews*. *Irenaeus*, Bp. of *Lyons*, about 178. as we are assured by *Eusebius*, alleged (*b*) some passages out of this epistle, in a work now lost. Nevertheless, it does not appear that he received it, as *St. Paul's*. By *Tertullian*, Presbyter of *Carthage*, about the year 200. this (*c*) epistle is ascribed to *Barnabas*. *Caius*, about 212. supposed to have been Presbyter in the church of *Rome*, reckoning (*d*) up the epistles of *St. Paul*, mentioned thirteen only, omitting that to the *Hebrews*. Here I place *Hippolitus*, who flourished about 220. But it is not certainly known, where he was Bishop, whether at *Porto* in *Italie*, or at some place in the East. We have seen evidences, that (*e*) he did not receive the epistle to the *Hebrews*, as *St. Paul's*. And perhaps, that may afford an argument; that though he wrote in *Greek*, he lived where the *Latin* tongue prevailed. This epistle is (*f*) not quoted by *Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, about 248. and afterwards. Nor does it appear to have been received by (*g*) *Novatus*, otherwise called *Novatian*, Presbyter of *Rome*, about 251. Nevertheless it was in after times received (*h*) by his followers. It may be thought by some, that this epistle is referred to by (*i*) *Arnobius*, about 306. and (*k*) *Lactantius*, about the same time. It is plainly quoted by (*l*) another *Arnobius*, in the fifth centurie. It was received, as *Paul's*, by (*m*) *Hilarie*, of *Poitiers*, about 354. and (*n*) by *Lucifer*, Bp. of *Cagliari*, in *Sardinia*, about the same time, and by (*o*) his followers. It was also received, as *Paul's*, by (*p*) *C. M. Victorinus*. Whether (*q*) it was received by *Optatus*, of *Milevi*, in *Africa*, about 370. is doubtful. It was received as *Paul's* by (*r*) *Ambrose*, Bp. of *Milan*, about 374. by (*s*) the *Priscillianists*, about 378. About the year 380. was published a Commentarie upon thirteen epistles of *Paul* only, (*t*) ascribed to *Hilarie*, Deacon of *Rome*. It was received as *Paul's* by (*u*) *Philaster*, Bp. of *Brescia* in *Italie*, about 380. But he takes notice, that it was not then received by all. His successor *Gaudentius*, about 387. quotes this (*x*) epistle as *Paul's*. It is also readily received as *Paul's* by (*y*) *Jerome*, about 392. And he says, it was generally

(*a*) Those passages are alleged, with remarks. Vol. i. p. 87. . . . 95. first ed. p. 85. . . . 94. 2d ed. And see p. 103. first ed. p. 101. 2d ed.

(*b*) See Vol. i. 368. . . . 372. and p. 381. (*c*) See Vol. ii. p. 606. . . . 612.

(*d*) See Vol. iii. p. 24. . . . 31. (*e*) See Vol. iii. p. 86. 88. 110.

(*f*) See Vol. iv. p. 821. 828. and p. 853. (*g*) See Vol. v. 93. . . . 98.

(*h*) The same, p. 97. and 105. 106. (*i*) See Vol. vii. p. 52.

(*k*) P. 185. . . . 188. (*l*) Vol. vii. p. 56. (*m*) Vol. viii. p. 283.

(*n*) Vol. ix. p. 42. (*o*) P. 45. and 47. (*p*) P. 59.

(*q*) See Vol. ix. p. 235. 236. (*r*) P. 249. 250. (*s*) P. 325. . . . 328.

(*t*) P. 361. (*u*) P. 373. . . . 376. (*x*) P. 379.

(*y*) Vol. x. p. 76. 112. 113. and 119.

rally received by the *Greeks*, and the Christians in the East, but not by all the *Latins*. It was received as *Paul's* by (z) *Rufin* in 397. It is also in (a) the catalogue of the third council of *Carthage*, in 397. It is frequently quoted by (b) *Augustin*, as *St. Paul's*. In one place (c) he says, "It is doubtful authority with some. But he was inclined to follow the opinion of the churches in the East, who received it among the canonical scriptures." It was received as *Paul's*, by (d) *Chromatius*, Bp. of *Aquileia*, in *Italie*, about 401. by (e) *Innocent*, Bp. of *Rome*, about 402. by (f) *Paulinus*, Bp. of *Nola* in *Italie*, about 403. *Pelagius* (g) about 405. wrote a *Commentarie* upon thirteen epistles of *St. Paul*, omitting that to the *Hebrews*. Nevertheless it was received by (h) his followers. It was received by (i) *Cassian*, about 424. by (k) *Prosper* of *Aquitain*, about 434. and by (l) the Authors of the works ascribed to him: by (m) *Eucherius*, Bp. of *Lyons*, in 434. by (n) *Sedulius*, about 818. by (o) *Leo*, Bp. of *Rome*, in 440. by (q) *Savvian*, Presbyter of *Marseilles*, about 440. by (r) *Gelasius*, Bp. of *Rome*. about 496. by (s) *Facundus*, an *African* Bishop, about 540. by (t) *Junilius*, an *African* Bishop, about 556. by (u) *Cassiodorus* in 556. by (x) the Author of the imperfect Work upon *St. Matthew*, about 560. by (y) *Gregorie*, Bp. of *Rome*, about 590. by (z) *Isidore*, of *Seville*, about 596. and by (a) *Bede*, about 701. or the beginning of the eighth centurie.

It may be now needful to make a few remarks.

It is evident that this epistle was generally received in ancient times, by those Christians who used the *Greek* language, and lived in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire. I forbear to insist here on the seeming references in *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*. But *Clement* of *Alexandria*, before the end of the second centurie, received this epistle as *Paul's*, and quotes it as such frequently, without any doubt, or hesitation. And had a tradition from some before him, concerning the reason, why the Apostle did not prefix his name to this, as he did to his other epistles.

Concerning the *Latin* writers it is obvious to remark, that this epistle is not expressly quoted, as *Paul's*, by any of them in the first three centuries. However, it was known to *Irenæus*, and *Tertullian*, as we have seen, and possibly to others also. It is generally supposed, that there are divers allusions and references to this epistle, in the epistle of *Clement* of *Rome*, writ to the *Corinthians*. However, I formerly mentioned (b) two learned men, who did not think that a clear point. I have since met with another of the same mind, whose words I place (*) below. And I must

- (z) P. 186. (u) P. 194. (b) Vol. x. p. 211. 239. . . 247.
 (c) P. 244. (d) Vol. xi. p. 25. (e) P. 39. (f) P. 44.
 (g) P. 47. (h) P. 49. (i) P. 114. (k) P. 132.
 (l) P. 136. . . 138. (m) P. 169. (n) P. 179. 183. (o) Vol. xi. p. 190.
 (q) P. 199. (r) P. 225. (s) P. 285. (t) P. 297.
 (u) P. 305. . . 308. and 311. (x) P. 330. 331. (y) P. 349. 350.
 (z) P. 365. . . 369. (a) P. 386.
 (b) See Vol. i. p. 93. 2d ed. p. 95. first edit.

(*) Sed quis dubitaret, quin ex epistola ad Hebræos multa habeat, cum Eusebius illud diserte annotat . . ? Nec tamen illud tam exploratum est.

Phraſium

must likewise refer to a consideration, formerly (c) proposed: that the little notice taken of this epistle by *Latin* writers in the second and third centuries: and *Eusebius* (d) and *Jerome* (e) assuring us, that by many of the Romans in their time, this epistle was not received: seem to weaken this supposition, that *Clement* had often alluded to this epistle. For if the church of *Rome*, in his time, had owned it for an epistle of *Paul*; it is not easie to conceive, how any *Latin* Christians afterwards should have rejected it, or doubted of it's authority.

However, it is manifest, that it was received as an epistle of *St. Paul* by many *Latin* writers, in the fourth, fifth, and following centuries.

The reasons of doubting about the genuinenesse of this epistle, probably, were the want of a name at the begining, and the difference of argument, or subject matter, and of stile, from the commonly received epistles of the Apostle, as is intimated by (f) *Jerome*. Whether they are sufficient reasons for rejecting this epistle, will be considered in the course of our argument.

2. There is nothing in the epistle itself, that renders it impossible, or unlikely to be his.

For the epistle appears to have been writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*: as was of old observed by (g) *Chrysostom*, and (h) *Theodoret*, and has been argued also by many (i) moderns. That the temple was still standing, and sacrifices there offered, may be inferred from ch. viii. 4. *For if he were on earth, he should not be a Priest: seeing there are Priests, that offer according to the law*: and from ch. xiii. 10. *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat, which serve the tabernacle*. Moreover, if (k) the temple had been destroyed, and the worship there abolished; the writer would not have failed to take some notice of it, in support of his argument, and for abating the too great attachment of many to the rites

Phrasium et sententiarum æqualitas, ex qua illud unice derivandum est, (nam nusquam a Clemente citatur,) non est adeo perfecta et frequens, non adeo singularis, ut ex Ep. ad Hebræos eas repetitas esse, inde evincatur. *Herman. Venem. Diff. ii. de Tit. ep. ad Ephes. num. viii. p. 343.*

(c) See Vol. i. p. 103. first ed. p. 101. 2d ed.

(d) Vid. *Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 3. p. 72. B. C. and in this work, Vol. viii. p. 101.*

(e) See Vol. x. p. 120. and 122.

(f) See Vol. x. p. 112.

(g) Vid. *Chrysost. Pr. in ep. ad Hebr. T. 12. p. 4. C. D.*

(h) *Theod. in Hebr. xiii. 9. 10.*

(i) Quærentibus, quo tempore, et unde scripta sit epistola ad Hebræos, nihil est quod respondeamus, nisi scriptam fuisse, cum Judæi adhuc gloriarentur templo Jerosolymitano, et sacerdotio Mosaico: de quibus ubique loquitur scriptor, ut etiamnum stantibus. *Cleric. Hist. Ec. an. 69. p. 451.*

(k) Quia nata hæc epistola, stante templo et Levitico sacerdotio. . . . *Hebr. viii. 4.* Neque alias necesse fuit declamare in sacrificiorum usum, et praxin sacerdotii, penitus eo templi et urbis et reipublicæ everfione sublato. Neque maxime omnium prægnans argumentum Judæis confundendis, et coërcendis pseudo-apostolis, ab ipsa jactura cultus, et Hierosolymitanæ sedis restitutionis spe nulla amplius affulgente prætermisisset. *Spanhem. ubi supra. P. 2. cap. vi. p. 3. T. i. p. 229.*

rites of the Mosaic institution. To this purpose speaks *Spanheim* in a passage which I have transcribed below. And in like manner another learned Commentator, to (l) whom I refer. It is also probable, that (m) those words, ch. iii. 13. *While it is called to day*, refer to the patience, which God yet continued to exercise toward the Jewish nation. He seems to have had in view the approaching desolation of *Jerusalem*, which would put an end to that *to day*, and finish the time which God gave to the Jews, as a nation, to *hear his voice*. And *Lightfoot* (n) argues from ch. xii. 4. *Ye have not yet resisted unto blood*: that the epistle was writ before the war in *Judea* was begun.

Indeed those words have been the ground of an objection against this epistle having been sent to the believing Jews in *Judea*, because there had been already several martyrdoms in that countrey. That difficulty I would now remove. And I have received from a learned friend the following observation, which may be of use. "It seems to me, says he, that (o) the Apostle here, as well as in the preceding context, alludes to the Grecian games or exercises: and he signifies, that they, to whom he writes, had not been called out to the most dangerous combats, and had not run the immediate hazard of their lives. Which, I suppose, might be said of them as a body, or church." And I shall transfer hither Mr. *Beausobre's* note upon this place. "There had been Martyrs in *Judea*, as *Stephen*, and the two *James*. But for the most part the Jews did not put the Christians to death, for want of power. They were imprisoned, and scourged. See Acts v. 40. and here xiii. 3. And they endured reproaches, and the loss of their substance. ch. x. 32. . . . 34. These were the sufferings, which they had met with. The Apostle therefore here indirectly reproves the *Hebrews*, that though God treated them with more indulgence than he had done his people in former times, and even than his own Son, they nevertheless wavered in their profession of the Gospel. See ver. 12."

3. There are divers exhortations in this epistle, much resembling some in the acknowledged epistles of *St. Paul*.

1.) Heb. xii. 3. . . *Lest* (p) *ye be wearied, and faint in your mind*. Gal. vi. 9. *And* (q) *let us not be wearie in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap if we faint not*. And see 2 Thess. iii. 13. and Eph. iii. 13.

2.) Heb. xii. 14. *Follow* (r) *peace with all men, and holinesse, without which no man shall see the Lord*. An exhortation very suitable to *Paul*, and to the Jewish believers in *Judea*: admonishing them not to impose the rituals of the law upon others, that is, the Gentil believers, and to maintain friendship with them, though they did not embrace the law. It has also a resemblance with Rom. xii. 18. But the words of the original are different.

3.) Hebr.

(l) See *Beausobre's* preface to the epistle to the *Hebrews*.

(m) The same.

(n) *Harmon. of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 339.*

(o) . . . πρὸς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνταγωνίζομενοι.

(p) . . . ἵνα μὴ κἀμῖτε, ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐκλυόμενοι.

(q) Τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν. Καίρῳ γὰρ ἰδὼ θερμοσμεν, μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι.

(r) Εὐρήνην διώκετε μετὰ πάντων, καὶ τὸν ἀγασμόν.

3.) Hebr. xiii. 1. *Let brotherly love continue*: and what follows to the end of ver. 3. Then at ver. 4. *Marriage is honorable. But fornicators and adulterers God will judge.* Here is an agreement with Eph. v. 2. 3. *And walk in love, as Christ also has loved us. . . . But fornication, and all uncleanness, and covetousness, let it not be once named among you. . . . For this ye know, that no fornicator, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, . . . has any inheritance in the kingdom of God.*

4.) Ch. xii. 16. *But (s) to do good, and to communicate, forget not. For with such sacrifices God is well pleased.* That exhortation is very suitable to Paul's doctrine, and has an agreement with what he says elsewhere: as Philipp. iv. 18.—*An odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice, acceptable, well pleasing to God.* Moreover, as is observed (t) by Grotius upon this text, the word *communicate*, or *communion*, is found in a like sense in the Acts, and in other epistles of St. Paul. See Acts ii. 42. Rom. xv. 26. 2 Cor. viii. 4. ix. 13.

4. In the next place I observe some instances of agreement in the stile, or phrases, of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the acknowledged epistles of *Paul*.

1.) Hebr. ii. 4. *God (u) also bearing them witness with signs, and wonders, and divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost.*

Signs and wonders, together, seldom occur in other books of the New Testament. But they are found several times in the Acts, and St. Paul's epistles. The phrase is in Matth. xxiv. 14. and Mark xiii. 2. and once likewise in St. John's Gospel. iv. 48. But it is several times in the Acts: ch. ii. 19. iv. 30. . . . 43. v. 12. vi. 8. viii. 13. xiv. 3. xv. 12. The most remarkable are these, where there are three different words. Acts ii. 22. . . . *A man approved of God among you by (x) miracles, and wonders, and signs.* Rom. xv. 19. . . . *Through (y) mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the spirit of God.* 2 Cor. xii. 12. . . . (z) *In signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.* 2 Thess. ii. 9. (a) *With all power, and signs, and lying wonders.*

2.) Ch. ii. 14. . . . *That through death he might destroy him that had the power of death.* The word *καταργέω*, or *καταργέομαι*, is, I think, nowhere used in the New Testament, except in Luke xiii. 7. and St. Paul's epistles, where it is several times: and is sometimes used in a sense resembling this place, particularly, 2 Tim. i. 10. *Who has abolished death*: *καταργήσαντος μὲν θάνατον.* And 1 Cor. xv. 26. Compare Dr. Doddridge's Family Expositor. Vol. IV. upon 1 Cor. xv. 24.

3.) Ch. iii. 1. . . . *Holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling*: Philip. iii. 14. *The prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.* 2 Tim. i. 19. . . . *Who has called us with an holy calling.*

4.) Ch.

(s) Τῆς δὲ εὐπορίας καὶ κοινωνίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε.

(t) Κοινωνίας vox refertur ad pecunias, et ea, quæ pecuniis comparantur. Vide Act. ii. 42. Rom. xv. 26. 2 Cor. viii. 4. ix. 13. Grot. in. Hebr. xiii. 16.

(u) Συνεπισμαρτυρῶντος τῷ θεῷ σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν, καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσι, καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς.

(x) . . . δυνάμεσι, καὶ τέρασιν, καὶ σημείοις.

(y) . . . ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τερατων, ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος θεοῦ.

(z) . . . ἐν σημείοις, καὶ τέρασιν, καὶ δυνάμεσι.

(a) . . . ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει, καὶ σημείοις, καὶ τέρασιν ψεύδους.

4.) Ch. v. 12. . . *And are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat.* 2 Cor. iii. 2. *I have fed you with milk, and not with meat.* However, in the original, there is no great agreement in the words: except that in both places *milk* is used for the first rudiments of the Christian doctrine.

5.) Ch. viii. 1. . . *Who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty on high.* Eph. i. 21. . . *And set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places.*

6.) Ch. viii. 6. ix. 15. and xii. 24. *Jesus Christ is stiled mediator.* So likewise in Gal. iii. 19. 20. 1 Tim. ii. 5. and in no other books of the New Testament.

7.) Ch. viii. 5. *Who serve unto the example, and shadow, of heavenly things.* . . . καὶ σκιᾶ . . . τῶν ὑπερανίων. x. 1. *For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things.* Σκιὰν ἔχων . . . τῶν μελλόντων αγαθῶν, ἐκ αὐτῆς τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων. Col. ii. 17. *Which are a shadow of things to come. But the body is of Christ.* Ἡ ἐστὶ σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων· τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῷ χριστῷ.

8.) Ch. x. 33. *Whilst ye were made a gazing-stock, or spectacle, both by reproaches and afflictions.* ονειδισμοῖς τε καὶ θλίψεσι θεατριζόμενοι. 1 Cor. iv. 9. *For we are made a spectacle unto the world.* . . . ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ.

9. St. Paul, in (b) his acknowledged epistles, often alludes to the exercises and games, which were then very reputable, and frequent in Greece, and other parts of the Roman Empire. There are divers such allusions in this epistle, which have also great elegance. So ch. vi. 18. *Who have fled for refuge, to (c) lay hold of the hope set before us, or the reward of eternal life, proposed to animate and encourage us.* And ch. xii. 1. *Wherefore seeing we also (d) are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let (e) us lay aside every weight, and the sin which does so easily be-*
set

(b) See 1 Cor. ix. 24. . . . 26. 1 Tim. vi. 12. 2 Tim. ii. 5. and iv. 7. 8.

(c) Κρατῆσαι τῆς προκειμένης ἐλπίδος: *ad obtinendam spem propositam*, sc. vitam eternam. Elegantissima metaphora est vocis προκειμένης, e veterum certaminum ratione ducta. Proprie enim προκεῖσθαι dicuntur τὰ ἄλλα, sc. præmia certaminis, quæ publice proponuntur in propatulo, ut eorum adspæctus, certaue eorum adipiscendorum spes, certaturos alacriores redderet ad certamen ineundum, victoriamque reportandam: ut interpretabamur supra ad 2 Tim. iv. 8. τὸ ἀποκεῖσθαι, quod eandem significationem obtinet. J. Tob. Krelfsii Observat. in N. T. e Josepho. p. 377.

Ego vero puto φεύγειν accipi pro συντόνως τρέχειν, et sumtam translationem a gymniciis ludis: quo spectant etiam vocabula κράτῆσαι, καταπιεσμάτος, et πρόδρομος. Bez. in loc.

(d) See Mr. Hallett upon the place. note (u).

(e) Ογκον ἀποβέμενοι πάντα. *deponentes omne pondus.* Tota hæc oratio translatitia est: quasi nobis in stadio non sine magnis difficultatibus currendum: qua translatione sæpe utitur Paulus. In primis igitur monet, ut ὄγκον abjiciamus, quo vocabulo crassa omnis et tarda moles significatur. Bez. in loc.

A stadio sumta similitudo: Ibi qui cursuri sunt, omnia quæ oneri esse possunt deponunt. &c. Grot. in loc.

And see Hallett, as before, note (v).

set us, and (f) let us run with patience the race that is set before us. ver. 2. Looking unto Jesus, who (g) for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross. And ver. 3. Left (h) ye be wearied, and faint in your minds. And ver. 12. Wherefore (i) lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees.

All these texts seem to contain allusions to the celebrated exercises and games of those times. And under each of them I have referred to, or transcribed the notes of some learned critics and commentators, tending to illustrate them. And to these may be added, if I mistake not, the place before (k) taken notice of, ch. xii. 4. *Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving (l) against sin.*

10.) Ch. xiii. 9. *Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines.* Διδαχαῖς πικίλαις καὶ ξέναις μὴ περιφέρεσθε. Eph. iv. 14. *That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine.* . . . κλυδωνιζόμενοι, καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας.

11.) Ch. xiii. 10. *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat.* 1 Cor. ix. 13. *And they that wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar?* And ch. x. 18. *Are not they which eat of the sacrifices, partakers of the altar?*

12.) Ch. xiii. 20. 21. *Now the God of peace . . . make you perfect.* Which is a title of the Deity, no where found in the New Testament, but in St. Paul's epistles. And in them it is several times, and near the conclusion, as here. So Rom. xv. 33. *Now the God of peace be with you all.* See likewise ch. xvi. 20. and Philip. iv. 9. And 1 Theff. v. 23. *And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly.* And 2 Cor. xiii. 11. *And the God of love and peace be with you.*

5. The conclusion of this epistle has a remarkable agreement with the conclusions of St. Paul's epistles, in several respects.

1.) He

(f) Τρέχωμεν τὸν προκειμένον ἡμῖν τὸν ἀγῶνα, Loquendi ratio est agonistica, et petita a cursoribus, qui stadium absolvunt. De voce πρόκειμαι fatis multat afferebamus supra cap. vi. 18. . . . Sensus autem Apostoli est: *Curramus in stadio, nobis proposito ad currendum: voce ἀγὼν pro loco, sc. stadio sumpta.* Krels. ubi supra. p. 390.

(g) Ὅς ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης χαρᾶς. κ. λ. Vid. Krels. ib. p. 390.

(h) Ἰνα μὴ κάμητε, ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν ἐκλύομενοι. . . . Hæc duo verba a palæstra et ab athletic defumta sunt, qui proprie dicuntur κάμνειν, et ψυχαῖς ἐκλύεσθαι, cum corporis viribus debilitati et fracti, omnique spe vincendi abjectâ, victas manus dent adversario. . . . Neque dubium est, quin Apostolus eo respexerit. Id. ib.

(i) Διὸ τὰς παρεμένους χεῖρας καὶ τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα ἀνορθώσατε. Quemadmodum Paulus sæpissime delectatur loquendi formulis ex re palæstrica petitis; ita dubium non est, quin hic quoque respexisse eo videatur. Athleticis enim et luctatoribus tribuuntur παρεμέναι χεῖρες καὶ παραλελυμένα γόνατα, cum luctando ita defatigati, viribusque fracti sunt, ut neque manus neque pedes officio suo fungi possint, ipsique adeo victos se esse fateri cogantur. Id. ib. p. 392.

(k) See here, p. 310.

(l) Πρὸς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι.

1.) He here desires the Christians, to whom he is writing, to pray for him. ch. xiii. 18. *Pray for us.* So Rom. xv. 30. Eph. vi. 18. 19. Col. iv. 3. 1 Thess. v. 25. 2 Thess. iii. 1.

2.) It is added in the same ver. 18. *For we trust, we have a good conscience, in all things willing to live honestly.* Which may well come from *Paul*, some of the Jewish believers not being well affected to him, or being even offended with him. So says (m) *Theodoret* upon this place, and *Chrysostom* (n) to the like purpose, very largely. To which might be added ver. 27. *And I beseech you, brethren, to suffer the word of exhortation.* It is also observable, that *St. Paul* makes a like profession of his sincerity, in pleading against the Jews, before *Felix*. Acts xxiv. 16.

3.) Having desired the prayers of these Christians for himself, he prays for them. ch. xiii. 20. 21. *Now the God of peace . . . make you perfect . . . through Jesus Christ. To whom be glorie for ever and ever. Amen.* So Rom. xv. 30. . . . 32. having asked their prayers for him, he adds ver. 33. *Now the God of peace be with you all. Amen.* Compare Eph. vi. 19. . . . 23. and 1 Thess. v. 23. and 2 Thess. iii. 16.

4.) Ch. xiii. 24. *Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints. They of Italie salute you.* The like salutations are in divers of *St. Paul's* epistles Rom. xvi. 1 Cor. xvi. 19. . . . 21. 2 Cor. xiii. 13. Philip. iv. 21. 22. Not to refer to any more.

5.) The valedictorie benediction at the end is that, which *Paul* had made the token of the genuinness of his epistles. 2 Thess. iii. 18. So here ch. xiii. 25. *Grace (o) be with you all. Amen.* Indeed, sometimes it is the *g. ace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.* But at other times it is more contracted. So Col. iv. 18. *Grace be with you.* 1 Tim. vi. 21. *Grace be with thee.* See likewise Eph. vi. 24. 2 Tim. iv. 22. Tit. iii. 15. The same observation is in (p) *Theodoret*.

6. The circumstances of the epistle lead us to the Apostle *Paul*.

1.) Ch. xiii. 24. *They of Italie salute you.* The writer therefore was then in *Italie*. Whither we know *Paul* was sent a prisoner, and where he resided two years. Acts xxviii. Where also he wrote several epistles, still remaining.

2.) Ver. 19. He desires them *the rather to pray for him, that he might be restored to them the sooner.* *Paul* had been brought from *Judea* to *Rome*. And he was willing to go thither again, where he had been several times. And though the original words are not the same, there is an agreement between this and *Philem.* ver. 22. *I trust, that through your prayers I shall*

(m) Διαβεβλητο αὐτοῖς, ὡς τάναντία τῷ νόμῳ κηρύττων. Διδάσκει τοίνυν αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἐκ ἄλλης τῆ χάριτος τῆτο ποιῇ, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ πειθόμενος. Διὰ τῆτο καὶ τὴν συνείδησιν εἰς μαρτυρίαν ἐκαλεσε. *Theod. in Hebr. xiii. 18. T. 3. p. 461.*

(n) In *Hebr. xiii. hom. 34. Tom. xii. p. 313. 314.*

(o) Et hoc ad exemplum Pauli. Eph. vi. 24. Col. iv. 18. 1 Tim. vi. 21. 2 Tim. iv. 22. Tit. iii. 15. Qui alibi explicat, quæ sit illa gratia, nempe Christi. *Grot. in Hebr. xiii. 25.*

(p) Τὸ σύνθετες ἀκροτέλευτον τίθεικε, τὴν τῆς χάριτος μετασίαν. *Theod. in. loc. T. 3. p. 462.*

shall be given to you. This particular is one of the arguments of *Euthalius*, that (q) this epistle is *Paul's*, and writ to the Jews of *Palestine*.

3.) Ver. 23. *Know ye, that our brother Timothie is set at liberty. With whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.* *Timothie* was with *Paul*, during his imprisonment at *Rome*. As is allowed by all. For he is expressly mentioned at the begining of the epistles to the *Philippians*, *Colossians*, *Philemon*, writ when he was in bonds. He is mentioned again *Philip. ii. 19.* When the Apostle writes to *Timothie*, he calls him *his son*, or *dearly beloved son.* 1 *Tim. i. 2.* 2 *Tim. i. 2.* But when he mentions him to others, he calls him *brother.* 2 *Cor. i. 1.* *Col. i. 1.* 1 *Thess. iii. 2.* In like manner *Titus.* *Comp. Tit. i. 4. and 2 Cor. ii. 13.*

This mention of *Timothie* has led many, not only moderns, but ancients likewise, to think of *Paul*, as writer of the epistle, particularly, (r) *Euthalius*. And undoubtedly, many others have been confirmed in that supposition by this circumstance.

The original word, ἀπολευόμενος, is ambiguous, being capable of two senses: one of which is that of our translation, *set at liberty*, that is, from imprisonment: the other is dismissed, *sent abroad on an errand*. In this last sense it was understood by *Euthalius*. Who in the place just cited says, “That scarcely any one can be thought of, beside *Paul*, who would send *Timothie* abroad upon any service of the Gospel.” And indeed this passage doth put us in mind of what *Paul* says to the *Philippians*, ch. ii. 19. *But I trust in the Lord Jesus, to send Timothie shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort, when I know your state. Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also myself shall come shortly.* ver. 23. 24. Which induced *Beausobre* to say in the preface to this epistle: “The (s) sacred author concludes with asking the prayers of the *Hebrews*, xiii. 19. *That he may be restored to them.* These words intimate, that he was still prisoner, but that he hoped to be set at liberty. Therefore he adds “in the 23. ver. that he intended to come and see them with *Timothie*, “as soon as he should be returned. If this explication be right, this “epistle was writ at *Rome* some time after the epistle to the *Philippians*, “and since the departure of *Timothie* for *Macedonia*.”

Thus we are brought to the time of this epistle. Nevertheless before I proceed to speak distinctly to that, I would conclude the argument concerning the writer of it.

All these considerations, just mentioned, added to the testimonie of many ancient writers, make out an argument of great weight, (though not decisive and demonstrative,) that the Apostle *Paul* is the writer of this epistle.

It

(q) Μαρτυρεῖται δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ὑπάρχουσα παύλῳ, τῷ γραφεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς με συνεπαθήσατε, καὶ ἐκ τῶ λέγειν, περισσότερον ἔνχισθε, ἵνα τάχιον ἀποκατασταθῶ ὑμῖν. *Euthal. ap. Zacagn. p. 670.*

(r) Καὶ ἐκ τῆ λέγειν, γινώσκετε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν τιμόθεον ἀπολευόμενον . . . οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν, ὅμαι, ἀπέλυσεν εἰς διακονίαν τιμόθεον, εἰ μὴ παῦλος. κ. λ. *Euthal. ib. p. 671.*

(s) *Preface sur l'épître aux Hebreux. n. 37. p. 429.*

It should be observed, I have hitherto declined the use of two arguments, often insisted upon in discoursing of this point.

One of which is the testimonie of St. *Peter*: 2 ep. iii. 15. 16. This I have omitted, because I am not satisfied, that he and the author of this epistle write to the same persons. Nor does it appear certain to me, that St. *Peter* there takes any particular notice of this (t) epistle, as one of *Paul's*. However as many learned men look upon that passage of St. *Peter*, as a full testimonie to *Paul's* being the writer of this epistle; I shall refer to several, or transcribe below, a part at least of what they say: particularly (u) *Mill*, (x) *Spanheim*, and (y) *Basnage*.

The other argument omitted by me is that taken from Hebr. x. 34. *For he had compassion of me in my bonds.* On this insist (z) *Spanheim*, (a) *Mill*, and (b) *Basnage*, to prove, that this epistle was writ by *Paul*. But Mr. *James Peirce* translates the words thus: *For ye sympathized with those who were in bonds.* And in his notes says: "Were it certain, that the common is the true reading of the place, there would be little room left to doubt of the epistle's being writ by St. *Paul*. But the *Alexandrian*, and other manuscripts, of the best note, read here *δεσφύουσιν* instead

(t) Says Mr. *Hallett*, Introduction, p. 21. "Some learned men have attempted to prove this point from what St. *Peter* says. 2. Pet. iii. 15. 16. If it could be proved, that he speaks of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, the testimonie of this Apostle would fully determine the dispute. But as I do not think, it can be certainly proved, that he speaks of this epistle, without proving that St. *Paul* was the author of it, I cannot argue from this passage. Those on the other side go upon the supposition, that St. *Peter's* epistles were written to the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*. But it seems to me abundantly more natural to suppose, that they were written to Gentil Christians, if we consider many passages of the epistles themselves."

(u) Et quidem epistolam hanc eam ipsam fuisse, quam ad Hebræos Christianos miserat Apostolus noster, disertis verbis D. Petri constat. Ep. 2. cap. iii. 15. &c. *Mill. Proleg. num. 86. . . 91.*

(x) *Vid. Spanhem. Diff. de Auth. ep. ad Hebr. Part. i. cap. ii. . . v.*

(y) Hebræis Paulum scripsisse, planum est ex posteriore Petri: *Paulus pro sibi data sapientia scripsit vobis.* Hebræos enim adibat scripto Petrus circumcissionis Apostolus. Quænam autem Pauli ad Hebræos scripta epistola, si nostra non est? . . Ipsa igitur est, quæ omnium in manibus versatur atque oculis. *Basn. ann. 61. num. iv.*

(z) Prima esto circumstantia vinculorum illa mentio. Capite x. ver. 34. . . Constat enim, soli Paulo, et fere semper, venisse hoc in usu. Et quas omnes ex Italia transmisit epistolas, vinculorum suorum mentione quasi distinxit. *Spanh. ib. P. 2. cap. 4.*

(a) Auctorem habet hæc epistola, si qua usquam alia, D. Paulum. Alloquitur Auctor Hebræos istos, velut ipsius in carcere memores, ejusque vinculis *συμπαθήσαντας*. Ista Apostolo nostro congruere, nemo non videt. Hierosolyma ipse duos ante annos eleemosynas ecclesiarum detulerat, ubi ab universa illic ecclesia benigne exceptus erat, toto tempore, quo Cæsareæ mansit incarceratus. *Mill. Prol. num. 85.*

(b) A manu catenata epistolam in Italia exaratam fuisse, cernimus et videmus: *vinculis meis mecum affecti fuistis.* Barnabam vero aut Lucam compedibus in Italia fuisse detentos, veterum in monumentis ne minimâ quidem litterâ invenimus. *Basnag. Ann. 61. num. iv.*

“instead of δεσμοῖς μου. And the same is confirmed by ancient versions.” And that this is the truer reading, may be seen in *Bengelius*, *Wetstein*, and *Mill* himself: though in his argument concerning the author of the epistle, he has been pleased to argue from the common reading. If *Paul* here referred to his bonds, I should think, he intended his imprisonment in *Judea*, as *Mill* thought, not at *Rome*, as *Basnage* does, in the place just cited. I make no doubt, but that the Hebrew believers in *Judea* afforded *St. Paul* relief and comfort, whilst he lay prisoner at *Cesarea*. But as I do not here discern any plain reference to that, I do not form any argument from this text, in behalf of the writer of the epistle.

I say no more by way of argument. But there are objections, which ought to be considered.

1. Obj. Hebr. ii. 3. *How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?*

Hence it has been argued, that the writer of this epistle placeth himself with those, who had received the doctrine of the gospel from Christ's Apostles. But *Paul* had it from Christ himself, as he says at large in the first chapter of the epistle to the *Galatians*. This has been thought by (c) *Grotius*, and (d) *Le Clerc*, a good reason, why *Paul* should not be esteemed the writer of this epistle.

To which I answer, that it is not uncommon for *Paul* to joyn himself with those, to whom he is writing, and to say *us*, where he might say *you*: especially when he says any thing that is humbling, and that might be thought disagreeable. So Col. i. 12. 13. *Giving thanks to the Father, who. . . has delivered us from the power of darknesse. . . .* This I take to be a plain instance. To which might be added, according to the judgement of some Commentators, Eph. ii. 3. and Tit. iii. 3. The note of *Grotius* upon this last cited text may be observed. And now I transcribe below (e) the answer of Mr. *Wetstein* to this objection. Which is in the main agreeable to what I have just said.

I would

(c) Præterea Paulo hanc epistolam abjudicat, quod hujus scriptor se iis annumeret, qui non a Christo, sed ab ejus discipulis, notitiam evangelii acceperit. cap. ii. 3. Cum contra Paulus auctoritatem sibi addat inde, quod hanc notitiam a Christo ipso acceperit. *Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(d) Videtur et scriptor epistolæ ad Hebræos cap. ii. 3. &c. eorum numero censi velle, qui evangelium acceperant ab iis, a quibus auditus erat ipse Christus. . . Quod in Paulum non quadrat, qui evangelium ab ipso Jesu Christo et Deo accepisse se, non falso gloriatur. Gal. i. *Cleric. H. E. A. D.* 69. p. 459.

(e) Hebr. ii. 3. Paulus se iis annumerat, qui notitiam evangelii a discipulis Christi acceperunt: cum tamen ad Galatas non semel testetur, gloriaturque, se non ab hominibus, sed ab ipso Christo fuisse institutum, Gal. i. 1. 12. 17. ii. 6. Ratio discriminis ex modo dictis manifesta est. In epistola ad Galatas id agit, ut auctoritatem suam adstruat: hic autem, ubi de supplicio desertoribus impendente loquitur, ut minus ingrata esset comminatio atque admonitio, seipsum illis annumerat comm. 1. Δεῖ ἡμᾶς προσέχειν τοῖς ἀκηροῦσιν, μή ποτε παραρξώμεν. . . πῶς ἡμεῖς ἐκφευξόμεθα. . . Postquam igitur ita cœpisset, consequens erat, ut in eadem figura pergeret, scriberetque καὶ σωτηρία. . . εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκδιδαιώθη. Ita Eph. ii. 3. Col. i. 12. 13. Tit. iii. 3. ubi

I would also observe, that there is another instance in this epistle, much resembling the text, upon which the present objection is founded. *Hebr. xii. 1. . . . Wherefore . . . let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which does so easily beset us. . . .* And this way of writing is suitable to Paul's stile and method in his acknowledged epistles.

Secondly, I would farther add, if it might not be esteemed too prolix: that in divers other places we find *Paul*, when he asserts the resurrection of Jesus Christ, insisting also upon the testimonie of the other Apostles, and likewise of other disciples. Thus, preaching at *Antioch in Pisidia*, *Acts xiii. 30. 31. But God raised him from the dead. And he was seen many days of them, which came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people.* And also *1 Cor. xv. at the beginning. Which I shall recite largely, as full to the point. Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel, which I preached unto you, which also ye have received. . . . By which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memorie what I preached unto you. . . . For I delivered unto you first of all, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the scriptures: and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the scriptures: and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve. After that he was seen of James, then of all the Apostles. And last of all he was seen of me.*

And this context, perhaps, will justify me in proceeding somewhat farther. When *St. Paul* says *2 Tim. ii. 8. Remember, that Jesus Christ . . . was raised from the dead, according to my gospel:* he intends, as I apprehend, to lead *Timothie* to recollect the gospel, that had been preached by him in such and such circumstances, confirmed by miracles wrought by him, and agreeable to the prophecies of the ancient scriptures, and the testimonie of the other Apostles, and disciples of Christ. As he also says at ver. 2. of the same chapter: *The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses: literally, by many witnesses: that is confirmed by many witnesses.* And he may be supposed to intend not only (f) the Prophets, which is *Grotius's* interpretation, but likewise the testimonie of all the Apostles of Christ, and of many others, to which he had appealed in his preaching.

Upon the whole, it seems to me, that the expression of this text is highly becoming the Apostle *Paul*, especially, supposing him to be here writing to the believers of *Jerusalem* and *Judea*. And indeed, as before shewn, the beginning of this second chapter of the epistle to the *Hebrews* affords, in my opinion, an argument of no small force, that they are the Christians to whom it is sent.

2. Obj. Another objection against this epistle being *St. Paul's*, that it is supposed to have in it an elegance superior to that of his other writings. This has been judged by *Grotius*, and *Le Clerc*, who were formerly (g) quoted, sufficient to shew, that it was not writ by *Paul*.

In

3. ubi gentium peccata, et pœnam imminentem describit, et seipsum illis annumerat. *J. F. Wetsten. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 384.*

(f) Multis adductis testibus prophetis, qui hæc prædixerant. *Hebr. xii. 1. Grot. in. 2 Tim. i. 2.*

(g) See p. 9.

In order to judge the better of this, it may be of use to recollect what we have already seen in divers ancient writers, relating to this point.

Eusebius has a passage of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, from his *Institutions*, at large cited by us (b) formerly; where *Clement* says: "That (i) the epistle to the *Hebrews* is *Paul's*, and that it was writ to the *Hebrews* in the *Hebrew* language: and that *Luke* having carefully translated it, published it for the use of the *Greeks*. Which is the reason of that conformity of style, which is found in this epistle and the *Acts* of the Apostles."

The opinion of *Origen* in his homilies upon this epistle as cited by *Eusebius*, and by us (k) from him, is, "that the style of the epistle to the *Hebrews* has not the Apostle's rudeness of speech . . . but as to the texture of it, is elegant Greek: as every one will allow, who is able to judge of the differences of styles. Again, he says: The sentiments of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the Apostle. This will be assented to by every one, who reads the writings of the Apostle with attention. Afterwards he adds: If I was to speak my opinion, I should say, that the sentiments are the Apostle's, but the language and composition another's, who committed to writing the Apostle's sense, and as it were reduced into commentaries the things spoken by his master." And what follows.

Eusebius (l) himself speaking of *Clement's* epistle to the *Corinthians*, says: "*Paul* having writ to the *Hebrews* in their own language, some think, that the Evangelist *Luke*, others, that this very *Clement*, translated it into Greek. Which last is the most likely, there being a great resemblance between the style of the epistle of *Clement*, and the epistle to the *Hebrews*. Nor are the sentiments of those two writings very different." This passage has been already twice quoted by us: once in the chapter of *Clement* (m) Bp. of *Rome*, and again in that (n) of *Eusebius*.

Philaster, Bishop of *Brescia*, about 380. as formerly quoted, says: "There (o) are some, who do not allow the epistle to the *Hebrews* to be *Paul's*: but say, it is either an epistle of the Apostle *Barnabas*, or of *Clement* Bp. of *Rome*. But some say it is an epistle of *Luke* the Evangelist. . . Moreover, some reject it, as more eloquent than the Apostle's other writings."

Jerome, about 392. in his article of *St. Paul* in the book of *Illustrious Men*, as (p) before cited also, says: "The epistle, called to the *Hebrews*, is not thought to be his, because of the difference of the argument, and style: but either *Barnabas's*, as *Tertullian* thought; or the "Evangelist

(b) B. i. ch. 22. Vol. i. p. 471. or 474.

(i) Καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν πάλυς μὲν εἶναι φησὶ, γεγραφεῖσθαι δὲ ἑβραίουσιν ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ· λεγὰν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνεύσαντα, ἐκδέναι τοῖς ἑλλησιν. κ. α. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 14. in.

(k) Ch. 38. Vol. iii. p. 237. from Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 25.

(l) H. E. l. 3. cap. 38.

(m) Ch. ii. Vol. i. p. 56.

(n) Ch. 72. Vol. viii. p. 146.

(o) Vol. ix. p. 374. 375.

(p) See ch. 114. Vol. x. p. 112.

“Evangelist *Luke's*, according to some others : or *Clement's*, Bishop of *Rome* : who, as some think, being much with him, clothed and adorned *Paul's* sense in his own language. . . . Moreover he wrote “as a *Hebrew* to *Hebrews* in pure *Hebrew*, it being his own language. “Whence it came to pass, that being translated it has more elegance in “the *Greek*, than his other epistles.”

I need not allege here any more testimonies relating to this matter. We sufficiently perceive by what has been said, that many ancient Christians supposed the *Greek* of this epistle to have a superior elegance to the received epistles of *St. Paul*. And to some of them the *Greek* was their native language. And others, as *Jerome*, though *Latins*, may be supposed to have been good judges in this matter.

Some learned men of late times, as *Grotius*, and *Le Clerc*, have thought this to be an insuperable objection. Of this opinion likewise was (q) *Jacob Tollius*. Who in his notes upon *Longinus*, of the *Sublime*, has celebrated the sublimity of this epistle, and particularly the elegance of the beginning of it. Which alone he thinks sufficient to shew, that it is not *Paul's*. Others allow the fine contexture of the stile of this epistle. But do not see that consequence. These are obliged to account for it. Which they do several ways.

Mr. Wetstein, who allows, that the epistle is *St. Paul's*, and that it was writ in *Greek*, thinks, that (r) *Paul* having now lived two years at *Rome*, may have improved his *Greek* stile. But in answer to that it may be said, that we have several epistles of *Paul*, writ near the end of his imprisonment at *Rome*, in which we perceive his usual stile.

Again, *Mr. Wetstein* adds : “That (s) this is a learned epistle, and may have been composed with more care, and exactness, than letters writ to friends, or to churches, whose urgent necessities obliged him to write in haste.” But neither will this, I believe, be sufficient to account for the difference of stile in this, and the epistles, received as *Paul's*. For no care and attention will on a sudden enable a man to alter his usual stile, in a remarkable manner.

It remains therefore, as seems to me, that if the epistle be *Paul's*, and was originally writ in *Greek*, as we suppose, the Apostle must have had

(q) Εἰς τοιοῦτον στυλιγμῶς, καὶ ἀναπάνσεις statim in initio eloquentissimæ, et nescio annon omnem gentiliū scriptorū sublimitatem superantis, certe adæquantis epistolæ ad Hebræos reperiās : quam vel hoc uno Pauli non esse probaverim. Sed sunt ἀναπάνσεις illæ non deorsum ruentis orationis, verum contra ea in cælum ascendentis στυλιγμῶι. Ita vero incipit : Πολυμερῶς, καὶ πολυτρόπως, πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν. κ. λ. Ubi tres consequenter sunt positi Pæones quarti cum syllaba post singulas remanente, velut ad subsistendum, dum ita in cælum ad Deum velut gradibus scriptor adscendit. *J. Tollius ad Longin. de Sublim. §. 39. not. 22.*

(r) Potuit Paulus aliter scribere, cum esset in Græcia, aliter postea, cum in Italiam translatus ex usu frequentiori linguæ Græcæ, et Hebraïsmos vitare, et facilius scribere didicisset. *Wetsten. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 385.*

(s) Potuit hanc epistolam, quæ erudita est, longiori meditatione elaborasse, cum alias ad familiares amicos, vel ad ecclesias, ubi necessitas urgebat, festinantius effudisset. *Ibid.*

had some assistance in composing it. So that we are led to the judgment of *Origen*, which appears to be as ingenious, and probable, as any. "The sentiments are the Apostle's, but the language and composition of some one else: who committed to writing the Apostle's sense, and as it were reduced into commentaries the things spoken by his master." According to this account, the epistle is *St. Paul's*, as to the thoughts and matter, but the words are another's. *Jerome*, as may be remembered, said, *He wrote as a Hebrew to Hebrews in pure Hebrew, it being his own language. Whence it came to pass, that being translated, it has more elegance in the Greek, than his other epistles.* My conjecture, which is not very different, if I may be allowed to mention it, is, that *St. Paul* dictated the epistle in *Hebrew*, and another, who was a great master of the *Greek* language, immediately wrote down the Apostle's sentiments in his own elegant *Greek*. But who this assistant of the Apostle was, is altogether unknown.

The ancients, beside *Paul*, have mentioned *Barnabas*, *Luke*, and *Clement*, as writers, or translators of this epistle. But I do not know, that there is any remarkable agreement between the stile of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the stile of the epistle commonly ascribed to *Barnabas*. The (*t*) stile of *Clement*, in his epistle to the *Corinthians*, is verbose and prolix. *St. Luke* (*u*) may have some words, which are in the epistle to the *Hebrews*. But that does not make out the same stile. This epistle, as *Origen* said, *as to the texture of the stile, is elegant Greek.* But that kind of texture appears not in *Luke*, so far as I can perceive. There may be more art and labour in the writings of *Luke*, than in those of the other Evangelists: but not much more elegance, that I can discern. This epistle to the *Hebrews* (*x*) is bright and elegant from the beginning to the end. And surpasseth as much the stile of *St. Luke*, as it does the stile of *St. Paul* in his acknowledged epistles. In short, this is an admirable epistle, but singular in sentiments and language: somewhat different in both respects from all the other writings in the New Testament. And whose is the language, as seems to me, is altogether unknown: whether that of *Zenas*, or *Apollos*, or some other of the Apostle *Paul's* assistants, and fellow-labourers.

3. Obj. There still remains one objection more against this epistle being writ by *St. Paul*. Which is the want of his name. For to all the thirteen epistles, received as his, he prefixeth his name, and generally calleth himself Apostle.

This objection has been obvious in all ages. And the omission has been differently accounted for by the ancients, who received this epistle as a genuine writing of *St. Paul*.

Clement

(*t*) *Clement est diffus. . . . &c. Beauf. Pref. sur l'epistre aux Hebreux. num. vii.*

(*u*) *Lucam autem hujus epistolæ scriptorem ostendunt etiam vocabula et loquendi genera quædam Lucæ velut propria. Grot. Pref. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(*x*) *Tout le monde reconnoit de l'éloquence et de l'élevation dans l'epistre aux Hebreux. Beauf. Ibid.*

Clement of Alexandria, in his *Institutions*, as cited by us (y) formerly, from *Eusebius*, speaks to this purpose: "The epistle to the *Hebrews*, he says, is *Paul's*. But he did not make use of that inscription, *Paul the Apostle*. Of which he assigns this reason. Writing to the *Hebrews*, who had conceived a prejudice against him, and were suspicious of him, he wisely declined setting his name at the beginning, lest he should offend them. He also mentions this tradition: Forasmuch as the Lord was sent as the Apostle of Almighty God to the *Hebrews*, *Paul*, out of modestie, does not stile himself the Apostle of the *Hebrews*: both out of respect to the Lord, and that being preacher and Apostle of the *Gentils*; he over and above wrote to the *Hebrews*."

Jerome also speaks to this purpose: "That (z) *Paul* might decline putting his name in the inscription, on account of the *Hebrews* being offended with him." So in the article of St. *Paul*, in his book of *Illustrious Men*. In his *Commentarie* upon the beginning of the epistle to the *Galatians*, he assigns another reason: "That (a) *Paul* declined to stile himself Apostle at the beginning of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, because he should afterwards call Christ the *High Priest*, and *Apostle of our profession*." See ch. iii. 1.

Theodoret says, that *Paul* was especially the Apostle of the *Gentils*. For which he allegeth, Gal. ii. 9. and Rom. xi. 13. "Therefore (b) writing to the *Hebrews*, who were not entrusted to his care, he barely delivered the doctrine of the gospel, without assuming any character of authority. For they were the charge of the other Apostles."

I need not quote any others. Which would be only a repetition of the same or like reasons.

All these reasons may not be reckoned equally good. And, perhaps, none of them are sufficient, and adequate to the purpose. But though we should not be able to assign a good reason, why *Paul* omitted his name; the epistle, nevertheless, may be his. For (c) there may have been a good reason for it, though we are not able to find it out. It is the work of a masterly hand. Who for some reason omitted

(y) Vol. ii. p. 474.

(z) Vel certe quia Paulus scribebat ad Hebræos, et propter invidiam sui apud eos nominis titulum in principio salutationis amputaverat. *De V. I. cap. v.*

(a) Et in epistola ad Hebræos propterea Paulum solita consuetudine nec nomen suum, nec Apostoli vocabulum præposuisse, quia de Christo erat dicturus: *Habentes ergo Principem Sacerdotum, et Apostolum confessionis, Jesum*: nec fuisse congruum, ut ubi Christus Apostolus dicendus erat, ibi etiam Paulus Apostolus poneretur. *In ep. ad Gal. cap. i, T. 4. p. 225. in.*

(b) Ἑβραίοις δὲ γράφων, ὃν ἐκ ἐνχειρίσθη τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, γυμνῇ τῶν ἀξιωματικῶς ἐκότης τὴν διδασκαλίαν προσένηκεν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων ἀρεμίδειαν ἵτελεν. *Theod. in Hebr. T. 3. p. 392.*

(c) Verum est, Paulum omnibus aliis epistolis, si hanc excipias, et nomen suum præposuisse, et titulos addidisse, quibus sibi auctoritatem conciliaret. Nec tamen inde consequitur, hanc, de qua agimus, Pauli non esse. Aut enim dicendum erit, nullius esse, quia nomen nullum præfixum est: aut si alius quis contra morem receptum nomen suum reticere potuit, idem æquo jure etiam Paulo licuit. *Weissen. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 384. med.*

omitted his name. *Paul* might have a reason for such silence, as well as another.

Lightfoot (d) says: "*Paul's* not affixing his name to this, as he had done to his other epistles, does no more deny it to be his, than the first epistle of *John* is denied to be *John's* upon that account."

Tillemont says: "Possibly (e) *Paul* considered it as a book, rather than a letter: since he makes an excuse for it's brevity. ch. xiii. 22. For indeed it is short for a book, but long for a letter." The same thought is in (f) *Esaius*. This may induce us to recollect an observation of *Chrysostom* to the like purpose, formerly (g) taken notice of.

It is, I think, observable, that there is not at the beginning of this epistle any salutation. As there is no name of the writer, so neither is there any description of the people to whom it is sent. It appears from the conclusion, that it was sent to some people, in a certain place. And, undoubtedly, they to whom it was sent, and by whom it was received, knew very well, from whom it came. Nevertheless there might be reasons for omitting an inscription, and a salutation, at the beginning. This might arise from the circumstances of things. There might be danger of offence in sending at that time a long letter to Jews in *Judea*. And this omission might be in part owing to a regard for the bearer, who too is not named. The only person named throughout the epistle is *Timothie*. Nor was he at that time present with the writer.

Indeed I imagine, that the two great objections against this being a genuine epistle of the Apostle: the elegance of the stile, and the want of a name, and inscription: are both owing to some particular circumstances of the writer, and the people, to whom it was sent. The people, to whom it was sent, are plainly Jews in *Judea*: and the writer, very probably, is *Paul*. Whose circumstances at the breaking up of his confinement at *Rome*, and his setting out upon a new journey, might be attended with some peculiar embarrassments, which obliged him to act differently from his usual method.

IV. Thus we are brought to the fourth and last part of our inquiry concerning this epistle, the time and place of writing it.

The Time and Place of Writing:

Mill was of opinion, that (b) this epistle was writ by *Paul* in the year 63. in some part of *Italie*, soon after he had been released from his imprisonment at *Rome*. Mr. *Wetstein* (i) appears to have been of the same opinion. *Tillemont* (k) likewise placeth this epistle in the year 63. immediately

(d) See his Works. Vol. i. p. 339.

(e) S. Paul. art. 46. Mem. T. i.

(f) Sed post hæc omnia, an vera ratio omiffæ salutationis est, quod hæc epistola scripta est per modum libri, non per modum epistolæ? Unde in fine dicit: *Etenim perpaucis scripsi vobis*. Quod de epistola non erat dicturus, cum sit epistola proluxa. *Ess. de Aud. Ep. ad Hebr. p. 893.*

(g) See Vol. x. p. 322.

(b) Interea, mox ut e carcere evasit Apostolus, recessit in ulteriorem aliquam *Italix* partem, ibique scripsit epistolam ad Hebræos. *Proleg. num. 83.*

(i) *Wetst. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 387. in.*

(k) S. Paul. art. 46.

mediatly after the Apostle's being set at liberty. Who, as he says, was still at *Rome*, or at least in *Italie*. *Basnage* (l) speaks of this epistle at the year 61. and supposeth it to be writ, during the Apostle's imprisonment. For he afterwards speaks of the epistle to the *Ephesians*, and says, it (m) was the last letter, which the Apostle wrote during the time of his bonds. *Lenfant* and *Beaufobre*, in their general preface to St Paul's epistles, observe, " that (n) in the subscription at the end of the epistle it is said to " have been writ from *Italie*. The only ground of which, as they add, is " what is said ch. xiii. 24. *They of Italie salute you*. This has made " some think, that the Apostle wrote to the *Hebrews*, after he had been " set at liberty, and when he was got into that part of *Italie*, which borders upon *Sicilie*, and in ancient times was called *Italie*. Nevertheless there is reason to doubt of this. When he requests the prayers of " the *Hebrews*, that *he might be restored to them the sooner*, he intimates, " that he was not yet set at liberty." Accordingly, they place this epistle in the year 62.

There is not any great difference in any of these opinions concerning the time, or place of this epistle: all supposing, that it was writ by the Apostle, either at *Rome*, or in *Italie*, near the end of his imprisonment at *Rome*, or soon after it was over, before he removed to any other country.

I cannot perceive, why it may not be allowed to have been writ at *Rome*. St. Paul's first epistle to the *Corinthians* was writ at *Ephesus*. Nevertheless he says ch. xvi. 19. *The churches of Asia salute you*. So now he might send salutations from the Christians of *Italie*, not excluding, but including those at *Rome*, together with the rest throughout that country.

The argument of *Lenfant* and *Beaufobre*, that Paul was not yet set at liberty, because he requested the prayers of the *Hebrews*, that *he might be restored to them the sooner*, appears not to me of any weight. Though Paul was no longer a prisoner, he might request the prayers of those to whom he was writing, that he might have a prosperous journey to them whom he was desirous to visit: and that all impediments of his intended journey might be removed. And many such there might be, though he was no longer under confinement. Paul was not a prisoner, when he wrote the epistle to the *Romans*. Yet he was very fervent in his prayers to God, that he might have a prosperous journey, and come to them. ch. i. 10.

For determining the time of this epistle, it may be observed, that when the Apostle wrote the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, he had hopes of deliverance. At the writing of all those epistles *Timothie* was present with him. But now he was absent, as plainly appears from ch. xiii. 23. This leads us to think, that this epistle was writ after them. And it is not unlikely, that the Apostle had now obtained that liberty, which he expected, when they were writ.

Moreover

(l) *Ann. 61. num. ii. . . . vi.*

(m) *Epistolarum omnium, quas primis in vinculis exaravit Apostolus, eâ quæ ad Ephesios, ultima esse videtur. Ibid. num. vii.*

(n) *Pref. gen. sur les epistres de S. Paul. num. lii.*

Moreover in the epistle to the *Philippians* he speaks of sending *Timothie* to them. ch. ii. 19 . . 23. *But I trust in the Lord Jesus, to send Timothie shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort, when I know your state. Timothie therefore, if sent, was to come back to the Apostle. Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me.* It is probable, that *Timothie* did go to the *Philippians*, soon after writing the above mentioned epistles, the Apostle having gained good assurance of being quite released from his confinement. And this epistle to the *Hebrews* was writ, during the time of that absence. For it is said Hebr. xiii. 23. *Know ye, that our brother Timothie is set at liberty. With whom, if he come shortly, I will see you. . . Know ye, that our brother Timothie is set at liberty: or has been sent abroad.* The (o) word is capable of that meaning. And it is a better, and more likely meaning, because it suits the coherence. And I suppose, that *Timothie* did soon come to the Apostle, and that they both sailed to *Judea*, and after that went to *Ephesus*: where *Timothie* was left, to reside with his peculiar charge.

Thus this epistle was writ at *Rome*, or in *Italie*, soon after that *Paul* had been released from his confinement at *Rome*, in the begining of the year 63.

And I suppose it to be the last written of all *St. Paul's* epistles, which have come down to us, or that we have any knowledge of.

Who was the bearer of it, is not known. At the end of the epistle, in some manuscripts, is a subscription to this purpose: *that it was carried from Italie by Timothie.* But that subscription is esteemed of no authority by all learned men in general, *Beza*, in particular. I put below (p) a part of what he says. It is inconsistent with what is said of *Timothie* ch. xiii. 23. *Timothie* was to accompany the writer. The epistle was sent before.

C H A P XIII.

That the epistle, inscribed to the Ephesians, was writ to them.

THE epistle to the *Ephesians* is one of the acknowledged epistles of *St. Paul*. There never was any doubt among Christians, who was the writer. But there has been, especially of late, a dispute concerning the persons, to whom it was sent: some thinking, that

(o) Et quidem paullo post missas hasce [*ad Philippenses*] literas, libertatem adeptus, Timotheum in Macedoniam misit, uti liquet ex Hebr. xiii. 23. . . Neque enim verbis istis significatum vult Apostolus, Timotheum tum temporis, secum una vinculis liberatum fuisse, sed a se ob certa negotia fuisse dimissum. *Mill. Proleg. num. 68.*

(p) Puto igitur hanc subscriptionem non satis considerate adscriptam fuisse a quopiam, qui occasionem ex eo arripuerit, quod Timothei et Italorum mentio facta fuerat. Nam etiam et in Claromontano codice, et in Syra interpretatione non exstat. *Bez. ad cap. xiii. in fin.*

that the common inscription is false, and that this is either a general epistle, or that it was sent to the *Laodiceans*. Of this opinion is (a) *Mill*, in his *Prolegomena* to the New Testament, who has had many followers. Some of whom must be here mentioned by me. Mr. *James Peirce* (b) who likewise speaks of Mr. *Whiston*, as of the same opinion. The (c) Author of a Latin Letter or Dissertation in the third volume of Mr. *La Roche's* *Literarie Journal*, published in the year 1731. That Letter is anonymous. But the writer is *Artemonius*, otherwise *Samuel Crellius*, author of *Initium Evangelii S. Joannis Apostoli restitutum*. This I was assured of by Mr. *La Roche*, the editor. *W. Wall* in his critical Notes upon the New Testament. Dr. *Benson* (d). The author of a letter at the end of the second volume of Dr. *Benson's* *Historie* of the first planting the Christian Religion. Which learned Author has also since published a Postscript to that letter, which is at the end of the third volume of the same work of Dr. *Benson*. The unknown Author of an edition of the New Testament, in *Greek* and *English*, in two volumes octavo, published at *London* in 1729. *Campegius Vitringa*, the Son, Professor of Divinity in the University of *Franequer*, wrote a Dissertation on the same side of the question. And not having therein finished his design, his successor, Mr. *Venema*, added another Dissertation, both together making more than one hundred and thirty pages in (e) quarto. Lastly, Mr. J. J. *Wetstein* in his notes upon the beginning of this epistle. Who also has put a mark under the text, shewing *Laodicea* to be, in his opinion, the right reading, instead of *Ephesus*. I here mention no more. But perhaps some others may be taken notice of hereafter.

The common reading however has been defended by (f) several. I mention

(a) Quidni igitur scripta fuerit ad Laodiceses? *Proleg. num. 74. vid. ib. num. 71. . . 79. et num. 237.*

(b) See an Advertisement at the end of his Paraphrase upon the Ep. to the *Philippians*. p. 114. &c.

(c) See *La Roche's Literary Journal* for April, May, and June. 1731. Vol. 3. p. 165. . . 183. Et *Conf. Artemonii Initium Evangel. S. Joan. restitutum*. p. 212. edit. *Londini*. 1726.

(d) See Dr. *Benson's Historie* of the first planting the Christian Religion. Vol. ii. p. 270—276. first ed. p. 290—297. 2d ed.

(e) Dissertat. de genuino titulo epistolæ D. Pauli, quæ vulgo inscribitur ad Ephesios. Ap. *Campeg. Vitring. Fil. Diff. Sacr. Franequeræ*. 1731. p. 247—379.

(f) Vid. *J. C. Wolf. Curæ in N. T. T. 4. p. 1—13*. I may be allowed likewise to take notice of a Commentarie upon the epistle to the *Ephesians*, published in the Dutch language, by *Peter Dinant*, a learned Minister at *Rotterdam*, in the year 1721. Of which an honourable account is given in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis*, where we are assured, *Ampla operi præmisit Prolegomena*, in quibus primo loco Apostolum Paulum verè epistolæ ad Ephesios scriptorem esse demonstrat.—Agit deinde de Epheso, ejusque, cum Apostolus hanc epistolam conscriberet, statu: de *Dianæ cultu*.—Hinc refutat *Grotium*, qui *Marcionem* secutus non ad Ephesios, sed *Laodiceses* scriptam hanc epistolam credidit. Sententiâ quoque *Usserii*, qui non ad solos Ephesios, sed plures ecclesiâs destinatam, adeoque pro encyclica habendam putat, examinatur, ac rejicitur. *Bibliotheca. Mss. Phil. Theolog. Classis quintæ fasc. tertius*. p. 533. 534. *Bremæ* 1721.

mention two authors of great note. One is *Le Clerc* (g) in his Ecclesiastical Historie, whose words I have placed below. He had seen *Mill's* argument, and slighted it. He thought, that few would be moved by it. However, he briefly considers, and answers the principal objections, taken from Eph. i. 15. iii. 2. and 4. As for any other arguments, he says, they are of too little moment to be opposed to the general consent of Christian writers. So that, says he, there is no reason, why we should doubt, whether this epistle was writ to the *Ephesians*.

The other writer is *Whitby*, in his preface to this epistle. A part of which I cheerfully transcribe here. "That this epistle to the *Ephesians* was indeed written by *St. Paul*, and directed to them, and not to any other church, we cannot doubt, if we believe either the epistle, or *Paul* himself. For, first, it begins thus: *Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ to the saints which are at Ephesus*. And in this reading all the versions, and all the manuscripts agree. Secondly, in the close of the epistle he speaks thus to them: *That you may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother, and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known unto you all things. Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose.* . . . Ch. vi. 21. 22. And in the second epistle to *Timothie* he says: *Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus.* 2 Tim. iv. 12. Moreover, thirdly, all antiquity agrees, that this epistle was writ by *Paul* to the *Ephesians*." And what follows.

Those arguments appear to me a sufficient defense of the present reading. Nevertheless the other opinion, contrarie to *Le Clerc's* expectation, has of late much prevailed: as appears from the number of the patrons of it, above named. And as the arguments of those two learned men, whose writings are well known, have not been judged satisfactorie; there can be little reason to expect, that any thing said by me should be of much weight. And indeed, it has sometimes happened, that certain opinions have had a run, and it has been in vain to oppose them: though afterwards they have fallen of themselves, being unsupported by any good evidence.

However,

(g) Postea scripsit epistolam ad Ephesios, quam viri quidam docti [Joan. Millius, in Prolegom. ad N. T. cujus conjectura paucis credo probabitur:] suspicantur ad Laodiceos datam, sed sine ullo sat firmo argumento. Volunt quidem in hac epistola quædam esse, quæ Ephesiis non conveniunt, ut cum cap. i. 15. Paulus se *audisse fidem et caritatem* Ephesiorum ait, quas ipse per se norat, non ex auditu. Sed nihil vetat, quin Romæ audiverit, Ephesios constanter eas virtutes coluisse, ex quo ipse eos viderat, eoque in hisce verbis respexerit. Similiter, et quæ habet cap. iii. 2. *Si tamen audistis dispensationem gratiæ Dei, quæ data est mihi in vobis*, in Ephesios optime quadrant, si ita intelligantur, ut sit, Græce *ἐν*, non sit dubitantis, sed adfirmantis, et significet *quandoquid. &c.* ut cap. iv. 21. et alibi. Eiusdem cap. iii. 4. ait Paulus posse eos, ad quos scribit, *legentes intelligere prudentiam ejus in mysterio Christi*: quam non tam lectione eorum, quæ in hac epistola antecesserunt, quam ex præsentis sermonibus intellexerant Ephesii. Sed nihil nos cogit eo confugere. Nam revera poterat hoc intelligi, vel ex iis quæ superioribus capitibus leguntur. Alia argumenta, leviora multo, et omnium Christianorum consensui opposita, non adtingam. Quare an ad Ephesios scripta sit hæc epistola, nihil est cur dubitemus, *Cleric. H. E. Ann. 62. num. viii.*

However, as a fair occasion offers, I shall enlarge upon the arguments just mentioned, in favour of the present reading in our Bibles. After which I will particularly consider the objections brought against it.

1. The present reading at the begining of this epistle, *to the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus*, is the reading of all Greek manuscripts, and of all ancient versions, the *Latin, Syriac, Persic, Arabic, Ethiopic*, and all other. It is altogether inconceivable, how there should have been such a general concurrence in this reading, if it had not been the original inscription of the epistle.

2. It may be argued from the epistle itself, that it was writ to the *Ephesians*.

Says the Apostle here ch. ii. 19. . . . 22. *Now therefore ye are fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God. And are built upon the foundation of the Apostles, and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone. In whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord. In whom you also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.* It has been observed that (b) St. Paul frequently accommodates his stile to the persons, to whom he is writing. In the first epistle to *Timothie*, sent to him at *Ephesus*, he useth the architect-stile. So, particularly, ch. ii. 15. In like manner here the Apostle may be well supposed to allude to the magnificent temple of *Diana*, on account of which the people of *Ephesus* much valued themselves, as appears from *Acts* xix. 27. 28. 34. 35.

I might, perhaps, refer likewise to ch. iii. 18. but forbear, it being an obscure text.

And that the epistle was sent, not to strangers, but to Christians, with whom the Apostle was well acquainted, I suppose to be certain from internal characters. But the shewing that is deferred till by and by.

3. That this epistle was sent to the church at *Ephesus*, we are assured by the testimonie of all catholic Christians in all past ages.

This we can now say with confidence, having examined the principal Christian writers from the first ages to the begining of the twelfth centurie. In all which space of time there appears not one, who had any doubt about it.

The testimonie of some of these is especially remarkable, on account of their early age, or their learning, or some other considerations.

One of them, remarkable for his early age, is *Ignatius*, who was Bishop of *Antioch* in the later part of the first, and the begining of the second centurie, and suffered martyrdom at *Rome* in the year 107. or, as some think, in 116. In a letter of his to the *Ephesians*, writ at *Smyrna*, as he was going from *Antioch* to *Rome*, he says: “Ye (i) are the companions “in the mysteries of the gospel of *Paul*, the sanctified, the Martyr, [or “highly commended,] deservedly most happy, at whose feet may I be “found, when I shall have attained unto God, who throughout all his “epistle makes mention of you in Christ Jesus.”

He

(b) See Dr. Benson upon 1 Tim. iii. 15.

(i) Πάυλος συνμύσαι τῷ ἁγιασμένῳ, τῷ μεγαθυρῆμένῳ, ἀξιομακαριστῷ . . . ἐς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ. Ignat. ep. ad Eph. cap. xiii.

He plainly means the epistle of *Paul* to the *Ephesians*, in which the Apostle commends those Christians, and never blames them.

So I wrote in the first edition, in 1734, when I collected the passages of *Ignatius*, bearing testimonie to the Books of the New Testament. Afterwards, in 1735, was published the letter above mentioned at the end of the first edition of *Dr. Benson's* History of the first planting the Christian religion. Which occasioned my adding a note upon that quotation from *Ignatius*, at p. 154. . . 156. of the second edition of the first volume of this work, in 1748.

“The learned writer of that letter, instead of *μνημονεύει ὑμῶν* would read *μνημονεύω ὑμῶν*: meaning, that *Ignatius* himself mentioned the *Ephesians* in every epistle. In answer to which I said, that conjecture appears to be without foundation: forasmuch as in all the editions of *Ignatius's* epistles the verb is in the third person: not only in the Greek of the smaller epistles, which I translate, but also in the old Latin version of the same small epistles. *Qui in omni epistola memoriam fecit vestri in Jesu Christo*. So likewise in the Greek interpolated epistles, and in the Latin version of the same. There is therefore no various reading. And a new one ought not to be admitted, unless the sense should require it. Which it does not appear to do here. For *Ignatius* is extolling the *Ephesians*. And one part of their glorie is, that the Apostle throughout his epistle to them had treated them in an honourable manner.”

So I wrote in the note just referred to. And though that learned writer has been since pleased to publish a postscript to his letter, he has not produced any manuscript, or version of this epistle of *Ignatius*, where the verb is found in the first person.

However, in order to support his proposed reading he excepts to our interpreting the word *μνημονεύω*, of an honourable mention. In answer to which I did in the same note produce proof of the word's being used sometimes for an honourable, or affectionate mention or remembrance. And the noun *μνημόσυνον*, is evidently thrice used in the New Testament for an honourable memorial. *Matt. xxvi. 13. Mark xiv. 9. Acts x. 4.* Of these examples I have been reminded by a learned friend.

That learned author excepts likewise to our interpretation of *ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ*, throughout all his epistle, and would translate, *who make mention of you in every epistle*: that is, as he understands it, *Ignatius* tells the *Ephesians*, to whom he is writing, that he made mention of them in every one of his epistles. In answer to which I said in the above mentioned note, that *Pearson* had well defended the interpretation, for which we contend. And I alleged a part of the note of *Cotelerius* upon this passage of *Ignatius*. But by some means *Valesius* is printed there, instead of *Cotelerius*. I now transcribe that note of *Cotelerius* at length. *Frustra sunt, et Andabatarum more digladiantur viri literati, non videntes, ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ esse in tota epistola, ad Ephesios nimirum scripta, qua illos laudat valde, ac semper commendat, ut fuit ab Hieronymo observatum.* And I shall place here two instances of the use of the word *πᾶς*, which appear to me altogether similar, and therefore to the purpose. One is taken from the fifth chapter of *Ignatius's* epistle to the *Ephesians*, where he says: “If the prayer of one or two be of such force, how much more that

that of the Bishop, and the whole church." καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας. The other is in St. Paul's epistles to the *Ephesians*. ch. ii. 21. *In whom all the building, or the whole building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple to God.* Ἐν ᾧ πάντα οἰκοδομῇ κ. λ.

Indeed, *Ignatius* has mentioned the *Ephesians* in every one of his epistles, except that to *Polycarp*. But it is very unlikely, that this should be his meaning here. He is extolling the *Ephesians*, as companions of *Paul* in the mysteries of the gospel, and the like. To say to them presently afterwards, and in the same period, that *he made mention of them in every one of his epistles*, would have an appearance of much vanity: with which, I think, *Ignatius* was never charged. And at the same time it would be very flat and insipid. Moreover, it is observable, that this is not one of the last epistles, which *Ignatius* wrote. But, according to the order, in which they are mentioned (*k*) by *Eusebius*, it is the very first of his seven epistles.

There is therefore no reason, why we should hesitate to admit the sense, in which this place has been generally understood by learned men.

We also find this sense in some ancient writers. *Jerome* observes, that (*l*) when the Apostle wrote to the *Corinthians*, he had occasion to blame them for fornication, and for strifes and contentions: but there is no fault found by him in the *Ephesians*. To the like purpose *Primasius* in (*m*) the preface to his Commentarie upon St. Paul's epistles, and (*n*) in his argument of the epistle to the *Ephesians*, in particular.

So that either those ancient writers understood *Ignatius*, as we do. Or else, they were led by the epistle itself to form the same idea of it, that we suppose him to have had.

What *Ignatius* means by the Apostle's mentioning, or being mindfull of the *Ephesians* throughout all his epistle to them, is happily explained by Bp. *Pearson*. Whose (*o*) words I shall transcribe below, as his work is not in

(*k*) *Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 36. and this work, Vol. i. p. 147. 148.*

(*l*) Corinthii, in quibus audiebatur fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, lacte pascuntur, quia necdum poterant solidum cibum capere. Ephesii autem, in quibus nullum crimen arguitur, ab ipso Domino cœlesti vescuntur pane, et sacramentum quod a seculis absconditum fuerat agnoscunt. *Ep. ad Marcell.* 1. 2. p. 628. *ed. Martiam.* . . animadvertat magnam inter Corinthios et Ephesios esse distantiam. Illis quasi parvulis atque lactentibus scribitur: in quibus erant dissensiones, et schismata, et audiebatur fornicatio qualis ne inter gentes quidem. . . Ephesii vero, apud quos fecit triennium, et omnia eis Christi aperuit sacramenta, aliter erudiuntur, &c. *In ep. ad Ephes. cap. v. T. iv. P. i. p. 389, 390.*

(*m*) Ephesii sane nulla reprehensione, sed multa sunt laude digni, quia fidem apostolicam servaverunt. *Primas. Præf. ad Comm. in S. Pauli Ep. ap. Bibl. P. P. T. x. p. 144. H.*

(*n*) Ephesii sunt Asiatici. Hi accepto verbo veritatis perfliterunt in fide. Hos conlaudat Apostolus, scribens eis Roma a carcere. *Argum. ep. ad Eph. ib. p. 217. A.*

(*o*) . . . quæ scripsit S. Ignatius, S. Paulum in tota epistola, memoriam eorum facere in Jesu Christo. Hæc a martyre non otiose aut frigide, sed vere, imo signanter et vigilanter dicta sunt. Tota enim epistola ad Ephesios scripta ipsos Ephesios, eorumque honorem et curam maxime spectat, et summe honorificam eorum memoriam ad posteros transmittit. In aliis epistolis Aposto-
lus

in every body's hands. Indeed this is a proper character of this epistle, as may be easily perceived. Nor did any of the ancients for that reason hesitate to allow, that it was sent to the church at *Ephesus*.

I hope, that I have now justified the present reading, and common interpretation of this passage of *Ignatius*.

The learned writer, with whom I have been arguing, concludes his postscript in this manner. "Should what has been offered, not prove "satisfactory, the difficulty will still remain, how to reconcile the present "reading, in *Ignatius*, with Dr. *Mill's* reasons against St. *Paul's* epistle "being written to the *Ephesians*. . . . The most plausible solution of "which seems to be that in Mr. *Locke*. . . ." And what there follows to the end.

I think, we should cheerfully accept of Mr. *Locke's*, or any other reasonable solution of the difficulty, if there be any. This, so far as I am able to judge, is better, than to attempt the alteration of a passage in an ancient author, without the authority of any manuscript: when there is nothing in the coherence, that necessarily requires it. And much better, than to alter a text of an epistle of the New Testament, contrarie to the authority of all manuscripts, and the concurring testimonie of all ancient Christian writers.

Beside that passage, there are in *Ignatius's* epistle to the *Ephesians*, many allusions and references to St. *Paul's* epistles to the *Ephesians*. Which shews, that he believed, that epistle to have been writ to the church at *Ephesus*. Those allusions (though not all of them) were taken notice of by us long (*p*) ago. And Dr. *Jortin* having observed, that (*q*) *Ignatius* in his xii chapter takes notice of St. *Paul's* epistle to the *Ephesians*, and his martyrdom, adds: "And as he was writing to the "same church, he often alludes to the Apostle's letter to them."

But there is one word in that twelfth chapter of *Ignatius's* epistle to the *Ephesians*, of which I have not yet taken sufficient notice. I mean the word *συνμύσται*. Ye are, says he, the companions of *Paul* in the mysteries of the gospel: or ye are partakers of the mysteries of the gospel with *Paul*. This is said out of a regard to St. *Paul's* epistles to the *Ephesians*. And it fully shews, that *Ignatius* thought, that epistle to have been sent to the church, to which himself was then writing. For that is their distinguishing character: at least it is a character, which is more especially the character of the Christians, to whom that letter is writ.

I formerly (*r*) gave an account of *Palladius*, author of a Dialogue of the Life of *Chrysostom*, about the year 408. In that work *Palladius* has an argument,

ips eos ad quos scribit, sæpe acriter objurgat. . . aut parce laudat. . . Hic omnibus modis perpetuo se Ephesiis applicat, illosque tanquam egregios Christianos tractat, evangelio salutis firmiter credentes, et Spiritu promissionis obsignatos, concives sanctorum, et domesticos Dei. Pro iis sæpe ardentè orat, ipsos hortatur, obtestatur, laudat, utrumque sexum sedulo instruit, suum erga eos singularem affectum ubique prodit. *Pearson. Vind. Ignat. Part. 2. cap. x. sub init.*

(*p*) See Vol. i. p. 169. . . 172. first ed. p. 168. . . 170. 2d. ed.

(*q*) See the first Volume of his Remarks upon Ecclesiastical Historie. p. 56.

(*r*) Vol. xi. p. 59.

argument, in which he observes, "That *Paul* had called the *Cretians* liars. Tit. i. 12. the *Galatians* stupid. Gal. iii. 1. and the *Corinthians* proud. 1 Cor. v. 2. On the other hand (*s*) he calls the *Romans* faithful, the *Ephesians* *μυσται*, initiated, to whom also he writes in a sublime manner, and the *Thessalonians* lovers of the brotherhood."

When *Palladius* says, that *St. Paul* called the *Romans* faithful, it cannot be doubted, that he refers to Rom. i. 8. And when he says, that the *Thessalonians* were called lovers of the brotherhood, he must intend 1 Thess. iv. 9. 10. When he speaks of the *Ephesians* as initiated, it may not be so easie to determine the text, particularly intended by him. But, probably, it is Eph. i. 9. or that, joyned with others, such as ch. iii. 3. 4. . . . 6. and 9. and v. 32. vi. 16. For in this epistle the word *mysterie* occurs frequently.

However, hereby we are assured, that this was, especially, the character of the Christians at *Ephesus*. And we plainly perceive, that *Ignatius* supposed, that epistle to have been writ to them.

Nor will my readers, possibly, blame me for prolixity, if I here allege a passage of *Jerome*: where he says, "That (*t*) still there are in the churches remainders of the same virtues, or vices, for which they were remarkable of old. The *Romans* are still faithful, and devout, the *Corinthians* proud, the *Galatians* stupid, the *Thessalonians* lovers of the brotherhood." In that place *Jerome* says nothing particular of the *Ephesians*. But in his Commentarie upon the epistle to them he often observes, that (*u*) no epistle of *St. Paul* was fuller of mysteries: which occasioned obscurity,

(*s*) . . . ἡ ἀνάστασις πρὸς ῥωμαίων ἀποκαλῶν, καὶ μυστὰς ἡφεσίους, οἷς καὶ ὑψηλότερον ἐπιστέλλει, καὶ φιλαδέλφους θεσσαλονικεῖς, μόνοις περιέγραψεν τὰς ἐπικρίσεις; ἢ πάντως. *Pallad. ap. Chrys. T. 13. p. 71. E.*

(*t*) Usque hodie eadem vel virtutum vestigia permanent, vel errorum, Romanorum laudatur fides. Ubi alibi tanto studio et frequentia ad ecclesias, et ad martyrum sepulchra concurritur? . . . Non quod aliam habent Romani fidem, nisi hanc quam omnes Christi ecclesiæ: sed quod devotio in eis major sit, et simplicitas ad credendum. . . . Corinthios quoque notat, quod indifferenter vescantur in templis, et inflati sapientia seculari, resurrectionem carnis negant. . . . Macedones in charitate laudantur, et hospitalitate, ac susceptione fratrum. Unde ad eos scribitur. *De charitate autem fraternitatis, non necesse habemus scribere vobis. Ipsi enim vos a Deo didicistis, ut diligatis invicem. Etenim facitis illud in omnes fratres in universa Macedonia.* In ep. ad Gal. Pr. 2. T. 4. p. 255.

(*u*) Satis abundeque ostendi, quod beatus Apostolus ad nullam ecclesiarum tam mystice scripserit, et abscondita seculis revelaverit sacramenta. Pr. 3. in ep. ad Eph. T. 4. p. 375.

Non vobis molestum fit, si diu in obscurioribus immoremur. Caussati enim in principio sumus, inter omnes Pauli epistolas, hanc vel maxime, et verbis et sensibus involutam. *Comm. in ep. ad Eph. Ib. p. 369.*

Decenter quoque Ephesiis, qui ad scientiæ summam conscenderant, scribitur, quod sint lux in Domino. In cap. 5. p. 383.

Ephesii vero, apud quos fecit triennium, et omnia eis Christi aperuit sacramenta, aliter erudiuntur. *Ib. p. 390.*

Hæc ideo universa replicuimus, ut ostenderemus, quare Apostolus in hac vel potissimum epistola obscuros sensus, et ignota seculis sacramenta congefferit. Pr. i. in ep. ad Eph. ib. p. 322.

curity, and rendered it very difficult to be explained. And in a place already cited he says of the *Ephesians*, that they had (x) received the mysterie hid from ages : that is, they were initiated, or were partakers of the mysteries of the gospel with *Paul*. And to the like purpose in several passages, just transcribed at the bottom of the page.

By all which, I think, it must appear very evident, that *Ignatius* supposed *St. Paul's* epistle to the *Ephesians* to have been really writ to them. And his judgement is decisive. For he could not be mistaken. So says the writer of the letter above mentioned. Whose words are these : "I have been the longer, says he, upon these passages of *Ignatius*, "by reason of the weight, his authority might justly claim in this case, "was it certain, that he had spoken of this epistle of *Paul*, as written by "him to the *Ephesians*. For if this epistle was writ in the ninth year of "Nero, and that of *Ignatius* in the tenth of *Trajan*, as Bp. *Pearson* placeth "them, the distance of time will be but forty-five years. So that *Ignatius*, "being then far advanced in age, could not well be ignorant of the "truth of this matter. And besides, *Onesimus* was Bishop of *Ephesus* at "the time *Ignatius* wrote his epistle to that church, is mentioned in it, "and had lately made *Ignatius* a visit. So that had there been any doubt "concerning this affair, he could easily have set him right."

It might have been added, that (y) *Ignatius*, at the time of his writing his epistle to the *Ephesians*, had with him *Burrhus*, a Deacon of the church at *Ephesus*, and *Crocus*, *Euphus*, and *Fronto*, all members of the church at *Ephesus*, who were then with him at *Smyrna*. Who likewise, as may be supposed, afterwards carried his letter to *Ephesus*.

If therefore by what has been said it appears evident, that *Ignatius* has spoken of this epistle of *Paul*, as writ to the *Ephesians*, (as I think he does,) we have made out what must be reckoned of great weight in this matter.

However, it is not *Ignatius's* testimonie only, that is decisive. There are many other ancient writers, whose testimonie also is satisfactorie, and decisive.

For by *Irenæus*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, writers of the second and third centuries, this epistle is expressly quoted as writ by *Paul* to the *Ephesians*. They so quote this epistle, without hesitation, as freely, and plainly, as they do the epistles to the *Romans*, the *Galatians*, the *Corinthians*, or any other of the acknowledged epistles of *St. Paul*.

It is quoted in the like manner by all writers in general, of every age, Latins, Greeks, and Syrians. I would particularly observe, that it is so quoted by *Jerome*, who also wrote a commentarie upon this epistle, and had seen many ancient manuscripts and editions of the New Testament. Who never expresseth any doubt, whether this epistle was writ to the *Ephesians*, nor takes notice of any various reading in the inscription of it. For which I refer to his chapter, in the tenth volume of this work. This epistle is quoted in the like manner by *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*,
Gregorie

(x) Ephesii . . . sacramentum quod a seculis absconditum fuerat agnoscunt. *Vid. supr. p. 330. not. (l)*

(y) *Vid. ep. ad Eph. cap. ii.*

Gregorie Nazianzen, and all the writers of every age, and of different, and remote countreys.

We may also observe here, that in the fifth centurie, there were some Christians, who had a notion, that this epistle was writ to the *Ephesians*, before the Apostle had seen them. It is likely, that this notion was founded upon Eph. i. 15. Nevertheless, they still thought the epistle to have been writ to the *Ephesians*. Which is a proof, that they knew nothing to the contrarie, and had never heard of any various reading in the inscription of this epistle. Among these is *Euthalius*, who (z) in his prologue to St. Paul's epistles considers the two epistles to the *Romans* and *Ephesians*, as epistles writ to Christians, whom the Apostle knew by report only. This is remarkable. It shews, that he had no various reading in this place. If he had, he would have taken notice of it. *Euthalius* was a learned man. He put out an accurate edition of the Catholic epistles, and of St. Paul's epistles, with a general prologue to them. And (a) he had consulted, beside others, the manuscripts in the librarie at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*. Nevertheless he had not met with any various reading.

And in the Argument of the epistle to the *Ephesians*, now placed in the edition of *Euthalius*, it is said, that (b) the epistle to the *Ephesians* was sent by Paul from *Rome* to them, when he had not yet seen them, and had only heard of them. I do not ascribe this argument to *Euthalius*. The reasons were assigned (c) formerly. *Euthalius* wrote a prologue to St. Paul's epistles. But it does not appear, that he wrote arguments to each of his epistles severally. The same thing is also said of the epistle to the *Ephesians* in the (d) Synopsis of Scripture, ascribed to *Athanasius*. These I reckon one and the same, but different from *Euthalius*.

And I may here take notice of a small inaccuracy in Mr. *Wetstein*, who (e) in his notes upon the beginning of the epistle to the *Ephesians* quotes both the prologue to St. Paul's epistles, and the Argument of the epistle to the *Ephesians* in particular, as *Euthalius's*: though in his Prolegomena, in his account of what *Euthalius* had done, he had observed, and rightly, that (f) those Arguments were not composed by *Euthalius*, but by another.

I therefore here suppose two, that is, *Euthalius*, and another, who wrote the Arguments of St. Paul's epistles severally. Who may be the same that composed the Synopsis ascribed to *Athanasius*.

However, beside these there may have been about this time some others of the same opinion. For *Theodore*t in his preface to the epistle to the

(z) Πέμπτη ἡ πρὸς ἐφισίους κίται, πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ παραμένοντα, ἧς ἐν τῇ προγραφῇ τὸ μυστήριον ἐκτίθεται, παραπλησίως τῇ πρὸς ῥωμαίους· ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ἐκ ἀκοῆς γνωρίμοις. *Euthal. ap. Zacagn. p. 524.*

(a) See Vol. xi. p. 206. and Vol. v. p. 334.

(b) Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ ῥώμης, ἔτω μὲν ἰσραὼς αὐτὸς, ἀλέσας δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν. *Arg. ep. ad Eph. ib. p. 633.*

(c) See Vol. xi. p. 207. . . . 210.

(d) Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ ῥώμης, ἔτω μὲν αὐτὸς ἰσραὼς, ἀλέσας δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν. *Ap. Athan. T. 2. p. 194. ed. Bened.*

(e) Vid. N. T. Vol. 2. p. 238.

(f) Vid. ejusd. Prolegom. Vol. i. p. 75.

the *Ephesians* observes, there (g) were some, who said, that *Paul* wrote to the *Ephesians*, before he had seen them. But he shews it to be a false and absurd opinion, and concludes, saying: "It (h) is manifest therefore, that the Apostle had preached the gospel to them, before he wrote to them."

This affords a good argument, that there was not in the fifth centurie, nor before, any notice, or apprehension of a various reading in the inscription of this epistle. For if there had, none would have admitted so absurd a supposition, that *Paul* wrote from *Rome* an epistle to the *Ephesians*, before he had seen them.

Another thing deserving notice here is, that before the end of the fourth centurie there was forged an epistle to the *Laodiceans*, ascribed to *Paul*. For (i) it is expressly mentioned by *Jerome* in his book of *Illustrious Men*, writ about 392. Which must induce us to think, that the epistle to the *Ephesians* was never called the epistle to the *Laodiceans*. For then there could have been no pretence for forging another with that title, to verify a false interpretation of Col. iv. 16.

I should now proceed to another argument. But I must look back, to secure this, taken from the testimonie of ancient Christian writers. For it has been argued from a passage of *St. Basil*, in his books against *Eunomius*, that he had seen some ancient manuscripts of this epistle, in which these words, at *Ephesus*, were wanting. That passage, as cited formerly, is thus: "And *Paul* writing to the *Ephesians*, as truly united to him who is, through knowledge, called them in a peculiar sense such who are, saying: To the saints who are, and [or even] the faithfull in *Christ Jesus*. For so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it in ancient copies." This point having been already examined by us largely, I refer to what was then (k) said. It was then argued by us, that *St. Basil* does not here intimate, that the word, or words, at *Ephesus*, were wanting in any copies seen by him. And I would now observe farther, that our account of this passage is confirmed by the works of other authors, both before, and after *Basil*. There had lived many learned Christian writers before his time. There were many learned Christians contemporarie with him: as his own brother, *Gregorie Nyssen*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, and others: and also soon after him, as *Theodoret*, and *Euthalius*: not now to mention *Jerome*, or other learned Latin authors. None of whom have said, that the words, at *Ephesus*, were wanting in any copies, which they had seen. The various reading therefore, intended by *Basil*, must have been somewhat less, a small matter, not any thing like *ἐν ἑφέσω*, at *Ephesus*. For so remarkable a reading could not have been passed by in silence, unobserved by all others. And every one may see, that in this very place, as well

(g) . . τὸν δὲ θεότατον πᾶυλον μηδέπω τῶς ἡφεσίως τε θεαζόμενον, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς γεγραφέναι. *Theod. T. 3. p. 290.*

(h) Δίδεικται ἅμα σαφῶς, ὡς προκηρύξας αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὅπως γέγραφε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. *Ib. p. 292.*

(i) Legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses. Sed ab omnibus exploditur. *De V. I. Cap. v.*

(k) See *Vol. ix. p. 115. . . . 122.*

well as elsewhere, *Basil* cites this epistle, as writ by *Paul* to the *Ephesians*. And they are the Christians, of whom *Paul* had said, that through knowledge they were united to him *who is*.

In the place, to which I referred just now, I gave an account of a Dissertation of *Lenfant*, vindicating the common reading. Which was approved by *Wolfius*, and others. However, Mr. *Kuster* was not satisfied. And in the preface to his edition of *Mill's* New Testament, he says, "That (1) the argument, or interpretation of *Basil*, depends upon a supposition, that the words, *at Ephesus*, were wanting in the inscription of this epistle. Otherwise the Christians, to whom that epistle is sent, could not have been reckoned more especially united to him who is, or called *such who are*, rather than the *Romans*, or *Philippians*, or any other Christians, to whom *Paul* wrote."

To which I answer: That is saying all, and the only thing, that can be said, in behalf of the supposition, that the words, *at Ephesus*, were wanting in some copies, which *Basil* had seen. But though this may seem specious and plausible, it is not conclusive. We have perceived from *Palladius*, and *Jerome* lately alleged, that there were some, who appropriated certain characters to divers churches. The *Romans* were especially called faithfull, the *Ephesians* initiated, and knowing, and the *Thessalonians* lovers of the brotherhood. But it cannot be thence concluded, that other Christians were not entitled to the same characters: or that the same things might not be also said of them. As may appear to any one, who does but look into St. *Paul's* epistles. In which the faith of other churches is spoken of, beside that of the *Romans*. And others, beside the *Thessalonians*, are supposed to have been lovers of the saints, or the brotherhood. Says the Apostle 1 Thess. i. 3. *Remembering without ceasing your work of faith, and labour of love.* 2 Thess. i. 4. *So that we ourselves glory in you, in the churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your persecutions.* 2 Cor. viii. 7. *As ye abound in every thing, in faith. . . .* Ephes. i. 1. *To the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithfull in Christ Jesus.* ver. 15. *Wherefore, . . . after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints.* Coloss. i. 2. *To the saints, and faithfull brethren in Christ, which are at Colosse.* Philem. ver. 5. *Hearing of thy love, and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints.* And others, beside the *Ephesians*, were partakers of the mysteries of the gospel, with the Apostle. See Rom. xi. 25. 1 Cor. ii. 6. 7. Col. i. 25. . . . 27. ii. 2. iv. 3.

That is the very observation of *Palladius* in the place above cited: that when the Apostle blames some for certain vices, and commends others for certain virtues, he by no means intends to intimate, that those vices, or those virtues, were peculiar to the persons blamed, or commended by him.

The *Romans* were called by some in ancient times in an especial manner faithfull, the *Ephesians* initiated, and the *Thessalonians* or *Macedonians*, lovers of the brotherhood. But they were not so, exclusive of others.

(1) Nec magis ἰδιότροως, Apostolus Ephesios, ex sensu Basilii, vocaverit ὄντας quam Romanos, Philipenses, etc. ad quos scribens eodem plane loquendi formula utitur. *Kuster*.

thers. For all the Churches, or Christians, to whom *Paul* wrote, were faithfull, and initiated, or partakers with him in the mysteries of the gospel, and lovers of the saints, or brotherhood: though they might be reasonably exhorted to abound therein more and more. As are the *Thessalonians* themselves, 1 Ep. ch. iv. 10. See also iii. 12. And indeed, if such properties did not belong to them, they could not have been Christians. Nevertheless, when these several characters had been applied to some, particularly, it is likely, that few would scruple to follow the same way of speaking, if there was occasion.

So in the present case, that observation in *Basil* having been applied to the *Ephesians* by some men of no great judgement, it was left there, and not applied to any others. Indeed it is an impertinent observation, as *Jerome* (*m*) calls it. And, as it seems, was made use of by a few only. But it might have been as properly said of other Christians, as of the *Ephesians*.

One thing more I add here. They who are for leaving out the words, *at Ephesus*, must read the place in this manner: *to such as are saints, and faithfull in Christ Jesus*. Then this should be a general epistle, not directed to any one place, but to good Christians every where. But that it is not a general epistle, is manifest from Eph. vi. 21. 22. without insisting now on any other places. *But that ye may also know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus a beloved brother, and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known unto you all things. Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts.* This plainly shews, that the epistle had not a general inscription, *to saints and faithful men*, but was inscribed to the saints of some place. And who should they be, but the saints and faithfull at *Ephesus*: to whom it is inscribed in all Greek manuscripts, and in all versions, and in all catalogues of the books of the New Testament, whether composed by Councils, or others?

4. Once more. *St. Paul* himself says 2 Tim. iv. 12. *And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus*, very probably referring to this epistle, as (*n*) was shewn some while ago. This is what *Whitby* intends at the begining of his preface to this epistle, before transcribed. "That this epistle to the *Ephesians* was indeed written by *St. Paul*, and directed to them, and "not to any other church, we cannot doubt, if we believe either the "epistle, or *St. Paul* himself." By the testimonie of *the epistle* he means the inscription at the begining, where is *at Ephesus*, in all manuscripts and versions. By the testimonie of *St. Paul himself* he means what is said 2 Tim. iv. 12. quoted above.

Having finished the argument in favour of the genuinnesse of the common inscription of this epistle, which to me appears sufficient, and satisfactorie: I now propose to consider objections, which have been raised by *Mill*, and others.

1 Obj. "It is said, that there are in this epistle divers expressions, not suited to the Christians at *Ephesus*, where *Paul* had been twice, and spent

(*m*) See Vol. ix. p. 118. 119. note (*p*).

(*n*) See before. p. 263.

spent there almost three years. See Acts xviii. 19. . . . 21. xix. and xx. 1. and 17. . . . 38."

Says Mr. *Peirce* in the place before referred to, representing *Mill's* argument: "He has proved it highly improbable, that the epistle was at first writ to the *Ephesians*. *St. Paul* had resided among them, and kept back nothing that was profitable unto them. . . How then could he write to them, as though he had never seen, or been among them, but only had heard of them? Eph. i. 5. *Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love to all the saints*. Again, is it likely, he would refer those, to whom he had declared all the counsel of God, so long together, to a bare report of himself? Eph. iii. 2. *If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you-ward*. Or would he suppose, that they who had heard him preach a thousand times would need to understand his knowledge in the mystery of Christ, from what he said in a few verses, or even the whole, of that short epistle? Eph. iii. 4."

To the like purpose another learned author, whom likewise I shall transcribe here, that this objection may appear in all it's strength: "He (o) intimateth, that he had only heard of their faith in Christ, and of their love to all Christians. ch: i. 15. . . . Again, he not only mentioneth his *hearing of their faith in Christ*, but ch. iii. 1. 2. he speaks, as if he was dubious, whether they had heard of the extraordinarie revelations, which he had received from heaven. . . . And verses 3. 4. he intimateth, that, if they had never heard of these things before, they might understand them from the brief hints, which he had given them in his epistle. Is this like *St. Paul's* stile to the churches of his own planting? . . Or could a few lines, or even a larger epistle than this, have given them so clear a knowledge of *St. Paul's* illumination, as their hearing him a thousand times? For had he not been among them for the space of three years, warning every one of them night and day with tears?"

But this difficulty, if I mistake not, will disappear upon farther consideration, and a fuller examination of the matter.

First. It appears from the epistle itself, that the Christians, to whom it is sent, were not unknown to *Paul*, nor they to him: but they were well acquainted with each other.

That the Apostle was acquainted with these Christians, must, I think, be evident to all, who read without prejudice the first fourteen verses of the first chapter of this epistle. I insist only upon ver. 13. *In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with the holy spirit of promise*. How could the Apostle write thus to any, but to such, whose conversion to Christianity he was well acquainted with, and that upon their believing they had received gifts of the Spirit? How could any man write thus to people, whom he had but lately heard of?

There are also many other passages of this epistle, which shew the Apostle's knowledge of the state of these Christians, both before, and after their conversion. Some of which I must select here.

Ch. ii.

Ch. ii. 1. 2. *And you hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses, and sins: wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world. . . and throughout that chapter to the end.*

Then at ch. iii. 13. *Wherefore I desire, that ye faint not at my tribulation for you, which is your glorie.* That must be said to Christians, of whose tender affection for him he was very sensible: recollecting, it is likely, what had happened at *Miletus*, as related Acts xx. 36. . . . 38. And indeed it is throughout an affectionate, as well as instructive, and useful epistle.

Ch. iv. 20. *But ye have not so learned Christ.* 21. *If so be, or * forasmuch as, ye have heard him, and have been taught the truth as it is in Jesus.* This the Apostle knew very well.

I cannot forbear to recite this place more largely, from ver. 20. to ver. 24. *But ye have not so learned Christ, forasmuch as ye have heard him, and have been instructed in him, as the truth is in Jesus, to † put off, with respect to the former conversation, the old man, which is corrupt according to deceitful lusts, and to be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and to put on the new man, which is created according to God in righteousness and true holiness.* Certainly these are St. Paul's own converts and disciples. The case of these people resembles that of the *Galatians*. ch. iii. 1. *Before whose eyes Jesus Christ had been evidently set forth crucified among them.* But to these Christians, at *Ephesus*, the Apostle expresseth himself with more mildness, as was fit, than to the *Galatians*.

Then ver. 30. *And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye were sealed unto the day of redemption:* or, with which ye were sealed in the day of redemption. These Gentil Christians had received the Spirit. And from whom, I pray, if not from St. Paul? And that they had a variety of spiritual gifts, is manifest from ch. v. 18. . . . 20.

Ch. v. 8. *For ye were some time darkness. But now are ye light in the Lord. Walk as children of the light.* Which shews, that the Apostle knew the state of these Christians before, and after their conversion.

And that St. Paul was acquainted with them, and they with him, appears to me very evident from ch. vi. 21. 22.

Secondly, at ch. i. 15. are words, upon which an objection has been formed, as we have seen. *Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints:* that is, according to Mr. Locke's paraphrase: "Wherefore I also here in my confinement having heard of the continuance of your faith in Christ Jesus, and your love to all the saints." And in his preface to this epistle Mr. Locke has these expressions. "Wherefore when he heard, that the *Ephesians* stood firm in the faith, whereby he means their confidence of their title to the privileges and benefits of the gospel, without submission to the law, he thanks God for them."

Whitby's

* *Si tamen illud audistis:] Si tamen, Græce, siquidem.* Non enim dubitans hoc dicit Apostolus, sed magis rem confirmans, uti post Chrysostomum annotat Theophylactus. Nam et alias interdum vim confirmandi habet conjunctio, si, ut secundæ ad Thessalon. primo vers. 6. *Est. ad Eph. iv. 21.*

† See Dr. Doddridge upon the place, whose version, in the main, I have here adopted.

Whitby's paraphrase of this verse is to this purpose. "Wherefore I
 "also having heard of your stedfast faith in the Lord Jesus, and your
 "encreasing love to all the saints : that is, that the faith and love wrought
 "in you continues stedfast, and aboundeth."

To the like purpose also (*p*) *Grotius*, whose words I have placed below.

Theodoret's note upon ver. 15. and 16. is to this purpose : "Hence
 "some have supposed, that the Apostle wrote this epistle to the *Ephesians*,
 "when he had not yet seen them. But they should consider, that
 "writing to the *Corinthians*, concerning whom he had received some
 "disagreeable information, he says : *It has been related to me of you, my brethren,*
 "*by them which are of the household of Chloe, that there are contentions*
 "*among you.* 1 Cor. i. 11. As therefore when he had received infor-
 "mation of some things disagreeable, he wrote with grief of mind : so
 "when he had received an account of things agreeable concerning these
 "*Ephesians*, he bestows commendation. He praiseth them, both for
 "their piety and for their liberality to the saints. Whereupon he also
 "gives thanks to God, the author of all good things."

So that this text was no difficulty at all with *Theodoret*. However, it may be expedient, that I should enlarge somewhat farther.

I observe, then, that St. *Paul* writes in the same manner to *Philemon*, his own convert, whose faith therefore he certainly knew. *Philem.* ver. 4. 5. *I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers : hearing of thy love, and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints.* That *Philemon* had been converted to the faith of the gospel by *Paul*, I suppose to be evident from ver. 19. *Albeit I do not say unto thee, how thou owest to me thy own self besides.* So that text (*q*) has been generally understood. And how it can be interpreted otherwise, I do not conceive.

Whitby's paraphrase is : "*Albeit I do not say unto thee, how thou owest to me, by whom thou wast converted, even thy own self, or the well being of thy soul, besides.*"

Beaufobre and *Lenfant* in their preface to the epistle to *Philemon* express themselves in this manner. "*Philemon* was a considerable person at *Colosse*, a city of *Phrygia*. St. *Paul* had converted him, either at *Ephesus*, or some other city of *Asia*, when he preached the gospel in that countrey : or else at *Colosse* itself, in one of the journeys, which he had made in *Phrygia*."

There are some other things to be observed here concerning this person. For in the first verse of that epistle *Paul* calls *Philemon* beloved, and his fellow-laborer. Which, if I am not mistaken, indicate personal acquaintance, and imply their having labored together in the service of the gospel, at *Colosse*, or *Ephesus*, or in some other place. And yet St. *Paul* writing to *Philemon* speaks of his having heard of his faith, and love.

Still

(*p*) Loquitur autem Paulus de profectu evangelii apud Ephesios, ex quo ipse ab illis discesserat. *Grot. in Eph. i. 14.*

(*q*) Ceterum, si ad jus meum redeam, propter sermonem Christi, quem tibi evangelizavi, et Christianus effectus es, teipsum mihi debes. *Hieron. in ep. ad Philem. T. 4. p. 452.*

Still farther, it appears to me highly probable, that *Onesimus*, in whose behalf this epistle was writ, knew *Paul*, before he saw him at *Rome*. He either had seen *Paul* at his master's house at *Colosse*, or else at *Ephesus*, when attending upon his master there. *Paul* was a prisoner at *Rome*, and could not go abroad. *He dwelt in his own hired house, with a soldier that kept him.* Acts xxviii. 16. and 30. It is likely, therefore, that *Onesimus* came first to *Paul*. Being in straits, and knowing *Paul's* benevolent temper, and what civilities he had received from his master, *Philemon*, he might hope for some relief from him. Or, possibly, hearing, that *Paul* was at *Rome*, and recollecting the discourses, which he had heard him make, when attending on *Philemon*, he was touched with remorse for the faults, which he had been guilty of, and came to *Paul* for farther instruction in the things of religion, and for advice and comfort. He might also encourage himself with hopes of *Paul's* interceding in his behalf, and obtaining a reconciliation with his master.

Says *Beausobre* in his preface to the epistle to *Philemon*: It can hardly be doubted, that the repentance of his fault obliged *Onesimus* to come to *Paul*, whom he knew to be his master's friend. For otherwise, he might have remained unknown at *Rome*.

Philemon then was well known to *Paul*. Nevertheless, at the beginning of his epistle to him, he thanks God, *having heard of his love and faith.* The meaning is, he had received information of the continuance of his faith, and of it's bearing good fruit. If *Paul* could write thus to *Philemon*, his convert, friend, and fellow-laborer, he might write in a like manner to other Christians, to whom he was no stranger.

So likewise to the *Colossians*, ch. i. 3. 4. *We give thanks to God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you: since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of the love, which ye have to all the saints:* that is, having heard of the continuance of your faith, and of the good fruits of it. This he had been assured of by *Epaphras*, who had come to the Apostle at *Rome*. It is not to be supposed, that *Paul* now first heard of the faith of the *Colossians*, or the *Laodiceans*. I think, that the *Colossians* were *Paul's* own converts, and that the church there had been planted by him. But supposing that to be uncertain, I imagine, it cannot be questioned, that the church there had been planted a good while ago by some of the Apostle's assistants, and fellow-laborers. Consequently, the Apostle did not now first know, and hear of the faith and love of the Christians at *Colosse*. He must have known it before he came to *Rome*, and before he was apprehended at *Jerusalem*. But he had lately received good tidings concerning their steadiness and perseverance from some, who had come from them to him at *Rome*.

St. Paul, since his coming to *Rome*, had received from *Tychicus* an account of the state of things at *Ephesus*, which upon the whole was very pleasing. He had received from *Epaphras* a like account of the state of things at *Colosse*, and particularly a good account of the conduct of *Philemon*. For all which he praiseth God in his epistles to them. Indeed it could not but be matter of much joy to the Apostle, to hear of the continued faith of Christians in several places, notwithstanding the many difficulties attending the profession of Christianity, and notwithstanding the

the discouragement, which his own long captivity might have occasioned in the minds of many.

In these three epistles, to the *Ephesians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, are the same expressions, near the beginning, *having heard of your faith and love*. And they are all to be understood in a like manner. If these words were to be understood in the epistle to the *Ephesians* of now first hearing: it might be as well argued, that the epistle could not be writ to the *Laodiceans*. For, as before intimated, it may be reckoned certain, that before *Paul* came to *Rome* he knew of the faith of the church at *Laodicea*.

Thirdly, in the next place I consider that part of the objection, which is raised from Eph. iii. 2. 3. 4. *If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you-ward: How that by revelation he made known unto me the mysterie, as I wrote before in a few words: whereby ye may understand my knowledge in the mysterie of Christ.*

To which part of the objection I answer, that *if ye have heard of the dispensation*, may be rendered, *since, or forasmuch as ye have heard*, and what follows. So *Theophylact*, approved by *Whitby* upon the place.

I observe farther. These things are as properly said to the *Ephesians*, as to any other Christians in that countrey, or thereabout. They were all acquainted, and much alike acquainted with them. If such expressions might be used in an epistle to the *Colossians*, or the *Laodiceans*, they might be used also in an epistle to the *Ephesians*. No Gentil Christians, whether converted immediatly by *Paul* himself, or by some of his assistants or fellow-laborers, could be ignorant of it. Nor could *Paul* doubt, whether they knew it. Nevertheless he might judge it proper to hint these things, the more to confirm the instructions, and exhortations, which he sent them, and to secure their steadiness in the faith and profession of the pure gospel of Christ, as they had been taught. And does he not speak more largely, and more distinctly of this matter, in his epistle to the *Galatians*, whom none ever denied to be the Apostle's converts? Gal. i. 11. . . . 20. *But I certify you, brethren, πρωτίως δὲ ὑμῖν, that the gospel, which was preached of me, is not after men. . . . For ye have heard of my conversation in time past. . . . But it pleased God. . . . to reveal his Son in me. . . . Now the things, which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lye not.* These things the *Galatians* were not ignorant of. But in his epistle he reminds them of them, and in a very solemn manner.

The writers, from whom this objection was taken, speak of the *Ephesians* having heard the Apostle preach a thousand times, and ask: *Could the Apostle suppose, that they who heard him preach a thousand times, could need to understand his knowledge of the mysterie of Christ, from what he said in a few verses, or even from the whole of this short epistle?* But those expressions appear to me very strong, and even unjustifiable: though they are warranted by (r) *Mill*, whom those learned men follow.

He and they seem to conceive of the Christians at *Ephesus*, as a small society, consisting perhaps of two or three hundred people. And they speak,

(r) *Quomodo convenit hoc civibus Ephesinis, qui sexcentis predicantem audierant Apostolum?* *Mill. prol. num. 72.*

ſpeak, as if they ſuppoſed that church to have been formed and planted before the Apoſtle came thither, or very ſoon after his arrival : and that they had all heard him preach once at leaſt every day of the three years, that he reſided in that city. How elſe could they think, that the Chriſtians at *Ephesus* had heard *Paul* preach a *thouſand times* ? He ſays indeed to their Elders at Miletus, *Acts* xx. 31. *that for the ſpace of three years he had not ceaſed to warn every one night and day with tears.* For certain, the Apoſtle was very diligent in making converts, and in confirming the believers there. But converſions were made gradually, not all at once, as is evident from the account, which we have of *Paul's* preaching at *Ephesus*, in the xix. chapter of the *Acts*. Where alſo *St. Luke* obſerves, at ver. 10. *that all they which dwelt in Aſia, heard the word of the Lord Jeſus, both Jews and Greeks.* This may lead us to think, that *Paul* had many converts in ſeveral parts of *Aſia*. Some of theſe may have ſeen, and heard the Apoſtle at *Ephesus*, once only, or however not often. To all theſe the epiſtle to the *Ephesians* was ſent. The inſcription, *to the ſaints and faithful at Ephesus*, the chief city, would comprehend all the believers in the country. And ſome converts may have been made, ſince the Apoſtle was there. However, though it ſhould be allowed, that moſt of theſe Chriſtians had heard the Apoſtle often, the reading of this epiſtle might be of great uſe to them. For it is an excellent epiſtle, as all muſt allow, and not inferior to the moſt admired of *St. Paul's* writings.

I have now conſidered the firſt, and, as I ſuppoſe, the principal objection.

2. Obj. It is ſaid, “ that in all *St. Paul's* epiſtles, writ to particular churches, there is ſome peculiar caſe mentioned, reſpecting each church, that ſeems to be one reaſon at leaſt for writing to them. Which is alſo obſerved in his epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, whom he there cautions againſt the worſhip of angels.”

I answer. That is a juſt obſervation. And the ſame may be found in *Jerome's* preface to his Commentarie upon this epiſtle to the *Ephesians*. Where he ſays : As (s) the bleſſed *John* in the Revelation, writing to the ſeven churches, either reproves the faults, or commends the virtues of each : ſo likewise, he ſays, does the Apoſtle *Paul* in his epiſtles. And he ſuppoſeth this epiſtle to have been writ to the Chriſtians at *Ephesus*, and to be ſuited to their caſe.

But we are not to expect, that even an Apoſtle ſhould censure, and find fault, where there is little, or no occaſion for it. It becomes him to own the good temper and conduct of any church that deſerves it. And what church could be ſo likely to deſerve mild treatment, as the church at *Ephesus*, which had had ſo much of the Apoſtle's preſence, and of his favorite

(s) Neceſſe eſt enim, ut juxta diverſitates locorum, et temporum, et hominum, quibus ſcriptæ ſunt, diverſas et cauſas, et argumenta, et origines habeant. Et quomodo beatus Johannes in Apocalypſi ſua ad ſeptem ſcribens eccleſias, in unaquaque earum ſpecialia vel vitia reprehendit, vel virtutes probat : ita et ſanctus Apoſtolus Paulus per ſingulas eccleſias vulneribus medetur illatis, nec ad inſtar imperiti Medici uno collyrio omnium oculos vult curare. *Pr. i. in ep. ad Eph. T. 4. p. 320.*

vorite disciple *Timothie*, upon whom he has bestowed so great commendations? 1 Cor. iv. 17. xvi. 16. Philip. ii. 19. . . 22. and who undoubtedly would be faithful and diligent, where he was sent occasionally only, or where he was stationed for a while. This was the case here. I suppose, that *Timothie* was left at *Ephesus*, when *Paul* went up to *Jerusalem*. There he continued, till after the Apostle's arrival at *Rome*, and after the writing of this epistle to the *Ephesians*, of which we are now speaking. Moreover, as is well known, when *Paul* was going up to *Jerusalem*, he delivered, at *Miletus*, a most pathetic charge to the Elders of that church, and to *Timothie*, with them, as I suppose. See Acts xx. 17. . . 38. particularly 28. . . 31. Which certainly must have excited all to faithfulness and zeal in the performance of their duty. Indeed he says: *I know, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock.* There would arise men, that would endeavour to devour, and lay waste the church of *Ephesus*. Nevertheless, I think, these earnest warnings of the Apostle must have been of great use to defeat the designs of such evil men: so that they should not be able to do much mischief there, at least for some while.

And says the Apostle ver. 31. *Watch, and remember, that by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one of you night and day with tears.* This the Apostle does again very suitably in this epistle, in divers places, which cannot be overlooked, nor passed by us here. So Eph. iv. 1. *I therefore the prisoner of the Lord beseech you, that ye walk worthie of the vocation, wherewith ye are called.* . . . ver. 17. *This I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentils,* and what follows. So also ch. v. 1. . . . And vi. 12. . . . 17. These warnings have, probably, a respect to temptations, which the *Ephesians* might meet with from their Heathen and Idolatrous neighbours, and from deceitfull and artfull men among Christians. To such things as these *Jerome* supposed *Paul* to have an eye in this (t) epistle.

And these written warnings, as well as others, seem to have had a good effect. The church of *Ephesus* appears to have behaved commendably for a good while. This may be collected from Rev. ii. 1. . . . 6. And *Ignatius* at the begining of his epistle to them says, ch. vi. "And indeed *Onesimus* himself does greatly commend your good order in God: that you all live according to truth, and that no heresie dwells among you." And ch. ix. "I have heard of some, who have passed by you, having perverse doctrine: whom you did not suffer to sow among you." And to the like purpose in other places of that epistle.

3. Obj. It is said, "that *Timothie's* name is not mentioned in the introduction to this epistle: though it is found in the beginning of the epistle to the *Colessians*, and that to *Philemon*.
" Hence

(t) Scribebat ad Ephesios Dianam colentes. . . . Scribebat autem ad metropolim Asiæ civitatem, in qua ita idololatria. . . . et artium magicarum præstigie viguerant. . . . Hæc ideo univèrsâ replicavimus, ut ostenderemus, quare Apostolus in hac vel potissimum epistola obscuros sensus, et ignota seculis sacramenta congesserit: et de sanctarum contrariarumque virtutum docuerit potestate: qui sint dæmones, quid valeant. . . . De quibus ait: *Non est nobis pugna adversum carnem et sanguinem, sed adversum principatus et potestates.* — Hieron. ubi supr. p. 322.

“ Hence it is argued, that *Timothie* was unknown to all, or most of the church, to whom this epistle was written. Consequently it was not sent to the church of *Ephesus*, where *Timothie* was well known.”

In answer to which I would say, *first*, that I can see no reason, why *St. Paul* should scruple to put *Timothie's* name at the begining of an epistle, writ to Christians, with whom *Timothie* was not personally acquainted. *Secondly*. There can be no reason to doubt, that *Timothie* was as well known to the Christians at *Laodicea*, as at *Colosse*. *Thirdly*. Therefore there must have been some other reason for omitting the name of *Timothie* at the begining of this epistle. *Fourthly*, that reason presently offers, and probably was this, that at writing this epistle *Timothie* was not with the Apostle at *Rome*. I think, *Timothie* was now at *Ephesus*. How then could his name be placed at the begining of an epistle writ to the *Ephesians* from *Rome*?

4. Obj. “ At *Philippi* the church was settled with fixed officers, before the Apostle wrote. And therefore he directs his epistle not only to the Christians in general there, but to the Bishops and Deacons. But there is no such thing here: though the church of *Ephesus* had evidently such officers, before the writing of this epistle. See Acts xx. 17.”

To which I answer, that there must have been fixed officers in many churches, beside that at *Philippi*. Says *St. Luke* in his account of the peregrination of *Paul* and *Barnabas* in several places: Acts xiv. 21. . . 23. they returned again to *Lystra*, and *Iconium*, and *Antioch*, [in *Pisidia*,] confirming the souls of the disciples. . . . And when they had ordained them Elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed. Says *Beza* upon this text: “ In (u), every church they ordained Elders, that is, Pastors and Deacons, and other officers.” From what is said here *Luke* leads us to conclude, what was done elsewhere. It was not needful to mention such things every where. But very probably there were church-officers fixed in all the churches in no long time after they were planted, and particularly, in *Greece*, and *Macedonia*. From *St. Paul's* epistle we know, that there were Bishops and Deacons at *Philippi*, though not mentioned by *St. Luke* in his historie of the Apostle's preaching there. Acts xvi. 12. . . . 40. *Beza* concludes from 1 Thess. v. 27. that (b) there were fixed officers in the church at *Thessalonica*. And it is very manifest from ver. 12. and 13. of that chapter: And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you: and to esteem them very highly in love, for their work's sake. *St. Paul* says to *Titus* ch. i. 5. For this cause left I thee in *Crete*, that thou shouldest set in order the things

(u) *Per singulas ecclesias*, κατ' ἐκκλησίαν. Sic antea dixit *Lucas* κατ' ὄκον, pro domatim *Presbyteros*, id est, Pastores et Diaconos, et alios ecclesiæ gubernationi præfectos. Hic enim, ut alibi sæpe, generaliter accipitur *Presbyteri* nomen. *Bez.* in *Act.* xiv. 23.

(b) *Vos ἡμᾶς*. Hinc apparet, mitti solitas fuisse apostolicas epistolas presbyterio, ad quod hæc abjuratio et præcedentes duo vericuli proprie pertineant: quoniam alioqui absurda esset hæc petitio, si ad totum ecclesiæ cœtum referretur. *Bez.* in 1 Th. v. 27.

things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every city, as I appointed thee. Whenever Paul was in Crete, it is reasonable to think, that he made there but a short stay. Nevertheless before he left that island, he had given orders to Titus, to ordain Elders in every city. And not long after coming thence he wrote to him an epistle with particular directions for that purpose. Before Paul left Ephesus, it is likely, that he had ordained several Elders in that city, and in the district of Asia. And yet he afterwards wrote to Timothy, giving him directions concerning the qualifications of such persons, that he might make a farther supplie, where it was wanting. Which must induce us to think, that the Apostle was not willing, that any churches should be destitute of fit guides and instructors for any long time after they had been planted. St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians is inscribed to the churches of Galatia, without any mention of Bishops, or Deacons. And yet there must have been there men of that character. St. Peter writes to the Christians in Galatia, and other neighboring parts, and sends an admonition to such, 1 Pet. v. 1. 2. *The Elders which are among you I exhort. . . . Feed the flock of God, which is among you.* And from the epistle itself it may be concluded with certainty, that there were fixed officers in the churches of Galatia, though they are not mentioned in the inscription. For so St. Paul directs, ch. vi. 6. *Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things.* There is no notice taken of any Elders in the inscriptions of either of St. Paul's epistles to the Corinthians. And yet there must have been such officers in that church. Clement of Rome, in the first centurie, in his epistle to the Corinthians, speaking of the Apostles, says, ch. xlii. "They went abroad, publishing the good tidings, that the kingdom of God was at hand. And preaching in countreys and cities, they (c) appointed their first-fruits, having first proved them by the Spirit, to be Bishops and Deacons of those who should believe." And afterwards in ch. xliv. "Wherefore we cannot think, that they may be justly cast out of their ministrie, who (d) were either appointed by them, [the Apostles,] or were afterwards chosen by other eminent men with the consent of the whole church." . . . So writes Clement. And thus he bears witness to two things. First, that this was the general method of the Apostles. And, secondly, he assures us, particularly, that this had been done in the church of Corinth. About which, I suppose, he could not be mistaken. There must therefore have been fixed officers in the churches of Thessalonica, Corinth, and Galatia: though St. Paul has taken no particular notice of them in the inscriptions of his epistles. It cannot then be any just exception against this epistle having been sent to the Ephesians, because their Bishops or Elders are not named. For it was a common thing with the Apostle, to inscribe his epistles to the churches, or saints, of such a place, without any particular notice of their officers, though there were men of that character among them. I have mentioned above St. Paul's epistles to the Thessalonians, the Corinthians, and the Galatians. To them might be added the epistle

(c) . . . καθίστασαν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πεισέναι.

(d) Τὰς οὖν καταθετίτας ὑπ' ἐκείνων. κ. λ.

epistle to the *Colossians*. For that also is inscribed to the saints, and faithful brethren, in Christ, which are at *Colosse*. And yet there must have been Elders in that church. One is mentioned, whose name is *Archippus*. However, it is in this manner only. Col. iv. 17. And say to *Archippus*: Take heed to the ministrie, which thou hast received of the Lord, that thou fulfill it. Nor does the Apostle send his salutations to the church in *Laodicea* by him, in particular, but by the saints, to whom the epistle is inscribed. See ch. iv. 15. Once more, *Timothie*, as is generally allowed, was at *Ephesus* when St. Paul wrote to him those two epistles, which we have. When the first was writ, there must have been some Elders in that church, and yet more at the time of writing the second. It cannot be contested by any. Nevertheless no salutations are sent to the Elders of *Ephesus*, in either of those epistles.

5. Obj. "If this epistle was sent to the *Ephesians*, it may be thought very strange, that St. Paul should not salute any of his friends there, where he had many friends and acquaintance."

But I cannot perceive this to be of much weight. There is no epistle of St. Paul that has so many salutations in it, as that to the *Romans*, whom he had never seen. There are no salutations of particular persons at the end of the first epistle to *Timothie* who was then at *Ephesus*. I suppose *Timothie* to have been in the same city likewise, when Paul wrote his second epistle to him. Nevertheless there are in it no particular salutations, except those in ch. iv. 19. Salute *Prisca and Aquila, and the household of Onesiphorus*. *Tychicus* went with this epistle to the *Ephesians*. And what is said ch. vi. 21. . . 23. would be instead of many particular salutations, and fully answer the end. For *Tychicus* is there required to make known unto them all things, and to comfort their hearts. I might add, that no particular persons are saluted by name in either of the epistles to the *Thessalonians*, nor in the epistle to the *Galatians*, nor in that to *Titus*, excepting only *Titus* himself, to whom the epistle is sent.

6. Obj. Mr. *Wetstein* says, "that (e) the epistle to the *Ephesians* is writ to Gentils, whereas the church at *Ephesus* consisted chiefly of Jews."

I answer: That the epistle, called to the *Ephesians*, is writ to Gentils, or to such chiefly, is allowed, and is very manifest. And it seems to me very evident, from the historie, which we have of St. Paul's preaching at *Ephesus*, in the book of the Acts, that the Apostle's chief harvest there was from among the Gentils. For a while indeed he taught in the synagogue. But the behaviour of the Jews obliged him to withdraw. Whereupon he preached in another place. And I should conclude from what is in Acts xix. 17. . . 40. that the Apostle had many more converts there among Gentils, than Jews.

7. Obj. "It is argued from Col. iv. 16. that this epistle was sent to the *Laodiceans*. For St. Paul says there: And when this epistle is read among you, or has been read among you, cause, that it be read also in the church of the *Laodiceans*: and that ye likewise read the epistle from *Laodicea*.

Hereby,

(e) Imprimis vero observandum, cum ecclesia Ephesina ex Judæis potissimum collecta fuerit. Act. xviii. 19. 21. 24. 25. xix. 9. 10. 17. xx. 21. Apoc. ii. 2. 7. eam, ad quam hæc epistola scripta est, non ex Judæis, sed ex Gentilibus fuisse congregatam. *Weist. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 239.*

Hereby, as is argued, must be intended the epistle called to the *Ephesians*, but really sent to the *Laodiceans*. For says *Mill* (f), and likewise others after him, this epistle called to the *Ephesians*, and the epistle to the *Colossians*, were both sent by the same messenger, and at the same time."

To which I answer, that if the epistle, called to the *Ephesians*, be the epistle intended by the Apostle, and sent at the same time with that to the *Colossians*; it is manifest, that it was not sent to the *Laodiceans*. This may be concluded from what is said to the *Colossians*, ch. iv. 15. *Salute the brethren, which are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church which is in his house.* This plainly shews, that there was not now any epistle sent to the *Laodiceans*. If there had, there would have been no occasion for the Apostle to send this order to the *Colossians*. For it is impossible to write a letter to any persons, or societies, without saluting them, or doing somewhat that is equivalent. And it is manifest, that in the epistle inscribed to the *Ephesians*, the Christians, to whom it is sent, are saluted. Particularly ch. i. 1. 2. and vi. 21. 22. 23. This has appeared evident to learned men of the first rank, and different communions. So (g) *Baronius*, and *Tillemont*. This last says, "that (h) since St. Paul orders the *Colossians* to salute those of *Laodicea* in his name; it is a certain sign, that he did not write to them at that time." *Du Pin* says: "If (i) St. Paul had writ at the same time to the *Laodiceans*, he would not have charged the *Colossians* to salute them in his name." And *James Basnage*: "St. (k) Paul did not then write to the *Laodiceans*, since he salutes them in his letter to the church of *Colosse*." The acute and honest Mr. *Peirce*, though much inclined to *Mill*'s opinion concerning this epistle, saw this difficulty, and owned it. "But I have one objection, says he, which I cannot so easily get over. And were it not for that, I might fully agree with him. My objection is, that it seems highly improbable, that St. Paul should send his salutations to the *Laodiceans*, in the epistle which he wrote to the *Colossians*, in case he had sent that epistle to the *Laodiceans* by the same messenger."

I am

(f) Quidni igitur scripta fuerit ad Laodicenses? . . . Sane per eundem nuncium missa erat hæc epistola, per quem delata erat epistola ad Colossenses, Tythicum scilicet, nec non eodem tempore. *Mill. Prol. num. 74.*

(g) Sane nullam eidem tabellario ad Laodicenses fuisse a Paulo datam epistolam, satis constat: dum in ea, quam tum scripsit ad Colossenses, salutari mandat eos, qui *Laodiceæ* essent fideles, sic dicens: *Salutate fratres, qui sunt Laodiceæ. . . .* Libentius igitur Chrysostomo ac Theodoro in hæremus, quam ceteris, ut nulla a Paulo scripta fuerit epistola ad Laodicenses. *Baron. ann. 60. num. xiii.*

(h) Et puisque S. Paul ordonne aux Colossiens de saluer de sa part ceux de Laodicée, c'est un marque indubitable, qu'il ne leur écrivit point alors. *S. Paul. note 69. Mem. Ec. Tom. i.*

(i) En effet, si saint Paul eût écrit en même temps aux Laodicéens, il n'eût pas chargé les Colossiens, de les saluer de sa part. *Diff. Prel. l. 2. ch. 2. 2. §. viii.*

(k) S. Paul n'écrivoit pas alors aux Laodicéens, puisqu'il leur fait une salutation dans la lettre à l'Eglise de Colosse. *Basn. Hist. de l'Eglise. l. 8. ch. 3. n. iii.*

I am not unwilling to allow, that the epistle spoken of in the later part of verse 16. of ch. iv. to the *Colossians*, is our epistle to the *Ephesians* : and that ye likewise read the epistle from *Laodicea* : that is, the epistle, that is to come to you from *Laodicea*. So the place is rendered in the French Testament of *Lenfant* and *Beaufobre* : and (1) *cause likewise to be read among you that which the Laodiceans will send to you*. And their note is this : “ that (m) from *Laodicea* : that is to say, that which will come to you from *Laodicea*. For the original has that sense.”

If the epistle to the *Ephesians* was sent away by the Apostle at the same time with those to the *Colossians*, and to *Philemon* : I should think, that *Tychicus* went first to *Ephesus*, and there left the epistle to the *Ephesians*, with an order, that it should be forwarded to *Laodicea*, and so to *Colosse*. *Tychicus* having left that letter at *Ephesus*, went forward with *Onesimus* to *Colosse* : where they delivered the epistles to *Philemon*, and the *Colossians*. And then I suppose, that *Tychicus*'s commission was at an end. He had no order to go to *Laodicea*. The Apostle's salutations to the brethren at *Laodicea* were to be taken care of by the *Colossians*.

But I rather think, as before shewn, that the epistle to the *Ephesians* was writ very soon after the Apostle's arrival at *Rome*, and then carried to *Ephesus* by *Tychicus*. And when *Tychicus* went now in the second year of the Apostle's imprisonment, with these epistles to the *Colossians*, and *Philemon* ; he came ashore at *Ephesus*, and there left express orders, that the epistle, formerly sent to them, should be soon forwarded by them to *Laodicea*, and so to *Colosse*. Having so done, he went, as before said, with *Onesimus* to *Colosse* : where they joyned in delivering the letters to *Philemon*, and the church at *Colosse*. And now the commission of *Tychicus* was at an end.

8. Obj. Once more, it is observed by learned men, “ that *Marcion* said, this epistle was writ to the *Laodiceans*, or called this the epistle “ to the *Laodiceans*.”

To which I answer, first, *Humphrey Hody* denied that (n) *Marcion* reckoned the epistle called to the *Ephesians* to have been writ to the *Laodiceans*. And indeed this point seems to lye in great obscurity. Nor is it said by any one, beside *Tertullian*, that I know of.

Secondly,

(1) Et faites lire de même parmi vous celle que les *Laodicéens* vous enverront.

(m) Gr. celle de *Laodicée*, c'est à dire, celle qui vous viendra de *Laodicée*. Car l'original a ce sens là.

(n) Decem tantum epistolas Pauli, cum particulis quibusdam ex epistola ad *Laod.* . . . recepit *Marcion* hæreticus, quas librum Apostolicum inscripsit. De ceteris scripturarum libris nullum agnovit, præter Evangelium *Lucæ*, illudque mutilatum. Epistolas etiam, quas recepit *Paulinas*, mutilavit vitavitque. . . . *Simonius* in *Hist. Crit. N. T.* cap. 15. contendit, *Marcionem* nullam epist. ad *Laod.* recepisse, sed epistolam ad *Ephesios*, falso inscripisse ad *Laodiceos*. Sed in hoc *Epiphanius* falli non potuit, qui in Apostolico *Marcionis* recenset epistolam ad *Ephesios* loco 7. mo. et illam ad *Laodiceos* loco xi. mo, *πρὸς λαοδικεῖς ια'*. Ideo vero dicit *Tertullianus* contra *Marc.* 1. 5. cap. xi. *Epistolam quam nos ad Ephesios præscriptam habemus, a Marcione ad Laodiceos inscriptam fuisse*, quoniam locus qui ex Epistola ad *Laodiceos* a *Marcione* adductus est, in epistola ad *Ephesios* exstabat. Quod etiam observat *Epiphanius*. *Hod. de Bibl. text. origin.* p. 664.

Secondly, Suppose *Marcion* to have affirmed this, what does it avail? *Grotius* says, in his preface to this epistle, "*Marcion* (o) called this the epistle to the *Laodiceans*. Nor was there any reason, why he should falsify in this matter." And to the like purpose others. To which I answer: Catholic writers of the same time, and since, call this the epistle to the *Ephesians*. Nor is there any reason, why they should falsify. Yea the same is said, not only by all Catholics, but likewise by all heretics in general. Let *Marcion's* credit be ever so good, this is a sufficient answer. For what interest had the Catholics to falsify here? If *Marcion* said, this epistle was sent to the *Laodiceans*, he must have been mistaken. We are assured, that what he said is false, from the unanimous testimonie of numerous men, who had no interest to deceive, and could not be deceived.

But *Marcion's* credit is very little in such an affair as this. The same writer, who speaks of *Marcion's* (p) calling this the epistle to the *Laodiceans*, I mean *Tertullian*, does also let us know, that (q) *Marcion* rejected the epistles of *Paul* to *Timothie*, and *Titus*. And chargeth (r) him with altering the text of scripture, openly employing a knife, not a stile. And speaks particularly of his leaving out texts (s) in the epistle to the *Romans*. Will any say, that *Marcion* had good reason for so doing? or that all this was owing to his superior care and judgement above other Christians? For my own part, I think not. And if he said, that this epistle was writ to the *Laodiceans*, not to the *Ephesians*, he was mistaken at least. He had not, and could not have any good reason for it.

Mill (t) and other learned men after him, in defending their opinion concerning this epistle, magnify the care and exactnesse of *Marcion*. "He flourished, they say, in the begining of the second centurie, and "lived at *Sinope*, in *Paphlagonia*, which was in *Asia Minor* as well as "*Laodicea*. And he affirmed, that the epistle called to the *Ephesians* was "actually an epistle to the *Laodiceans*. Most probably, he had heard so "from such as knew the fact, and could inform him: or rather, had seen "some of the manuscripts, which gave it that title."

But all this is said without any ground. Such suppositions are easily made. But there is no proof of the truth of them. If there is any credit to be given to what the ancients say of *Marcion*, he must have been a very rash, and arbitrarie, and careless critic: provided he at all deserved the name of a critic. And if he thought, this epistle to have been writ
to

(o) *Marcion* hanc epistolam vocat ad *Laodicenses*, ex fide, ut credibile est, ecclesiæ *Laodicensis*. Nam cur in ea re mentiretur, nihil erat caussæ. *Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Eph.*

(p) *Tertull. adv. Marc. l. 5. cap. xi.*

(q) Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad *Timotheum* duas, et unam ad *Titum*, de ecclesiastico statu compositas, recu-saverit. *Adv. Marcion. l. 5. cap. ult. p. 615.*

(r) *Marcion* enim ex certo et palam machæra, non stilo usus est: quoniam ad materiam suam cædem scripturarum confecit. *Id. de Præsc. Her. cap. 38.*

(s) Quantas autem foveas in ista vel maxime epistola *Marcion* fecerit, auferendo quæ voluit, de nostri instrumenti integritate patebit. *Adv. Marc. l. 5. cap. 13.*

(t) Sed omnino verisimile est, *Marcionem*, qui *Sinope* aliquamdiu agebat, haud procul a *Laodicea*, sive ex popularium suorum traditione, seu etiam auctoritate exemplarium quorundam, hanc epistolam tanquam ad *Laodicenses* scriptam citasse. *Mill. Prol. num. 78.*

to the *Laodiceans*; it is likely, he took up that opinion without much inquirie, or examination, and without sufficient reason, and, perhaps, without assigning any.

Jerome (u) speaking of *Marcion* and *Basilides*, who, as he says, were not friendly to the Old Testament, and altered the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament, and rejected both the epistles to *Timothie*, and the epistle to *Titus*, and that to the *Hebrews*, he adds: "And if they assigned any reasons, why they did not reckon these epistles to be the Apostle's, we should endeavour to make an answer, and perhaps might say, what would be sufficient to satisfy the reader. But now since with heretical authority they pronounce, and say, this epistle is *Paul's*, and that not: they may be fitly answered on the side of truth, in the same manner, that they assert falsehood."

And *Tertullian* having spoken of *Marcion's* admitting the genuinenesse of the epistle to *Philemon*, adds: "Nevertheless (x) I wonder, that when he receives an epistle to one man, he should reject two to *Timothie*, and one to *Titus*, which treat of the government of the church. He had a mind, I suppose, to alter also the number of the epistles:" that is, as he had done of the Gospels. Which passage, as the reader may remember, was quoted by us (y) formerly.

It hence appears, that *Tertullian* knew not, why *Marcion* rejected the epistles to *Timothie* and *Titus*. He knew, that *Marcion* rejected those three epistles. But he was not aware of his having assigned any reasons for so doing. Which shews, I think, that *Marcion* acted arbitrarily in such things, as these.

Indeed *Tertullian* speaking of *Marcion's* attempting, or designing to alter the inscription of the epistle to the *Ephesians*, useth this expression: "as if he had made more than common enquiries about it (z)." But I suppose *Tertullian* to speak by way of ironie, and sarcastically: not allowing *Marcion* uncommon diligence and exactnesse, but intimating, that a man, who acted thus, should be very carefull to be rightly informed.

All

(u) Licet non sint digni fide, qui fidem primam irritam fecerunt, Marcionem loquor et Basilidem, et omnes hæreticos, qui vetus laniant testamentum: tamen eos aliqua ex parte ferreamus, si saltem in novo continerent manus suas, et non auderent Christi. . . . vel Evangelistas violare, vel Apostolos. Nunc vero cum Evangelia ejus Christi dissipaverint, et Apostolorum epistolas non Apostolorum Christi fecerunt esse, sed proprias, miror, quomodo sibi Christianorum nomen audeant vindicare. Ut enim de ceteris epistolis taceam, de quibus quicquid contrarium suo dogmati viderant, eraserunt, nonnullas integras repudiandas crediderunt: ad Timotheum videlicet utramque, ad Hebræos, et ad Titum, quam nunc conamur exponere. Et si quidem redderent causas, cur eas Apostoli non putarent, tentaremus aliquid respondere, et forsitan satisfacere lectori. Nunc vero quum hæretica auctoritate pronunciant, et dicant: Illa epistola Pauli est, hæc non est; ea auctoritate refelli se pro veritate intelligant, qua ipsi non erubescunt falsa simulare. *Hieron. Pr. Adv. in ep. ad Tit. T. 4. p. 407.*

(x) Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, at unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas, recusaverit. Adfectavit, opinor, etiam numerum epistolarum interpolare. *Marcion. l. 5. cap. ult. p. 615. D.*

(y) See *Vol. ii. p. 596.* See also here, *p. 350. not. (q).*

(z) See below. note (b).

All this I have said in the way of a general answer to the argument, taken from the supposed opinion of *Marcion*. I will now more particularly inquire, what *Marcion* said, and did, and what might be the ground and reason of his opinion, and conduct. And I think, there are but two writers, from whom we can receive any information, *Tertullian*, and *Epiphanius*.

The first is *Tertullian*. “ I (a) pass by another epistle, says he, which “ we have inscribed to the *Ephesians*, but heretics to the *Laodiceans*.”

Afterwards: “ According (b) to the true testimonie of the church, we “ suppose that epistle to have been sent to the *Ephesians*. But *Marcion* “ once had a mind to alter the title, as if he had made a very diligent “ inquirie into that matter. But the title is of no importance, since the “ Apostle wrote to all, when he wrote to some.”

I hope, I have rightly translated the word *gestiit*. I think it meaneth, *had a mind to*, or *was inclined*, or shewed an inclination so to do.

By these passages of *Tertullian* we are assured, *first*, that this epistle, which was in the hands of Catholic Christians, was, in all it's copies, inscribed to the *Ephesians*. And *Tertullian* was persuaded, that it was the true testimonie, or tradition of the church from the beginning.

Secondly, in the first of these passages *Tertullian* says, that heretics called this the epistle to the *Laodiceans*: by *heretics* meaning, as I suppose, *Marcion*, and his followers.

Thirdly, *Tertullian* says, that once, or upon some occasion, *Marcion* had a mind to alter the title of this epistle.

Here it may be questioned, whether by *title* be meant what we call a running title, affixed to the epistle, or the inscription, which makes a part of the epistle, and is inserted at the beginning of it. I rather think, this last to be intended. But take it either way, *Tertullian* supposed, that *Marcion* had in his copies the same title, or inscription with the Catholics, that is, *to the Ephesians*, or *at Ephesus*. Nor does *Tertullian* say, that *Marcion* ever inserted the inscription, *to the Laodiceans*, in any of his copies. It seems to me, that he did not.

Consequently, what *Tertullian* says, is, that *Marcion*, and his followers, sometimes at least, called this the epistle to the *Laodiceans*, and perhaps quoted it by that title. But he had not in his copies any title, or inscription, different from that of the Catholics. *Marcion* gave out, that the epistle, called by the Catholics *to the Ephesians*, was writ to the *Laodiceans*. He affirmed this to be right, and that the Catholics were in the wrong in calling it an epistle to the *Ephesians*. For he was persuaded, it was writ to the *Laodiceans*.

I think, this is the most, that is said by *Tertullian*, or that can be collected from him. Yea, it seems to me, that I have in a strong manner represented the whole of what is said by him.

I now

(a) Prætereo hic, et de alia epistola, quam nos ad Ephesios præscriptam habemus, hæretici vero ad Laodiceños. *Tertull. adv. Marcion. l. 5. cap. xi.*

(b) Ecclesiæ quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodiceños. Sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in illo diligentissimus exploratur. Nihil autem de titulo interest, cum ad omnes Apostolus scripserit, dum ad singulos. *Ib. cap. xvii. p. 607.*

I now proceed to *Epiphanius*, who says, “that (c) *Marcion* received only ten epistles of *Paul*. They are these. The first is that to the *Galatians*, the second is the first to the *Corinthians*, the third is the second to the *Corinthians*, the fourth that to the *Romans*, the fifth is the first to the *Thessalonians*, the sixth the second to the *Thessalonians*, the seventh is that to the *Ephesians*, the eighth to the *Colossians*, the ninth to *Philemon*, the tenth to the *Philippians*. He has also some parts of an epistle to the *Laodiceans*.” So *Epiphanius*.

It is well known, that *Marcion* had an Evangelicon, and an Apostolicon, or a Gospel and an Apostle. In the former, as is generally said, he had *St. Luke's* Gospel only. But concerning the truth of that account I make no inquiries now. Our concern at present is with *St. Paul's* epistles only. And *Epiphanius* here expressly says, that *Marcion* received ten, and placed them in the order, in which they are rehearsed above. He likewise says, that *Marcion* had some parts of an epistle to the *Laodiceans*. And he quotes, as from him, those words, which are in *Eph. iv. 5. 6.* after this manner: One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one Christ, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all. Having so done, he says: “Nor (d) did the unhappy *Marcion* think fit to take that passage from the epistle to the *Ephesians*, but from the epistle to the *Laodiceans*, which is not the Apostle's.”

This account of *Epiphanius* led *H. Hody* to say, that *Marcion* received eleven epistles of *St. Paul*. *James Basnage* was of the same opinion. He says: “It (e) has been conjectured by some, that *Marcion* con- founded the epistle to the *Laodiceans* with that to the *Ephesians*. . . . “But that conjecture cannot be maintained. For he distinguished two epistles of *St. Paul*, one to the *Ephesians*, and another to the *Laodiceans*. And *Epiphanius* reproacheth him, because he rather chose to take his passage from the epistle to the *Laodiceans*, which was not *Paul's*, than from the epistle to the *Ephesians*, where are the same words.”

And indeed, I apprehend, that if we had *Epiphanius* only, many might be of the same opinion. But comparing him and *Tertullian*, and examining carefully the whole article of *Epiphanius*, I think, it must appear more

(c) Ἐχὺ δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολὰς παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγίῳ ἀποστόλῃ δέκα, αἷς μόναις κέχρηται. Αἱ δὲ ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ παρ' αὐτῷ λεγόμεναι εἰσι πρώτη μὲν πρὸς γαλατάς. . . ἐδύμη πρὸς ἐφεσίους, ὀγδοὴ πρὸς κολασσείας. . . Ἐχὺ δὲ ἡ πρὸς λαοδικεῖας λεγομένης μέση. *Epiph. H. 42. num. ix. p. 310.*

(d) Οὐ γὰρ ἔδοξε τῷ ἐλεεινοτάτῳ μαρκιῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς ἐφεσίς τὴν αὐτὴν τὴν μαρτυρίαν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς λαοδικεῖας, τῆς μὴ ἔσσης ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ. *H. 42. p. 375. in.*

(e) *Marcion* l'a citée. Il en tiroit même quelque preuve pour son heresie. On a conjecturé, qu'il la confondoit avec celle des *Ephesiens*. . . Mais cette conjecture ne peut se soutenir, parceque *Marcion* distinguoit deux lettres de *S. Paul*, l'une aux *Ephesiens*, l'autre aux *Laodicéens*. Et *S. Epiphane* lui fait une espece de reproche, de ce qu'il a mieux aimé tirer son passage de l'epistre aux *Laodicéens*, qui n'étoit point de *S. Paul*, que de celle aux *Ephesiens*, dans laquelle on trouvoit les memes paroles. *J. Basn. Hist. de l'Egl. l. 8. ch. 3. num. iiii.*

more probable, that *Marcion* did sometimes quote the epistle to the *Ephesians*, as if it had been sent to the *Laodiceans*. Nor can I perceive any good reason to think, that any letter to the *Laodiceans* was forged so early, as the time of *Marcion*.

And now I would observe, that *Epiphanius* seems to have been well acquainted with *Marcion's* Apostolicon. For he (f) had read his writings, and composed a treatise against him, called *Scholion*, or *Scholia*, which he inserted, somewhat altered, in his article of the *Marcionites*, in his large work, called the *Panarium*, which we have.

Having observed this, I say, that from *Epiphanius* it appears, that in *Marcion's* Apostolicon the epistle to the *Ephesians* was entitled, and inscribed to them, as it was in the copies of the Catholics. And all the difference between the Catholics and him, upon this head, was, that he sometimes quoted this epistle, as writ to the *Laodiceans*. *Epiphanius*, who had seen *Marcion's* Apostolicon, found therein ten epistles, all inscribed, as in the Catholic copies. One of which, and the seventh in order, was that to the *Ephesians*. However, in one place of *Marcion's* works, and (g) but one, he had seen a passage of the epistle to the *Ephesians* quoted, as from an epistle to the *Laodiceans*.

Some such thing, as this, induced *Tertullian*, a man of a violent temper, to say: "I pass by another epistle, which we have inscribed to the *Ephesians*, but heretics to the *Laodiceans*." However, from *Tertullian*, as before shewn, it appears, that in *Marcion's* copies of this epistle it had the same title, as in the Catholic copies, and that he never altered the inscription. And thus *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius* agree. For from this last likewise we plainly perceive, that in *Marcion's* Apostolicon was the epistle to the *Ephesians*: but not exactly in the same order, as with the Catholics.

And thus, if I mistake not, *Marcion* himself confirms the common reading at the beginning of this epistle. And this recompense we have of our diligent inquisition into this affair. So it often happens. Opposition made to truth is the means of establishing it.

This opinion of the case may be farther justified by two considerations, which perhaps deserve to be mentioned. One is, that there is no notice taken of this affair by any other writers, beside *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius*. *Jerome*, and many others, who often speak of *Marcion*, and his principles, say nothing of it. It is therefore very probable, that his inscription of the epistle to the *Ephesians* was the same, as in the Catholic copies. If not, his alteration here, as well as in other places, would have been observed. The other is, that all those, called heretics, so far as we know, had this epistle inscribed to the *Ephesians*. The *Manicheans* agreed with *Marcion* in divers of his peculiarities. Nevertheless, in their copies this epistle was inscribed to the *Ephesians*. This has appeared

(f) Ἐλέγγομαι δὲ εἰς τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα. κ. λ. H. 42. cap. ix. p. 309. C.

(g) Præter hanc tamen ad Ephesios epistolam, putat Epiphanius, receptam esse a Marcione epistolæ ad Laodicenses fragmenta. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς λαοδικίας μέρη, inquit. E quibus tamen unicum illud a se productum reperit. Jac. Usser. Diss. de Ep. ad Laod.

peared from the quotations of it in the writings of *Faustus*, and *Secundin*, formerly (*b*) taken notice of.

But though the inscription of this epistle was the same in *Marcion's*, as in the Catholic copies; he sometimes quoted it, as an epistle to the *Laodiceans*, and was of opinion, that it was writ to them. We are therefore now to inquire into the ground and reason of this opinion.

Pamelius (*i*) in his notes upon *Tertullian*, as cited by *A. B. Usher*, (for I have not his edition at hand) conjectured, that the words of Col. iv. 16. were the occasion of this opinion of *Marcion*. So likewise says (*k*) *Eftius*.

It is very probable that those words (*l*) gave occasion to the forging an epistle to the *Laodiceans*. *Theodoret*, not far from the beginning of the fifth centurie, as formerly (*m*) cited by us, says in his commentarie upon that text: "Some have hence imagined, that the Apostle had also writ to the *Laodiceans*, and they have forged such an epistle. Nevertheless the Apostle does not say, *the epistle to the Laodiceans*, but from *Laodicea*."

That is the unvaried reading of this text in all the copies of the New Testament, and in all ancient Greek * writers. And I have suspected, that the epistle to the *Laodiceans* was forged by a Latin: and that the Latin version of that text gave occasion to it. *Fabricius* (*n*) in the introduction

(*b*) See vol. vi. p. 336. 343. 409.

(*i*) *Jacobus Pamelius*, Annot. 259. in lib. 5. *Tertulliani adv. Marcionem*. *Fortassis*, inquit, occasionem dedit *Marcioni* hujus tituli huic epistolæ imponendi, quod legisset, Col. iv. Salutate fratres, &c. *Usher. Diff. de Ep. ad Laod.*

(*k*) Sciendum præterea est, *Marcionem*, antiquum hæreticum, occasione præsentis loci, epistolæ ad *Ephesios* scriptæ titulum mutasse, inscribendo eam ad *Laodiceanos*, tanquam ea non ad illos, sed ad hos scripta esset. &c. *Eft. ad Col. iv. 16.*

(*l*) Et eam, quæ *Laodicensium* est, vos legatis] Horum verborum occasione abusus quispiam concinnavit, atque evulgavit epistolam quandam velut a Paulo scriptam ad *Laodicenses*. *Eft. in Col. iv. 16.*

(*n*) See Vol. xi. p. 88.

* As some proof of this, I allege the note of *Theophylact* upon this verse: "Which is the epistle from *Laodicea*? It is the first to *Timothie*. For that was writ from *Laodicea*. However some say, it is an epistle, which the *Laodiceans* had sent to *Paul*. But what good the reading such an epistle could do them, I do not know." Τίς δὲ ἦν ἡ ἐκ λαοδικείας; ἢ πρὸς τιμόθεον πρώτη. Αυτὴ γὰρ ἐκ λαοδικείας ἐγγράφη. Τινὲς δὲ φασιν, ὅτι ἦν ἐκ λαοδικεῖς πάλιν ἐπιστολὴν. Ἀλλ' ἐκ οὐδα τί αὐτὴ ἐκείνης ἔδει αὐτοῖς πρὸς βελτίωσιν. *Theoph. in loc. Tom. 2. p. 676.*

(*n*) Quanquam hunc Pauli locum neutiquam puto testimonium perhibere commentitiæ ad *Laodicensis* epistolæ, tamen quia ex illo, sive Latina potius ejus versione ambigua ansam cepit quisq; illam supposuit, non fuit a me omittendus. Læctionis nulla est in codicibus Græcis differentia. Omnes enim, quantum scio, habent τὴν ἐκ λαοδικείας. Ita et Syrus, et Arabs, et interpretes Græci, *Chrysostomus*, *Theodoritus*, *Theophylactus*, *Oecumenius*. Neque Latinus aliter legisse videtur, et si vertit: *Eam, quæ Laodicensium est*. *Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 853.*

roduction to his account of the epistle to the *Laodiceans* speaks to the same purpose.

In like manner I have for a good while been of opinion, that the Latin version of this text was the occasion of the mistaken notion of *Marcion*.

When I formerly gave an account of a *Latin Commentarie* upon thirteen of *St. Paul's* epistles, writ about 380. I took notice, that (o) the translation of Col. iv. 16. followed by that author, was, *that ye read the epistle of the Laodiceans*. Et vos ut eam, quæ est Laodicensium, legatis. The same translation is in the commentarie of *Pelagius*. Et ea, quæ Laodicensium est, vobis legatur. Which affords good proof, that this was the translation which was in the Latin version, then in use.

I also observed in the same place, that this expression is ambiguous. It may import an epistle, writ by the *Laodiceans*: or an epistle, which was their property, as having been writ to them. I have since found the same observation in (p) *Eftius*. So *Secundin*, the *Manichean*, in his letter to *Augustin*, by the epistle of the *Ephesians* plainly means the epistle to the *Ephesians*. For his words are these: "Against (q) whom the Apostle in the epistle of the *Ephesians*, says, he wrestled. For he says: "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers." Eph. vi. 12.

It is not unlikely, that a good number of the *Latins*, by the epistle of the *Laodiceans*, in Col. iv. 16. understood an epistle writ to the *Laodiceans*. And *Marcion* also, having before him the Latin version, and understanding the words in that sense, concluded, that *St. Paul* had writ an epistle to the *Laodiceans*. At length he was brought to think, that the epistle, intended by *St. Paul*, was the epistle inscribed to the *Ephesians*. Accordingly, he sometimes quoted it with that title. This will be the more readily admitted, when it is considered, that *Marcion* made use of the Latin version of *St. Paul's* epistles. So say both (r) *Mill*, and (s) *Wetstein*.

And now, I suppose, it may appear, what regard is due to the authority of *Marcion* in this matter.

Thus

(o) See Vol. ix. p. 368.

(p) Fefellit tamen hos omnes ambiguitas verborum hujus loci, prout Latine leguntur. Quod enim dicitur, eam quæ Laodicensium est, intelligi potest, vel ad quos, vel a quibus epistola scripta sit aut missa. Et quidem priori modo Latini fere intellexerunt. Sed hanc ambiguitatem dissolvit Græca lectio, quæ sic habet: Et eam quæ ex Laodicea est, ut et vos legatis. Est. ad loc.

(q) Contra quos se Apostolus in Ephesiorum epistola certamen subiisse fatetur. Dicit enim, se non contra carnem et sanguinem habere certamen, sed adversus principes et potestates. *Secundin*. ep. ad Aug. §. i. Ap. Aug. T. 8.

(r) Vid. *Mill*. Proleg. num. 378. et 606.

(s) Ac principio, quod a nemine adhuc animadversum puto, (nisi a J. Millio Prol. 378. suboluisse putemus,) comperimus, Marcionis codices N. T. non ex Græcis exemplaribus, sed ex versione Latina veteri sive Italica constatos fuisse, &c. *Wetsten*. Prolegom. p. 79.

Thus I have at large stated, and considered all the material objections against the common reading at the beginning of this epistle, the epistle to the *Ephesians*. And the solutions that have been offered, seem to me satisfactorie. And from the universal agreement of all copies in that reading, and the unanimous testimonie of all Christian writers for the first twelve centuries, it appears, that there is no more reason to doubt of the genuinnesse of the inscription of the epistle to the *Ephesians*, than of any other of the acknowledged epistles of St. Paul.

This disquisition has been of greater length, than might have been wished. But if any things have been set in a truer light, than usual, it will be acceptable to some.

C H A P. XIV.

That the Churches of Colosse and Laodicea were planted by the Apostle Paul.

IT has been of late a prevailing opinion, that the Christians at *Colosse*, and *Laodicea*, were not converted by St. Paul. But to me it seems, that there is no good ground for it.

Says *Theodoret* in his Argument of the epistle to the *Colossians*, prefixed to his Commentarie: "Some (a) are of opinion, that when the divine Apostle wrote this epistle, he had not seen the *Colossians*. And they endeavour to support their opinion by these words: *For I would that ye should know, what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh.* ch. ii. 1. But they should consider, that the meaning of the words is this: *I have not only a concern for you: but I have also a great concern for those that have not seen me.* And if he be not so understood, he expresses no concern for those, who had seen him, and had been taught by him. Moreover the blessed *Luke* says in the Acts: *And after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went over all the countrey of Galatia, and Phrygia, in order.* ch. xviii. 23. *Colosse* is a city of *Phrygia*. And *Laodicea*, the metropolis of the countrey, is not far from it. How was it possible for him to be in *Phrygia*, and not carry the gospel to those places? And in another place the blessed *Luke* says: *Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia.*" ch. xvi. 6.

So says that very learned writer in the fifth centurie. And those observations have led me to divers considerations, inducing me to think, that the churches of *Colosse* and *Laodicea* had been planted by Paul, and that the Christians there were his converts.

1. The

(a) *Theod.* Tom. 3. p. 342. 343.

1. The Apostle was twice in *Phrygia*, in which were *Colosse*, *Laodicea* and *Hierapolis*. Says St. *Luke* in the places already cited by *Theodoret* Acts xvi. 6. *Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia.* And ch. xviii. 23. *And after he had spent some time there, [at Antioch,] he departed, and went over all the countreys of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening the brethren.* To which St. *Luke* refers again ch. xix. 1. *Paul having passed through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus.* St. *Luke* does not mention any cities by name. But there is no reason to say, that he was not at *Colosse*. It is much more reasonable to think, that in one, or rather, in both those journeys, *Paul* was at *Colosse*, *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis*, chief cities of *Phrygia*. For, as *Theodoret* says, how was it possible, that he should be in that countrey, yea, and go through it, and all over it, and not be in the chief places of it? St. *Luke* has not particularly named any places in *Galatia*, in which *Paul* was. But he must have been in several towns and cities in that countrey, where he planted divers churches. Gal. i. 1. 2. So was he, in like manner, in several cities of *Phrygia*: where also, in all probability, he planted divers churches.

This argument alone appears to me conclusive. The accounts, which St. *Luke* has given of St. *Paul's* journeys in *Phrygia*, are sufficient to assure us, that he preached the Gospel there, and made converts, and planted churches in the chief cities.

2. Ch. i. ver. 6. *Which bringeth forth fruit, as it does also in you, since the day ye heard it, and knew the grace of God in truth.* Of this St. *Paul* was assured. Which renders it probable, that he was their father, or first teacher. He speaks to the like purpose several times. ch. ii. 6. 7. See likewise ch. i. 23. St. *Paul* knew, that they had been rightly taught the gospel. Nothing more remained, but that they should persevere in the faith, which they had received, and act according to it.

3. *Epaphras* was not their first instructor in the doctrine of the gospel. This may be concluded from ch. i. 7. the words following those quoted above from ver. 6. *As (b) ye have also learned of Epaphras, our dear fellow-servant, who is for you a faithful minister of Christ.* The *Colossians* had been taught by *Epaphras*. But he was not their first instructor. However, he had faithfully taught them, agreeably to the instructions, which they had received.

Theodoret (c) upon ch. i. 7. 8. well observes, “that the Apostle bestows many commendations upon *Epaphras*, calling him *beloved*, and *fellow-servant*, and a *faithful minister of Christ*, that the *Colossians* might have the greater regard for him.” If *Epaphras* had first taught the *Colossians* the Christian doctrine, I think, the Apostle, when recommending him to their esteem, and regard, would have added, *by whom ye believed*, or *by whom ye were brought to the fellowship of the gospel*, or somewhat else, to the like purpose. That would have been a great addition to what is said at ver. 7. before cited, and to what is said of him, ch. iv. 12. 13. *Epaphras, who is one of you, a servant of Christ, saluteth you, always laboring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand perfect and complete*

(f) Καὶ ὡς ἐμαίητε ἀπὸ ἐπιφροῦ.

(c) *Uti supra.* p. 344.

pleat in all the will of God. For I bear him record, that he has a great zeal for you, and for them that are in Laodicea, and them in Hierapolis.

Epaphras, who is one of you. Would the Apostle have used such an expression concerning *Epaphras*, if the church of *Colosse* had been founded by him? Impossible. He says as much of *Onesimus*, who was but just converted, and was now first going to appear among them as a Christian. His words at ver. 9. of the same chapter are: *Onesimus, a faithful, and beloved brother, who is one of you.*

I imagine, that St. Paul does the more enlarge at ver. 12. 13. upon the affectionate concern, which *Epaphras* had for these Christians, being apprehensive of some prejudices taken up against him, that might obstruct his usefulness among them. For he had brought the Apostle an account of the state of this church. Which, though it was true and faithful, was not in all respects agreeable: as is concluded by Commentators, from what St. Paul writes in the second chapter of this epistle.

4. St. Paul does in effect, or even expressly, say, that himself had dispensed the gospel to these *Colossians*, ch. i. 21. . . . 25. I shall recite here a large part of that context. ver. 23. . . . 25. *If ye continue in the faith, grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard . . . whereof I Paul am made a minister. Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his body's sake, which is the Church. Whereof I am made a minister, according to the dispensation of God, which is given to me for you, to fulfill, or fully to preach, the word of God. And what follows to ver. 29.*

St. Paul therefore had been the *minister of God* to these *Colossians*, as well as to other Gentils. Nor would they have been excluded, but included among other Gentils, to whom he had *preached the word*, if Commentators had not been misled by a false interpretation of those words in ch. iv. 1. 2. of which we have already seen *Theodore's* account, and shall say more presently. Those words having been misinterpreted, a wrong turn has been given to these likewise.

5. *Chrysostom* in his preface to the epistle to the *Romans* speaks to this purpose: "I (d) see the Apostle writing to the *Romans* and the *Colossians*, upon the same things indeed, but not in the same manner. To them he writes with much mildness, as when he says. . . Rom. xiv. 1. 2. To the *Colossians* he does not so speak of the same things, but with greater freedom. If therefore, says he, ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world . . . and what follows. ch. ii. 20. . . 23." Does not this observation lead us to think, that the *Colossians* were the Apostle's own converts, to whom a different address from that used toward others might be very proper? And there are other passages of this epistle, beside that alleged by *Chrysostom*, which might be taken notice of, as confirming the same observation.

6. Ch.

(d) Όταν γὰρ ἴδω ἑσμένους καὶ κηρύττειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὲν ἐπιστάλοντα, οὐχ' αἰσῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς συγκραταβείσεως. . . . ὁλοσσοῦντι δὲ οὐχ' ἔτι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μετὰ πλείονος παρρησίας

Proem. in ep. ad Rom. T. 9. p. 427.

6. Ch. ii. 6. 7. *As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him: grounded, and built up in him, and established in the faith, as ye have been taught, abounding therein with thanksgiving.* Certainly these exhortations of the apostle are the more proper, and forcible, supposing the *Colossians* to have been first taught and instructed by him. Nor had he any occasion to be more particular. They knew, who had taught them. But I think that in this, or some other of the places, where he reminds the *Colossians* of what they had heard, and had been taught, if those instructions had been received from another, different from himself, that would have appeared in the expressions made use of by him. In short, if they were converted by the Apostle, there could not, possibly, arise, in his mind a doubt, whether they remembered, who had been their first teacher, and who were his fellow-laborers, who had accompanied him in his journeys, when he was in their country. And therefore there was no need to remind them of himself more expressly, than he has done. The thing is supposed all along.

7. The presence of *Epaphras* with *Paul* at *Rome* is an argument, that the *Colossians* had personal acquaintance with the Apostle. Indeed *Grotius* upon ch. i. 7. says, "that *Epaphras* is the same as *Epaphroditus*, mentioned in the epistle to the *Philippians*." But *Beausobre* well observes upon the same place: "This may be the same name with *Epaphroditus*. *Philip. ii. 25.* But it is not probable, that it is the same person. *St. Paul* had sent *Epaphroditus* to *Philippi*. But *Epaphras* was still at *Rome*. And there is reason to think, that he was a prisoner there. See *Philem. ver. 23.*" If *Epaphras* was sent to *Rome* by the *Colossians* to inquire after *Paul's* welfare, as may be concluded from ch. iv. 7. 8. that token of respect for the Apostle is a good argument of personal acquaintance. And it is allowed, that *Epaphras* had brought *St. Paul* a particular account of the state of affairs in this church. Which is another argument that they were his converts.

8. Ch. i. 8. *Who also declared unto us your love in the spirit: that is,* says (e) *Grotius*, "how you love us on account of the Holy Spirit given to you." Or, as *Peirce*: "Who also declared unto me the love you bear to me upon a spiritual account." Or, as *Whitby*: "Your spiritual and affectionate love to me, wrought in you, by the Spirit, whose fruit is love." All thus understanding it of their love of the Apostle, and rightly, as seems to me. Nothing else can be meant by it. For before, at ver. 4. he had spoken of *their love to all the saints*. This I take to be another good proof of personal acquaintance. And the place is agreeable to what he writes to the *Thessalonians*, allowed by all to be the Apostle's converts. *1 Thess. iii. 6.* *But now when Timothie came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and charity: [that is the same with Col. i. 4. Since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of your love to all the saints:] and that ye have good remembrance of us always.*

9. Ch. i. i. 16. *Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom,*
teaching,

(e) *Quomodo nos diligatis propter Spiritum Sanctum vobis datum.* *Grot.*
in loc.

teaching, and admonishing one another, in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord. This shews, that the *Colossians* were endowed with spiritual gifts. And from whom could they receive them, but from St. Paul? Apostles (f) only are allowed to have had the power and privilege of conveying spiritual gifts to other Christians. This text therefore has been a difficulty with such as have supposed, that *Paul* never was at *Colosse*. But now that difficulty is removed.

10. Ch. ii. 1. 2. *For I would, that ye knew, what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh: that their hearts might be comforted.* This quick change of persons upon the mention of such as had not seen the Apostle's face, seems to imply, that the *Colossians*, to whom he is writing, had seen him. For if the *Colossians* had been among those who had not seen him, he would have expressed himself in this manner. *I would that ye knew, what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh, that your hearts might be comforted.* But upon the mention of such as had not seen him, he says: *that their hearts might be comforted.* And having finished his testimonie of concern for such as had not seen his face, he returns to the *Colossians*, to whom he was writing, and says ver. 4. *And this I say, lest any man should beguile you with enticing words.*

Theodoret, beside what he had said in the preface to this epistle, which has been already transcribed, speaks again to this purpose in his paraphrase of ch. ii. 1. 2. "I would have you be persuaded of my great concern for you, and for the *Laodiceans*: and not only for you and the *Laodiceans*, but likewise for all who have not seen me. And (g) that this is his meaning, appears from what follows: *that their hearts may be comforted.* He does not say *your*, but *their*: that is, of such as had not seen him."

11. Ch. ii. 5. *For though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying, and beholding your order, and the stedfastnesse of your faith in Christ.* It is here implied, if I am not mistaken, that the Apostle had been with them, and had been present in the assemblie of the believers at *Colosse*.

12. What is said ch. iv. 7. 8. 9. *All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you,* and the rest, best suits the supposition of personal acquaintance, as before hinted. Indeed, I think it to be full proof, that *Paul* was acquainted with them, and they with him.

13. The salutations in ver. 10. 11. 14. from *Aristarchus*, *Mark*, *Luke*, *Demas*, suppose the *Colossians* to have been well acquainted with St. *Paul*'s fellow-travellers, and fellow-laborers. And *Timothie*'s name is in the salutation at the beginning of the epistle. Consequently, the *Colossians*

(f) "Though several of the Christians had spiritual gifts, and miraculous powers, none but Apostles could confer upon other such gifts and powers." *Dr. Benson upon the Acts. Vol. i. p. 157. first ed. p. 162. 2d. ed.* In like manner other Commentators. And see *Acts*, ch. viii. 5. . . . 25.

(g) "Ὅτι δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν εἰρηναί, καὶ τὰ ἐπαγόμενα δημοῖ ἵνα παρακληθῶσιν αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν. Οὐκ εἶπεν ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν, τῶν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς. *Theod. ib. p. 350. 351.*

Colossians were not unknown to the Apostle, nor unacquainted with him. And the like salutations are also in the epistle to *Philemon*, an inhabitant of *Colosse*.

14. Ch. iv. 15. *Salute the brethren, which are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church, which is in his house.* ver. 17. *And say to Archippus: Take heed to the ministrie, which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfill it.* This shews, that *Paul* was well acquainted with the state of the churches in *Colosse* and *Laodicea*. And it affords an argument, that he had been in that countrey, and particularly, at *Laodicea*. He salutes the brethren there, and *Nymphas* by name, and the church in his house. “It (b) is probable, says *Theodoret*, that he was one of the faithfull in *Laodicea*, who had made his house a church, adorning it with piety.” As for *Archippus*, the same *Theodoret* says, “That (i) some had supposed him to have been minister at *Laodicea*. But, says he, the epistle to *Philemon* shews, that he dwelled at *Colosse*, where *Philemon* was.” See *Philem.* ver. 2.

15. Ch. iv. 3. 4. *Withall, praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mysterie of Christ, for which I am in bonds: that I may raise it manifest, as I ought to speak.* And ver. 18. *Remember my bonds.* Such demands may be made of strangers. But they are most properly made of friends and acquaintance.

In a word, the whole tenour of this epistle shews, that the Apostle is not writing to strangers, but to acquaintance, disciples, and converts.

16. Finally, an argument may be taken from the epistle to *Philemon*, an inhabitant of *Colosse*, sent at the same time with this to the *Colossians*.

From ver. 19. of the epistle to *Philemon*, I suppose it to be evident, that he had been converted to Christianity by *St. Paul*. Indeed this might be done at some other place. But it may as well have been done at home.

And *St. Paul's* acquaintance with *Philemon*, and the Christians at *Colosse*, may be inferred from several things in that epistle. At ver. 2. he salutes *Apphia* by name, probably, wife of *Philemon*: and *Archippus*, probably, Pastour at *Colosse*, at least an Elder in that church: who, as before observed, is also mentioned *Col.* iv. 17. Once more, at ver. 22. *St. Paul* desires *Philemon*, to prepare him a lodging. Whence I conclude, that *Paul* had been at *Colosse* before.

We might argue also from the characters of *Philemon* and *Archippus*, in the first two verses of the same epistle. The former the Apostle calls his fellow-laborer, and the other his fellow-soldier. Which expressions imply personal acquaintance, and that he had labored with him in the service of the gospel in some place. And what place can be so likely, as *Colosse*? There are many, of whom *St. Paul* speaks in his epistles, as his fellow-laborers, or fellow-helpers, or fellow-soldiers: concerning whom it may be made appear, that he and they had labored together in some one place.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 363.

(i) Τινες ἔφασκαν, τὸν λαοδικεῖαν γεγενησθαι διδάσκαλον. κ. λ. *Ibid.*

place. And why then should these two be exceptions? Yea, it may be reckoned not improbable, that *Archippus* had been ordained by St. *Paul* himself an Elder at *Colosse*. Whether *Philemon* likewise was an Elder there, I do not say: though he may have been so.

From all these considerations it appears to me very probable, that the church of *Colosse* had been planted by the Apostle *Paul*, and that the Christians there were his friends, disciples, and converts. And if the Christians at *Colosse* were his converts, it may be argued, that so likewise were the Christians at *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis*. None of which places were far asunder.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Seven Catholic Epistles.

I. *The Antiquity, and the Reason of that Denomination.* II. *Called also canonical.* III. *Concerning their Reception in several Ages.* IV. *Their Order.*

I. **T**H E R E are seven epistles, which we call *Catholic*. The antiquity of this denomination may be made manifest from a few quotations. *Eusebius* having given an account of the death of *James*, called the Just, and our Lord's brother, concludes: "Thus (*a*) far concerning this *James*, who is said to be the author of the first of the epistles called catholic." In another place he says, "That (*b*) in his Institutions *Clement* of *Alexandria* had given short explications of all the canonical scriptures, not omitting those which are contradicted. I mean the epistle of *Jude*, and the other catholic epistles." They were so called therefore in the time of *Eusebius*, and, probably, before. Of which likewise we have good proof. For St. *John*'s first epistle is several times called a catholic epistle by *Origen* (*c*) in his remaining Greek works, as well as in others. It is likewise (*d*) so called several times by *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*. *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, and later Greek writers received seven epistles, which they called catholic. I only observe here farther, that they are so called likewise by (*e*) *Jerome*.

They

(*a*) Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἱάκωβον, ἧ ἡ πρώτη τῶν διομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται. *H. E. l. 2. c. 23. p. 66. D.*

(*b*) μὴ δὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγόμενας παρελθάν' τὴν ἰδέα λέγω, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς. *Ib. l. 6. cap. 14. in.*

(*c*) See of this work Vol. iii. p. 268.

(*d*) ἐ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ ἰωάννην ἐπιγεγραμμένον, καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολικὴ. *Ap. Euseb. l. 7. cap. 25. p. 273. D. Vid. ib. p. 274. B. And in this work, Vol. iv. p. 672. 673.*

(*e*) Petrus . . . scripsit duas epistolas, quæ catholicæ nominantur. *De V. l. cap. i.*

Jacobus

The Reason of it.

They are called catholic, or universal, or general, because they are not writ to the believers of some one city, or countrey, or to particular persons, as *St. Paul's* epistles are, but to Christians in general, or to Christians of several (*f*) countreys. This is the case of five, or the greater part of them, with which the two other are joyned. Moreover, when the first epistle of *Peter*, and the first of *St. John* were called Catholic by the most early Christian writers, the two smaller of *St. John* were unknown, or not generally received.

Called also canonical.

II. These epistles are several times called *canonical* by (*g*) *Cassiodorius*, about the middle of the sixth centurie, and (*h*) by the writer of the prologue to these epistles, ascribed to *Jerome*, though not his. The reason of which appellation is not certainly known. Nor is it easie to perceive the propriety of it. *Du Pin* says: "Some (*i*) Latins have called these epistles canonical, either confounding the name with catholic, or else to denote, that they also are a part of the canon of the books of the New Testament."

By whom received.

III. Of these epistles two only, the first of *St. Peter*, and the first of *St. John*, were universally received in the time (*k*) of *Eusebius*. However, the rest were then well known. In proof of which I shall allege one passage only from him. "Here (*l*)" says he, it will be proper to enumerate in a summarie way the books "of the New Testament, which have been already mentioned. And "in the first place are to be ranked the four sacred Gospels. Then the "book of the Acts of the Apostles. After that are to be reckoned the "epistles of *Paul*. In the next place, that called the first epistle of "John, and the first of *Peter*. After these is to be placed, if it be "thought fit, the Revelation of *John*. . . . And among the contra- "dicted, but yet well known to the most, [or approved by many,] "are that called the epistle of *James*, and that of *Jude*, and the second "of *Peter*, and the second and third of *John*,"

And

Jacobus . . . unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem catholicis est. *Ib. cap. 2.*

Judas, frater Domini, parvam, quæ de septem catholicis est, epistolam reliquit. *Ib. cap. 4.*

(*f*) Or, as *Leontius* expresseth it, "They are called catholic, because they are not writ to one nation, as *Paul's* epistles, but in general to all." See *Vol. xi. p. 381.*

(*g*) Octavus codex canonicas epistolas continet Apostolorum . . . sed cum de reliquis canonicis epistolis magna nos cogitatio fatigaret, subito nobis codex Didymi Græco stilo conscriptus in expositionem septem canonicarum epistolarum Domino largiente concessus est. *De Instit. Div. Lit. cap. 8.*

Vid. et Cassiodorii Complexiones canonicarum epistolarum septem.

(*h*) Prologus septem Epistolarum Canonicarum. *Ap. Hieron. Tom. i. p. 1667.*

(*i*) *Diff. Prelim. l. 2. ch. 2. §. ix.*

(*k*) *Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 3. cap. 24. et cap. 25. And see this Work, Vol. viii. p. 96. 97.*

(*l*) . . . αὗτις ἐξῆς τὴν φερομένην ἰωάννη προτέραν, καὶ ὁμοίως τὴν πάλιν κυρωτέον ἐπιστολὴν . . . τῶν δὲ ἀντιλεγομένων γνωρίμων δ' ἐν ὅμῳ ταῖς πολλαῖς ἢ λεγομένην ἐκκλησίᾳ φέρεται, καὶ ἡ ἰσθὰς ἡρε πάλιν δευτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, καὶ ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρᾳ καὶ τρίτῃ ἰωάννη. *H. E. l. 3. c. 25. in. See also in this Work, Vol. viii. p. 96. 97.*

And in the preceding volumes of this Work we have observed all the seven to have been received by *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerome*, *Augustin*, and many other writers. But the *Syrian* churches received (*m*) there only of these epistles. Nor does it appear, that more were received by (*n*) *Chrysostom* or (*o*) *Theodoret*. And *Amphilochius*, in his Iambic Poem, says: "Of (*p*) the Catholic Epistles some receive seven, others three only." However, as we proceed, we shall particularly consider the claims of the disputed epistles, under the names of those, to whom they are ascribed.

IV. Before I conclude this introduction, I would take notice of the order of these epistles, because there is some variety in ancient authors. In the passage, cited from *Eusebius* at the begining of this chapter, he says, that the epistle of *James* was the first of those called catholic. In the passage, since taken from him, where he mentions these epistles according to the degree of authority, which they had obtained, he first speaks of the first Epistle of *John*, and the first of *Peter*. Nevertheless when he comes to those, that were contradicted, the epistle of *James* is first named. This is the order in the Festal epistle of *Athanasius*: "Seven (*q*) epistles of the Apostles, says he, called catholic: Of *James* one, of *Peter* two, of *John* three, and after them, of *Jude* one." Which is our present order. The same order is observed in the catalogue of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, the council of *Laodicea*, *Epiphanius*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, *Jerome's* letter to *Paulinus*, *Euthalius*, *Gelasius*, Bishop of *Rome*, the *Alexandrian* Manuscript, the *Stichometrie* of *Nicephorus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *Leontius*, *J. Damascen*. The same order is in *Bede's* prologue to these epistles, largely transcribed by us (*r*) in it's proper place. Where he assigns reasons of this order, and particularly, why the epistle of *James* was placed first. In other authors is a different order. By *Rufin* (*s*) they are rehearsed in this manner: "two epistles of the Apostle *Peter*, one of *James*, the "brother of the Lord, and Apostle, one of *Jude*, three of *John*: the "Revelation of *John*." One may be apt to think, that St. *John's* three epistles are here mentioned last, that they might not be separated from the book of the Revelation. In the canon of the third council of *Carthage*, they stand in this order: "two (*t*) epistles of the Apostle *Peter*, three of the Apostle *John*, one of the Apostle *Jude*, one of the Apostle *James*." In *Augustin's* work of the Christian Doctrine: "two (*u*) "epistles of *Peter*, three of *John*, one of *Jude*, and one of *James*." In the catalogue of Pope *Innocent*: "three (*x*) epistles of *John*, two epistles of *Peter*, an epistle of *Jude*, an epistle of *James*." In the *Commentarie* of *Cassiodorus* (*y*) upon these epistles they are in this order: "Two epistles of *Peter*, three of *John*, of *Jude* one, of *James* one."

(*m*) See Vol. ix. p. 217. . . 222. and Vol. xi. p. 5. and p. 270. . . 274.

(*n*) Vol. x. p. 312. 313. 337. 341.

(*o*) Vol. xi. p. 88. . . 91.

(*p*) . . . καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τινὲς μὲν ἑπτὰ φασιν, ἡ δὲ τρεῖς μόνως. *Amphil.* p. 132. ver. 310. 311. And see Vol. ix. p. 148.

(*q*) See Vol. viii. p. 227.

(*r*) See Vol. xi. p. 387. 388.

(*s*) Vol. x. p. 187.

(*t*) P. 194.

(*u*) P. 211.

(*x*) Vol. xi. p. 39.

(*y*) See Vol. xi. p. 311.

C H A P. XVI.

ST. JAMES, the LORD's Brother

- I. *His Historie from the N. T. whereby he appears to have been an Apostle.*
- II. *His historie from ancient Authors. A Passage from Eusebius concerning Him, with Remarks, shewing Him to be the same, as James the Son of Alphaeus.*
- III. *A passage of Eusebius, containing two Quotations from Clement of Alexandria, mentioning his Appointment to be Bishop, or residing Apostle at Jerusalem, and the Manner of his Death.*
- IV. *A Passage of Origen, speaking of our Lord's Brethren, and the Death of James.*
- V. *A Chapter of Eusebius, containing Accounts of his Death from Hegeſippus, and Josephus, with Remarks.*
- VI. *The Time of his Death.*
- VII. *How he was related to our Lord, and in what Respect he was his Brother.*
- VIII. *That he was an Apostle, and the Son of Alphaeus.*
- IX. *Why called the Leſs.*
- X. *Surnamed the Juſt, and other Marks of Reſpect ſhewn Him.*
- XI. *A Review of what has been ſaid.*

*His Historie
from the N. T.*

I. **T**HERE is frequent mention of James in the Acts and St. Paul's epistles. If he was an Apostle, he must be James, the son of Alphaeus, always distinctly named in the catalogues of the Apostles (a) in the first three Gospels, and in the first chapter of the Acts. For (b) there was but one other Apostle of this name, James the brother of John, and son of Zebedee. However the proofs of his being James the son of Alphaeus are deferred for the present. I begin with writing the historie of James, mentioned in the Acts, and St. Paul's epistles.

St. Paul, reckoning up the several appearances of our Lord to the disciples after his resurrection, says 1 Cor. xv. 5. . . . 8. *that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve. After that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once*: meaning, I suppose, at the place in Galilee, where he had appointed to meet the disciples. *After that he was seen of James, then of all the Apostles*: meaning, it is likely, when they were witnesses of his ascension. *And last of all he was seen of me also.*

By James must be here intended the same, that is mentioned by St. Paul elsewhere. Moreover James, the son of Zebedee, had been dead a good while before writing this epistle to the Corinthians, in the Year of Christ 56. It is likely, that St. Paul speaks of him, who was still living. And he here speaks of a particular appearance of Christ to him.

We learn from Jerome, that in the Gospel according to the Hebrews there was an account of a particular appearance of our Lord to James, the Lord's brother, who, according to his computation, governed the church

(a) Matth. x. 3. Mark iii. 18. Luke vi. 15. Acts i. 13.

(b) Nulli dubium est, duos fuisse Apostolos Jacobi vocabulo nuncupatos: Jacobum Zebedæi, et Jacobum Alphæi. Hieron. adv. Helvid. T. 4. p. 137. fin.

church of Jerusalem thirty years. It is to this purpose. "*Very (c) soon after the Lord was risen, he went to James, and shewed himself to him. For James had solemnly sworn, that he would eat no bread from the time that he had drunk the cup of the Lord, till he should see him risen from among them that sleep.*" It is added a little after. *Bring, saith the Lord, a table and bread. And lower: He took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and then gave it to James the Just, and said to him: My brother, eat thy bread. For the Son of man is risen from among them that sleep.*

I think, this storie may be sufficient to shew, that James, called the Just, and the Lord's brother, was in high esteem with the Jewish believers, who used the Gospel above mentioned. But some of the circumstances of this account must needs be fabulous. Nor is there any reason to think, that James, or any of the Apostles, had a certain expectation of the Lord's rising from the dead. Nevertheless I shall mention a thought, to be considered by candid readers. Possibly, this account is founded upon the historie recorded in Luke xxiv. 13. . . 35. of the two disciples, to whom the Lord appeared on the day of his resurrection, *to whom he was known in breaking of bread.* One thing more may be concluded from this passage. They who used this gospel, thought James, the Lord's brother, to have been an Apostle. For here is a reference to his partaking in the eucharist, appointed by our Lord. Where none were present, beside the twelve.

However, as I have proposed a conjecture concerning the historie in Luke xxiv. it ought to be observed, that the two disciples, there mentioned, were not Apostles. For at ver. 35. it is said, that when they were returned to Jerusalem, *they found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them.*

Upon that text of St. Paul Dr. Doddridge (d) mentions a conjecture, which had been communicated to him: that James had not seen our Lord after his resurrection, untill the time there mentioned by St. Paul. "That by sickness, or some other accident, James had been detained from meeting his brethren, both on the day of our Lord's resurrection, and that day sevensnight, and likewise at the time, when Christ appeared to the five hundred. And that he might on this respect be upon the level with them, our Lord appeared to him alone, after all the appearances mentioned before." But I take that conjecture to be without ground, as well as very improbable. St. Paul's words do not imply, that our Lord had not been seen by James before, but that this was a particular appearance

(c) Evangelium quoque, quod appellatur secundum Hebræos, et a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque sermonem translatus est, . . . post resurrectionem Salvatoris refert. Dominus autem, cum dedisset sindonem servo Sacerdotis, ivit ad Jacobum, et apparuit ei. Juraverat enim Jacobus, se non comesturum panem ab illa hora, quâ biberat calicem Domini, donec videret eum resurgentem a dormientibus. Rursusque post paululum. *Afferre, ait Dominus, mensam et panem.* Statimque additur. *Tulit panem, et benedixit, ac fregit, et post dedit Jacobo Justo, et dixit ei: Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit Filius hominis a dormientibus.* De V. I. cap. 2.

(d) See the Family-Expositor, Vol. iv. p. 380.

appearance to him alone, as (e) *Augustin* has observed. Who likewise adds very judiciously: "Nor did Christ now first shew himself to all the Apostles." Which agrees with *Lightfoot's* (f) interpretation of that text.

I have one thing more to add. It seems to me, that *James*, here spoken of, was an Apostle. And it will afford a good argument, that *James*, sometimes called by ancient Christian writers Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was an Apostle.

Gal. i. 18. 19. *Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem, to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother.*

This text seems decisive in favour of the Apostleship of *James*. St. *Luke* speaks of the same thing in this manner. Acts ix. 27. *Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apostles.* Comparing these two texts together, I conclude, that *James* now resided at *Jerusalem*, and acted there as president of that church. And I imagine, that *Barnabas* first brought *Paul* to *James*, and *James* brought him to *Peter*. Thus *Paul* had communion with all the Apostles, though he saw and conversed with none of them, beside *James* and *Peter*.

When St. *Peter* had been delivered out of prison, in the reign of *Herod Agrippa*, about the time of Passover in the year 44. he came to the house of *Marie*, where many were gathered together, praying. And when he had declared unto them, how the Lord had brought him out of prison, he said: Go shew these things to *James*, and to the brethren. Acts xii. 12. . . 17. This also gives ground to think, that *James* now presided in the church of *Jerusalem*.

Before, Acts xi. 29. 30. it is said: *Then the disciples, at Antioch, determined to send relief unto the brethren, which dwelt in Judea. Which also they did, and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.* Hence some have concluded, that *James* was not now at *Jerusalem*. But there is no reason for that supposition. For it would imply also, that none of the Apostles were at *Jerusalem*: whereas, probably, they were all there, or near it. We have proof from the next chapter, already cited, that *James* the son of *Zebedee* and *Peter* were there. For the former was beheaded, and *Peter* imprisoned at *Jerusalem* by *Herod Agrippa* about this time. And when *Peter* had been brought out of prison, he desired his friends

(e) *Poslea*, inquit, apparuit Jacobo. Non tunc autem primum accipere debemus visum esse Jacobo, sed aliqua propria manifestatione singulariter. Deinde Apostolis omnibus: nec illis tunc primum, sed jam ut familiarius convaresceretur cum eis usque ad diem ascensionis suæ. *Aug. de Consens. Evang.* l. 3. cap. 25. num. 85. *Tom.* 3. P. 2.

(f) "After the appearing to above five hundred brethren at once, which we suppose, and not without ground, to have been that last mentioned, the Apostle relateth, that he was seen of *James*. 1 Cor. xv. 7. and then of all the Apostles. Which does plainly rank this appearance to *James* between that to the five hundred brethren on the mountain in *Galilee*, and his coming to all the Apostles, when they were come again to *Jerusalem*. Which *James* this was, *Paul* is silent of, as all the Evangelists are of any such particular appearance. It is most like, he means *James the less*, of whom he speaks often elsewhere." *Harmony of the N. T.* Vol. i. p. 273.

friends to inform James of it, as we have just seen. Therefore he certainly was then at Jerusalem.

There are two ways of understanding that expression. By *Elders* may be meant Elders in general, not excluding the Apostles. So in the place of Paul, before cited : *after that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once*. Where the Apostles are not excluded, but included in the word *brethren*. For it is reasonable to think, that divers, yea most, if not all of the Apostles, were present at that time. So here the Apostles may be included in the general denomination of *Elders*. Or by *Elders* may be meant such as are called Elders by way of distinction from Apostles, as in Acts xv. 4. 22. xxi. 18. who might be persons, more especially entrusted with the receiving, and the distributing such contributions. Neither of these senses oblige us to think, that James was not now at Jerusalem.

When the controverſie about the manner of receiving the Gentils was brought before *the Apostles and Elders*, assembled in Council at Jerusalem; *after there had been much disputing*, Peter spoke, and then Barnabas, and Paul. After all which James speaks last, ſums up the argument, and propoſeth the terms, upon which the Gentils ſhould be received. To which the whole aſſemblie agreed. And they ſent letters to the Gentils in ſeveral places, accordingly. Acts xv. 1. . . . 29. It is manifeſt, I think, that James preſided in this Council. And it may be thence reckoned probable, that he was an Apoſtle, as well as Preſident of the church of Jeruſalem.

Chryſoſtom, in a homilie upon the xv. chapter of the Acts, ſays : “ James (g) was Biſhop of Jeruſalem, and therefore ſpoke laſt.” In the ſame place he juſtly applauds the propriety of his diſcourſe in the Council.

St. Paul, in the ſecond chapter of the epiſtle to the Galatians, giving an account of ſome things, which happened, when he was that time at Jeruſalem, but are not mentioned in the book of the Acts, ſpeaks of James, Cephas, and John, as pillars : *who alſo gave to him and Barnabas the right hands of fellowſhip*. Thoſe expreſſions ſtrongly imply, that James was an Apoſtle, and preſiding Apoſtle in the church of Jeruſalem.

Jerome, in his book againſt Helvidius, allows, that (h) the texts, which I have already cited from the epiſtle to the Galatians, ſhew James, the Lord's brother, to have been an Apoſtle.

Afterwards, in the ſame chapter, giving an account of what happened at Antioch. ver. 11. 12. he ſays, that *when Peter was come thither, he did eat with the Gentils, before that certain came from James : but when they were come, he withdrew, and ſeparated himſelf, fearing them of the circumciſion*. This, I think, implies, that James reſided at Jeruſalem, and preſided

(g) Επίσκοπος ἦν τῆς ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας οὗτος· διὰ ὕψους λέγει. In *Act. Ap. hom.* 33. p. 253. T. 9.

(h) . . . et frater Domini Apostolus sit, Paulo dicente : *Deinde post triennium veni Jerusalem, videre Petrum.* Gal. i. 18. 19. Et in eadem epistola : *Et cognita gratia, quæ data est mihi.* . . . cap. ii. 9. *Adv. Helvid.* p. 138. in.

sided in that church, and that he was greatly respected by the Jewish believers there.

Once more, Acts xxi. 17. 18. When Paul went up to Jerusalem, about Pentecost, in the year 58. *the day after our arrival*, says St. Luke, *Paul went in with us unto James, and all the elders were present*, and what follows. Here is another proof, that James resided at Jerusalem, and superintended in that church (A).

In what has been now alleged we have perceived evidences of James being related to our Lord, soasmuch as he is called his *brother*, and that he was much at Jerusalem, and presided in that church, and that, probably, he was an Apostle in the highest sense of that word. We have also seen reason to think, that he was much respected by the Jewish believers. And, though we do not allow ourselves to enlarge upon every thing said of him in the historie of the Council of Jerusalem, and his reception of Paul, when he went up to Jerusalem, and was imprisoned: yet I suppose, that every one may have discerned marks of an excellent character, and of his admirably uniting zeal and discretion, a love of truth and condescension to weak brethren. His epistle confirms that character. I think likewise, that the preservation of his life, in such a station as his, to the time, when he is mentioned last by St. Luke, (which we suppose to have been about the time of Pentecost, in the year of Christ, 58.) may induce us to believe, that he was careful to be inoffensive in his behaviour toward the unbelieving part of the Jewish nation, and that he was had in reverence by many of them.

*His Historie from
ancient Authors.*

II. I should now proceed to write the historie of this person from ancient authors. But that is a difficult task, as I have found, after trying more than once, and at distant spaces of time. I shall therefore take divers passages of Eusebius, and others, and make such reflections as offer, for finding out as much truth as we can.

*A Passage of
Eusebius.*

Eusebius has a chapter (i) “Concerning our Saviour’s disciples.” Where he speaks of all these following, as said to be of the number of the Seventy: Barnabas, Sosthenes, who joyns with Paul in writing the first epistle to the Corinthians, Cephas, whom Paul resisted at Antioch, of the same name with the Apostle Peter, but different from him, Matthias, chosen in the room of Judas, and he who was put up with Matthias, and James, to whom Christ shewed himself after his resurrection, as related by St. Paul 1 Cor. xv. 7. “He (k) likewise, says Eusebius, was one of those called our Saviour’s disciples, and one of his brethren.”

Upon this it is easie to observe, that beside the loose and inaccurate manner, in which this chapter is writ by our historian, here are, probably,

(A) Dr. Whitby, in his preface to the epistle of St James, has argued in a like manner that I have done, that he was an Apostle in the strict acceptation of the word. And to the same purpose also Cave at the begining of his life of St. James the Less, in English.

(i) Περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. *H. E. l. i. cap. 12. p. 30.*

(k) Ἐπειτα δ’ ὠφθαί αὐτὸν ἱακώβω φησιν· εἰς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τῶν φερομένων τοῦ σωτῆρος μαθητῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἦν. *Ib. p. 31. B.*

bably, several mistakes. Some things will be readily assented to, as not unlikely: that Matthias, and the other disciple put up with him, were of the Seventy. But omitting some other things, there is no good reason to say, that Cephas was different from Peter, or that Sosthenes was one of the Seventy. If those things are wrong, there is the less reason to rely upon that account, which places James, the Lord's brother, in the number only of his disciples, or of the Seventy.

However, we here seem to discern the opinion of our Ecclesiastical Historian, that James, the Lord's brother, so often mentioned in the Acts, and St. Paul's epistles, was not one of Christ's Apostles. And there we have also his interpretation of these words. 1 Cor. xv. 7. *then he was seen of all the Apostles.* By (l) which he understands others, beside the twelve. And to the like purpose (m) Origen. And it was formerly shewn at large in the chapter of Eusebius, that (n) he did not esteem this James an Apostle in the highest acceptation of the word. It may be observed likewise, in the large account formerly given of Jerome's opinion concerning this James, that (o) he seems not to be quite free from hesitation. Sometimes he speaks of him as one of the twelve Apostles, and sometimes not so. We have also seen reason to think, that (p) Cyril of Jerusalem did not reckon James, called Bishop of Jerusalem, to have been one of the twelve Apostles. Gregorie Nyssen (q) likewise distinguishes James, the son of Alphaeus, one of the twelve Apostles, from James the Less, who was not of that number. The same opinion appears in (r) the Apostolical Constitutions.

Tillemont says: "The (s) Greek Christians of our time distinguish James the son of Alphaeus, one of the twelve Apostles, and James the Lord's brother, and Bishop of Jerusalem, as two different persons: so making us entirely ignorant of the historie of James, the son of Alphaeus, and excluding the Lord's brother from the number of Apostles. But the opinion of the Latins, who believe, that they are one and the same person, and the Apostle, appears more conformable to the Scripture, and is supported by the authority of St. Paul in particular, who gives to James the Lord's brother the title of Apostle in the same manner that he gives it to Peter. Gal. i. 19."

III. Eusebius has (t) another chapter, entitled, "Of things constituted by the Apostles after our Saviour's ascension." Which is to this purpose. "The first is *Another Passage of Eusebius.*
"the choice of Matthias, one of Christ's disciples, into the apostleship, "in the room of Judas. Then the appointment of the seven Deacons, "one

(l) Εὐθ' ὡς παρὰ τέτοις κατὰ μύησιν τῶν δώδεκα πλείων ὄσαν ὑπαρχόντων ἀποστόλων . . . προσέθηκε λέγων ἔπειτα ᾤφθη τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσι. *Ib.* p. 31.

(m) See Vol. iii. p. 397.

(n) Vol. viii. p. 152. . . . 155.

(o) Vol. x. p. 125. . . . 129.

(p) Vol. viii. p. 273.

(q) De Christi Ref. Or. 2. Tom. 3. p. 413. B. C.

(r) See Vol. viii. p. 395.

(s) S. Jacques le Mineur. Art. i. Tom. i.

(t) H. E. l. 2. cap. 1.

“one of whom was Stephen, who soon after his being ordained was
 “stoned by those who had killed the Lord, and was the first martyr for
 “Christ. Then James, called the Lord’s brother, because he was the
 “son of Joseph . . . to whom the virgin Marie was espoused. This
 “James, called by the ancients the Just, on account of his eminent vir-
 “tue, is said to have been appointed the first bishop of Jerusalem. And
 “Clement, in the sixth book of his Institutions, writes after this man-
 “ner: That after our Lord’s ascension, Peter, and James, and John,
 “though they had been favoured by the Lord above the rest, did not
 “contend for honour, but chose James the Just, to be Bishop of Jeru-
 “salem. And in the seventh book of the same work he says, that after
 “his resurrection the Lord gave to James the Just, and John and Peter
 “the gift of knowledge. And they gave it to the other Apostles. And
 “the other Apostles gave it to the Seventy, one of whom was Barna-
 “bas. For there were two named James: one the Just, who was
 “thrown down from the battlement of the temple, and killed by a ful-
 “ler’s staff. The other is he, who was beheaded. Of him that was
 “called the Just Paul also makes mention, saying: Other of the Apo-
 “stles saw I none, save James, the Lord’s brother.”

Upon what has been thus transcribed, a few remarks may be properly made. In the former part of it Eusebius seems to declare it as his own opinion, that James, called the Lord’s Brother, was the son of Joseph, that is, by a former wife.

For clearing up this passage, I would farther observe: I suppose, the whole of this quotation to be taken from Clement. Some may indeed at first be apt to think, that the second passage of Clement concludes with the word Barnabas. But I rather think, that all which follows in this quotation is Clement’s, and nothing of Eusebius. One reason of my thinking so is, that in the 23. chapter of the same book, where our Ecclesiastical Historian gives an account of the death of James from Hege-sippus, who relates that James was thrown down from the temple, and killed by a fuller’s staff, he twice says, that is, at (*u*) the entering upon that account, and (*x*) at finishing it, that this was agreeable to what had been before alleged from Clement. The other reason is, that Eusebius seems not to have been so clear, that there were no more than two of this name, as is implied in this passage, particularly in the conclusion of it.

Upon these two passages cited by Eusebius from Clement, one from the sixth, the other from the seventh book of his Institutions, we are led to observe, *first*, that James called the Just, is here supposed to be an Apostle. Nor did Clement know of any more of the name James, in the New Testament, beside James the son of Zebedee, and him called James the Just. *Secondly*, I observe, that James called the Just, is supposed to have been appointed Bishop of Jerusalem, by three Apostles especially, Peter, and the two sons of Zebedee, and not by our Lord. And the order

(*u*) Τὸν δὲ τῆς τοῦ Ἰακώβου τελευταίας τροπῆς ἤδη μὲν πρότερον αἱ παρατεθεῖσαι τῷ κλήμεντος φωναὶ διδεδωκασιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πτερύγῃ βεβλήσθαι, ξύλῳ τε τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πεπληχθαι αὐτὸν ἰσορηκότος. *l. 2. cap. 23. p. 63. C.*

(*x*) Ταῦτα δὲ πλάττει συνῶν τῷ κλήμεντι καὶ ὁ ἡγήσιππος. *Ibid. p. 65. C.*

der and coherence of things in this chapter of Eusebius seems to imply, that this was done soon after the martyrdom of Stephen.

Which appears to me agreeable to the historie in the Acts, and the passages alleged thence at the beginning of this chapter. Peter always speaks first, as president among the Apostles, untill after the choice of the seven Deacons. Every thing said of St. James after that implies his presiding in the church of Jerusalem. And when St. Paul mentions the three chiefs, who were pillars, Gal. ii. 9. with whom he conferred at Jerusalem, he names James first. The reason of his doing so, I take to be, that James then presided in the church of Jerusalem.

Tillemont (y) thinks, "That Christ himself may have appointed James to be Bishop in that church: but the Apostles deferred the declaring it solemnly, till the time of the persecution, which broke out after the death of St. Stephen. Then they thought of providing more particularly for the church of Jerusalem, whence, perhaps, they feared they should be constrained to remove. This obliged them to appoint a proper Pastour, who should be obliged to stay there till his death, and should charge himself with every thing necessarie for their welfare."

To me it appears evident, that (z) the Apostles did not now leave Jerusalem, nor till a good while afterwards. But they were obliged to live privatly. And the circumstances of things made it prudent to appoint one of their number, who should preside in that church, and act in their name. Though they could not all appear in public, it was fit there should be one at least, to whom the faithful might apply at any time, in case of need. This choice, or appointment, is ascribed by Clement to three of the Apostles. But it might be done with the consent and approbation of all.

As this episcopate, or superintendence of James has been thus mentioned, I shall here observe what notice is taken of it by other ancient Christian writers.

Eusebius, in one place, says, that (a) James was appointed Bishop of Jerusalem by the Apostles: in another by (b) Christ and the Apostles: So likewise in the (c) Apostolical Constitutions. Jerome in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers says, "that (d) James, surnamed the Just, was ordained Bishop of Jerusalem by the Apostles, soon after the Lord's passion." In his Commentarie upon the epistle to the Galatians he speaks, as (e) if the Lord himself had given him this high trust: meaning,

(y) *St. Jacques le Mineur. Art. iv. mem. Tom. i.*

(z) *See Acts viii. 1.*

(a) . . . ὡς πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγκρατίιστος θρόνος. *H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. in Vid. et l. 2. cap. 1. in p. 38. B.*

(b) Τὸν γὰρ ἰακώβου θρόνον τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ πρὸς τῷ σωτήρι καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποδεξαμένη. *x. l. 1. 7. c. 19.*

(c) *Constit. l. 8. cap. 35.*

(d) Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus . . . post passionem Domini statim ab Apostolis Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus: *De V. I. cap. 2.*

(e) Nunc hoc sufficiat, ut propter egregios mores, et incomparabilem fidem, sapientiamque non mediam, frater dictus sit Domini: et quod primus ei ecclesie præ fuerit, quæ prima in Christum credens ex Judæis fuerat congregata.

ing, perhaps, no more than that Christ gave it him by the Apostles ; or that they in so doing had acted by divine inspiration. Epiphanius (*f*) ascribes this appointment to our Saviour himself, as do (*g*) Chrysostom, and (*h*) Oecumenius, and (*i*) Photius. The Latin author of a Commentaire upon thirteen of St. Paul's Epistles, says, James (*k*) was appointed Bishop of Jerusalem by the Apostles. Nicephorus's account is, that (*l*) he was so appointed by our Saviour, or, as some said, by the Apostles also. I shall cite no more writers relating to this point, but proceed.

A Passage of Origen concerning his Death.

IV. I would now take a passage of Origen from the tenth tome of his Commentaries upon St. Matthew, where he discourseth upon Matt. xiii. 55... 56.

Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Marie? And his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas? And his sisters, are they not all with us? " They (*m*) thought, says Origen, that he was the " son of Joseph and Marie. The brethren of Jesus, some say upon the " ground of tradition, particularly what is said in the Gospel according to " Peter, or the book of James, were the sons of Joseph by a former wife, " who cohabited with him before Marie. They who say this, are desirous to maintain the honour of Marie's virginity to the last: [or her " perpetual virginity:] that the body chosen to fulfill what is said: *the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.* Luke i. 35. might not know man after that. And I " think it very reasonable, that as Jesus was the first-fruits of virginity among men, Marie should be the same among women. For " it would be very improper to give that honour to any, beside her. " This James is he, whom Paul mentions in his epistle to the Galatians, " saying: *Other of the Apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother.* " This James was in so great repute with the people for his virtue, that " Josephus, who wrote twenty books of the Jewish Antiquities, desirous " to assign the reason of their suffering such things, so that even the " temple was destroyed, says, that (*n*) those things were owing to the " anger of God for what they did to James the brother of Jesus, called " Christ. And it is wonderfull, that he who did not believe our Jesus " to

gregata. Dicuntur quidem et ceteri Apostoli fratres Domini. Sed præcipue hic frater dicitur, cui filios matris suæ ad Patrem vadens Dominus commendaverat. *In ep. ad Gal. cap. ii. 19.*

(*f*) *Her. 78. num. vii.*

(*g*) *Chr. in ep. 1. ad Cor. hom. 38. p. 355. Tom. x.*

(*h*) *Oec. ad Ad. xv. 13. T. i. p. 122.*

(*i*) *Phot. Ep. 117.*

(*k*) *Jacobum vidit Hierosolymæ, quia illic erat constitutus ab Apostolis Episcopus. In ep. ad Gal. cap. i. 19.*

(*l*) *Niceph. l. 2. cap. 38.*

(*m*) *Origen. in Matt. T. x. p. 462. 463. T. 3. Bened. p. 223. Tom. i. Huet.*

(*n*) . . . εἰρηκέναι κατὰ μῆνιν διὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἀπηντηκέναι, διὰ τὰ εἰς ἰακώβου τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἰησοῦ τῷ λεγομένῳ χριστῷ, ὑπ' αὐτῶν τιτοληκέναι. Καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τὸν ἰησοῦν ἡμῶν ἔ κα ἀδεξάμενος εἶναι χριστὸν, ἐδὲ ἥττον ἰακώβῳ διακινῶν ἡμῶν ἐμαρτυροῦσιν τοσάυτην. Λέγει δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ λαὸς ταῦτα ἐνόμιζε διὰ τὸν ἰακώβου πεπονηθέναι. . . . Περὶ δὲ ἰωσήφ, καὶ σίμωνος ἐδὲν ἱστορήσαμεν. *Ib. p. 463. Bened. p. 223. Huet.*

“ to be the Christ, should bear such a testimonie to James. He also
 “ says, that the people thought they suffered those things upon account
 “ of James. Jude wrote an epistle, of few lines indeed, but filled with
 “ the powerful words of the heavenly grace, who says at the beginning :
 “ *Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James.* Of Josès and
 “ Simon we know nothing.”

Origen, in (o) his books against Celsus, quotes Josephus again, as speaking of James to the like purpose. But there are not now any such passages in Josephus : though they are quoted, as from him, by (p) Eusebius also. But he does not say, whether from his Jewish War, or from his Antiquities, or in what book of either, as he sometimes does, when he quotes Josephus. Jerome has twice quoted Josephus for these things : first in his (q) article of St. James, and then in that (r) of Josephus himself : but not much more expressly, than Eusebius.

Upon the long passage of Origen, just transcribed, I would observe, as follows.

It is strange, that Origen should take such particular notice of the epistle of St. Jude, and say nothing of the epistle of James, whose historie he was writing, when it was not unknown to him. It may be suspected, that a paragraph has been lost, and dropt out of the Commentarie in this place. It is also strange, that he should say, he knew nothing of Simon : when it is probable, that he likewise was one of Christ's Apostles, called *Simon the Canaanite* by Matthew ch. x. 4. and Mark iii. 18. *Simon Zelotes* by Luke vi. 13. and Acts i. 13.

From what Origen says of the death of James it may be concluded, that in his time Christians were persuaded, that James had died a martyr for Christ, and had been killed by the Jews, notwithstanding his eminent virtue. Though the passages, to which Origen refers, are not now in Josephus, and though it should be supposed, that there was some inaccuracy in Origen's quotations of him, or references to him ; I think, it must be allowed, that Christians had in his time a tradition concerning the death of James, and that it happened in circumstances very dishonorable to those who were the authors of it : insomuch that many were disposed to think, it was one of those things, for which God was much offended with the Jewish people. Moreover we have already observed a brief account of the death or martyrdom of James in Clement, older than Origen, though in part contemporarie with him.

All farther notice of that passage of Origen is deferred, till we come to consider, how James was related to our Lord.

V. As

(o) *Contra Cels. l. i. p. 35. et l. 2. p. 69. Cantab. l. i. cap. 48. et l. 2. cap. 13. Bened.*

(p) *H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 65. C. D.*

(q) *Tradit idem Josephus, tantæ eum sanctitatis fuisse, et celebritatis in populo, ut propter ejus necem creditum sit, subversam esse Hierosolymam. Hier. de Vir. Ill. cap. 2.*

(r) *Hic constitetur . . . et propter interfectionem Jacobi Apostoli dirutam Hierosolymam. Ib. cap. 13.*

*Accounts of his Death
from Hegesippus, and
Josephus.*

V. As the death of James has been mentioned, I shall now immediately take the accounts of it, which are in Eusebius. And I will transcribe a large part of the 23. chapter of the second book of his Ecclesiastical Historie.

“ But when Paul had appealed to Cesar, and Festus had sent him to
“ Rome, the Jews being disappointed in their design against him, turned
“ their rage against James the Lord’s brother, to whom the Apostles
“ had assigned the episcopal chair of Jerusalem. And in this manner
“ they proceeded against him. Having laid hold of him, they re-
“ quired him in the presence of all the people to renounce his faith in
“ Christ. But he with freedom and boldness beyond expectation, be-
“ fore all the multitude, declared our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to
“ be the Son of God. They not enduring the testimonie of a man, who
“ was in high esteem for his piety, laid hold of the opportunity, when
“ the countrey was without a Governour, to put him to death. For
“ Festus having died about that time in Judea, the province had in it no
“ Procurator. The manner of the death of James was shewn before in
“ the words of Clement, who said, that he was thrown off from the battle-
“ ment of the temple, and then beat to death with a club. But no one
“ has so accurately related this transaction, as Hegesippus, a man in the
“ first succession of the Apostles, in the fifth book of his Commentaries,
“ whose words are to this purpose: “ James, (s) the brother of our
“ Lord, undertook together with the Apostles the government of the
“ church. He has been called the Just by all from the time of our Sa-
“ viour to ours. For many have been named James. But he was holie
“ from his mother’s womb. He drank neither wine, nor strong drink,
“ nor did he eat any animal food. There never came rasour upon his
“ head. He neither anointed himself with oyl, nor did he use a bath.
“ To him alone was it lawfull to enter the holie place. He wore no
“ woollen, but only linen garments. He entered into the temple alone,
“ where he prayed upon his knees. Insomuch that his knees were be-
“ come like the knees of a camel, by means of his being continually
“ upon them, worshiping God, and praying for the forgiveness of the
“ people. Upon account of his virtue he was called the Just, and
“ Oblias, that is, the defense of the people, and righteousness. Some
“ therefore of the seven sects, which there were among the Jews,
“ of whom I spake in the former part of these Commentaries, asked
“ him, (b) which is the gate of Jesus; or, what is the gate of salvation.
“ And

(s) Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου Ἰσχυρός κ. λ. p. 603. C. D.

(b) . . . ἐρωτῶντο αὐτὸν, τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ ἰησοῦ; καὶ ἔλεγε τῷτον εἶναι τὸν σωτήρα. Le Clerc, in his observations upon this passage of Hegesippus, says, he does not understand those words, *what is the gate of Jesus*. And, perhaps, the place has been corrupted. Τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ ἰησοῦ; Quod quid sibi velit, non intelligo. Sed forte locus est corruptus. H. E. p. 416. Ann. lxii. Mr. Mosheim thinks, with great probability, that the question put to James was: “ What is the gate, or way of salvation? Tell us, how we may obtain eternal life?” James answered: “ The gate of salvation is our Saviour Jesus Christ.”

“ And he said: Jesus is the Saviour, or the way of salvation. Some of them therefore believed, that Jesus is the Christ. . . . And many of the chief men also believing, there was a disturbance among the Jews, and among the Scribes and Pharisees, who said, there was danger, lest all the people should think Jesus to be the Christ. Coming therefore to James, they said: We beseech thee to restrain the error of the people. We entreat thee to persuade all that come hither at the time of Passover to think rightly concerning Jesus. For all the people, and all of us put confidence in thee. . . . Stand therefore upon the battlement of the temple, that being placed on high, thou mayest be conspicuous, and thy words may be easily heard by all the people. For because of the Passover, all the tribes be come hither, and many Gentils. Therefore the Scribes and Pharisees, before named, placed James upon the battlement of the temple, and cried out to him, and said: O Justus, whom we ought all to believe, since the people are in an error, following Jesus who was crucified, tell us (c) what is the gate of Jesus. And he answered with a loud voice: Why do you ask me concerning the Son of Man: He even sitteth in the heaven, at the right hand of the great power, and will come in the clouds of heaven. And many were fully satisfied, and well pleased with the testimony of James, saying, Hosanna to the Son of David. But the same Scribes and Pharisees said to one another: We have done wrong in procuring such a testimonie to Jesus. Let us go up, and throw him down, that the people may be terrified from giving credit to him. . . . And they went up presently, and cast him down, and said: Let us stone James the Just. And they began to stone him, because he was not killed with the fall. But he turning himself kneeled, saying: I entreat thee, O Lord God the Father, forgive them. For they know not what they do. As they were stoning him, one said: Give over. What do ye? The just man prays for you. And (t) one of them, a fuller, took a pole, which was used to beat cloths with, and struck him on the head. Thus his martyrdom was compleated. And they buried him in that place, and his monument still remains near the temple. This James was a true witness to Jews and Gentils, that Jesus is the Christ. “ And

Christ.” Vitium vero ejus non in vocabulo *θύρα*, sed potius in nomine *ἰησοῦ* quæri debere censeo. Judei, quod manifestum est, seiscitantur sententiam Jacobi de via seu de ostio salutis, id est, de vera ratione ad salutem æternam perveniendi. Nullus ergo dubito, quin patrio sermone, quo utebantur, vocabulum *Jeschuah* adhibuerint, atque ex Jacobo quæriverint: Dic, rogamus, nobis, quodnam tibi videatur esse salutis ostium. . . . Græcus quæstionis hujus interpres vero, aut sermonis non nimis gnarus, aut minus attentus, nomen proprium Servatoris nostri, Jesus, cernere se putabat, et perperam idcirco, quum *σωτηρία* ponendum ipsi fuisset: *Τίς ἡ θύρα τῆς σωτηρίας*; vocabulum *ἰησοῦ* scribebat: *Τίς ἡ θύρα ἰησοῦ*; Ita si Judæorum quæstio intelligatur, nihil fieri aptius potest responsione Jacobi: *Ostium salutis est Servator noster, Jesus Christus.* *Moslem. De Reb. Christianor. ante Constantin. Sec. prim. num. 23. p. 95.*

(c) See before, note (B).

(t) Καὶ λαβὼν τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τῶν γραφῶν τὸ ξύλον ἐν ᾧ ἀπεπίεζε τὰ ἱμάτια, ἔθηκε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῷ δικαίῳ. *Ib. p. 65. B.*

“ And soon after Judea was invaded by Vespasian, and the people were carried captive.” ‘ So writes Hegesippus at large, agreeably to Clement. For certain, James was an excellent man, and much esteemed by many for his virtue: insomuch that the most thoughtful men among the Jews were of opinion, that his death was the cause of the siege of Jerusalem, which followed soon after his martyrdom: and that it was owing to nothing else, but the wickedness committed against him. And (u) Josephus says the same in these words: “ These things befell the Jews in vindication of James the Just, who was brother of Jesus, called the Christ. For the Jews killed him, who was a most righteous man.” ‘ The same historian, in the twentieth book of his Antiquities, relates his death in this manner.’ “ The Emperour being informed of the death of Festus, sent Albinus to be Prefect in Judea. But the younger Ananus, who, as we said before, was made High-Priest, was haughty in his behaviour, and very enterprizing. And moreover he was of the sect of the Sadducees, who, as we have also observed before, are above all other Jews severe in their judicial sentences. This then being the temper of Ananus, he thinking he had a fit opportunity, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was yet upon the road, calls a Council. And bringing before them James, the brother of him who is called Christ, and some others, he accused them as transgressors of the laws, and had them stoned to death. But the most moderate men of the city, who also were reckoned most skilfull in the laws, were offended at this proceeding. They therefore sent privately to the King, [Agrippa the Younger,] entreating him to send orders to Ananus, no more to attempt any such things. And some went away to meet Albinus, who was coming from Alexandria, and put him in mind, that Ananus had no right to call a Council without his leave. Albinus approving of what they said, wrote a very angry letter to Ananus, threatening to punish him for what he had done. And King Agrippa took away from him the priesthood, after he had enjoyed it three months, and put in Jesus, the son of Damnaeus.” ‘ These are the things which are related of James, whose is the first of the epistles called catholic.’

Thus I have given a literal version of almost the whole of this chapter, being desirous, that my readers should see the accounts, which ancient writers have given of James: though they are not altogether so credible, nor so entertaining, as might have been wished. Nor do they any where lie in better order than here. And therefore I have chosen this chapter. The same things are transcribed by Jerome from Eusebius in his chapter of James the Just, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: but very inaccurately, blending together Hegesippus, and Clement, and Josephus: so that, without comparing Eusebius, it could not be known what belongs to one, and what to the other. For which, I think, he deserves to be censured. Nor could I pass it by without notice, as an use may be made of

(u) Ο γὰρ ἰώσηπος ἀπὸ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐγγράφων ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι, δι’ ὧν φησι λέξεν. Ταῦτα δὲ συμβέβηκεν Ἰουδαίῳ, κατ’ ἐπίδοξον ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαίου, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου χριστοῦ. ἐπειδὴ περὶ δικαιοτάτου αὐτὸν ὄντα οἱ ἰουδαῖοι ἀπέκτειναν. Ib. p. 65. D.

of it. For it may induce us to suspect, that to such carelessness and inaccuracy of quotation we owe those passages of Josephus, in which he is said to have assigned the death of James, as the sole cause of the ruin of the Jewish People.

And now I proceed to make some remarks upon the chapter of Eusebius, and the passages therein quoted by him.

1. In the first place, it appears from Eusebe's introduction, at the beginning of the chapter, that he supposed the martyrdom of St. James to have happened at a time, when there was no Roman Governour in Judea, after the death of Festus, and before the arrival of Albinus in the province. What reason he had for this, we do not certainly know. We do not observe any notice of that circumstance in what he has transcribed from Hegesippus. It is indeed expressly said in the passage of Josephus. But if that passage be the only foundation for the opinion, it's authority may be questioned. For divers learned men have suspected the genuineness of that part of the passage, which speaks of the death of James. As will be shewn more particularly by and by.

2. Upon the first quotation, which is from Hegesippus, it is easie for any one to observe, that (x) there are in it many things very unlikely: as (y) that James should live in the manner here represented, and particularly, that he should eat no animal food: that he had a right to enter into the holie place, when he pleased, whether thereby be understood the Holie of Holies, or only the temple: that the Scribes and Pharisees should place him on a pinnacle, or battlement of the temple, to deliver his opinion to the people concerning Jesus: that they should throw him down thence, and kill him in the temple, or any of the courts of it: that they should bury him near the place, in which he is here said to have been killed: when the Jews, and all other people in those times, usually buried their dead without the walls of their cities: and, finally, that he should have a monument, or pillar, over him, near the place where he was buried, which remained to the time of Hegesippus, after the war was over, and the city of Jerusalem and the temple had been overthrown. Concerning which last particular Jerome, in the Catalogue above mentioned, says:

(x) Ecce Jacobus Justus, ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ antistes, quem misere trucidarunt. Quod ipse Josephus paucis, copiosius Hegesippus apud Eusebium memoriæ prodidit: quamquam in narratione hujus multa sunt, quibus nemo, nisi rerum veterum, et Christianarum et Judaicarum, prorsus ignarus, fidem habeat. *Moshem. De Reb. Christian. ante Constantin. Sec. i. §. xxiii. p. 93.*

(y) Hic ab utero matris sanctus fuit: nazireatus, nempe, voto Deo consecratus, ut sequentia ostendunt. Nec fieri hoc potuisse negârim. Nec vinum unquam bibit, nec siceram. Ita debuit, si Naziræus fuit. Ab animantium carnibus abstinuit. Hoc vero Pythagoricum et superstitiosum fuit institutum, de quo nihil in Mosaica Lege, et cujus reum fuisse Jacobum, etiam postquam Christianus factus est, vix credibile sit. *Comam nunquam totondit.* Recte, atque ordine. Sic enim Lex jubet. Num. vi. 3. 5. *Neque ungi, neque lavare balneo corpus unquam solitus.* Non tantum præter, sed et contra Legem hoc fuit, quâ multæ ablutiones Judæis impositæ. Nec certe sordes quæsitæ quidquam ad sanctitatem faciunt. *Cleric. Hist. Ec. Ann. lxii. not. (2).* p. 415.

says: "He (z) was buried near the temple, where he had been thrown down. He had a conspicuous monument, till the siege of Titus, and that since by Adrian. Some of our people have thought, that he was buried on mount Olivet. But that is a mistaken opinion." So that even in Judea there were different opinions concerning the place, where James was buried. Nevertheless I presume, all were persuaded, that he had suffered martyrdom from the Jews at Jerusalem. There was no different sentiment about that.

However, this difference of opinion concerning the place, where St. James was buried, deserves our notice. For it may lead us to suspect some mistake in the account of Hegesippus. Possibly, St. James was buried in mount Olivet: though there was a pillar erected near the place, where he was killed. I think, this may be of use to remove some difficulties in the account of Hegesippus. The pillar, which he saw, might be erected after the siege of Jerusalem, by some, who remembered the place, where St. James had been killed. And some from that monument might conclude, he had been buried there, though really he was not.

I have made some remarks upon the passage of Hegesippus. A fuller critique may be seen in other (a) writers: partly aggravating the improbabilities of this account, partly softening them, and striving to remove difficulties. Accordingly Petavius says, "that (b) though there are in it several things very unlikely, yet the whole historie ought not therefore to be rejected." To whom I am not unwilling to accede. But as I have not room to enlarge upon particulars, for shewing the reasonableness of that judgement; I must be content with recommending a careful and impartial attention to the observations of the writers, to whom I have referred. However, I may by and by have an opportunity to mention a few thoughts, beside what I have already said, for removing difficulties, and answering objections.

3. Eusebius says, "that many thoughtful men among the Jews were of opinion, that the death of James was the cause of the siege of Jerusalem, and that it was owing to nothing else but the wickedness committed against him, and that Josephus says the same."

Origen speaks to the like purpose, as we have seen. But not quite so strongly. The same is said by Jerome more than once. I mean in (c) his

(z) . . . et juxta templum, ubi et præcipitatus fuerat, sepultus est. Titulum usque ad obsidionem Titi, et ultimam Hadriani notissimum habuit. Quidam e nostris in monte Oliveti eum putaverunt conditum, sed falsa eorum opinio est. *De V. I. cap. 2.*

(a) *Vid. Joseph. Scaliger. Animadvers. in Euseb. Chron. p. 193. 194. J. Cleric. Hist. Ec. A. D. lxii. Petav. Animadvers. ad Epiph. Her. lxxviii. Vales. Annot. in Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. et Tillemont S. Jacque le Mineur. Mem. Ec. Tom. i. Basnag. Ann. 33. num. 184. &c.*

(b) Nec diffiteor nonnulla vel ab Hegesippo prodita, vel ab aliis inserta, quæ parum probabilia videantur. Sed totam ipsam Historiam nego propterea damnandam esse. *Petav. Animadv. ad Epiph. H. 78. n. iii. p. 332.*

(c) Tradit enim Josephus, tantæ eum sanctitatis fuisse et celebritatis in populo, ut propter ejus necem creditum sit, subversam Hierosolimam. *De V. I. cap. 2. Vid. et cap. 13.*

his book of *Illustrious Men*, and (*d*) also elsewhere. But neither he, nor Eusebius expressly say, in what place of Josephus. Which may make us think, that they borrowed this from Origen. Nor does Origen inform us, in what Work of Josephus those things were said, though he has mentioned them several times. Which may dispose us to think, that they were no where expressly in Josephus.

4. Eusebius proceeds, and says, that in the xx. book of his *Antiquities* Josephus had related the death of James in a passage, which he there transcribes. Which passage is still in the works of Josephus. And what is there said, may be very true, for the most part: "that (*e*) Ananus the younger, being High-Priest, and a man of an haughty and enterprising temper, when there was no Roman Governour in Judea, convened a Council, and had some stoned to death, as transgressors of the laws: and that many of the most discreet and moderate men among the Jews were offended at this proceeding: forasmuch as whilst Judea was in the state of a province, the High-Priest had no right to call the Council together, without leave, and they feared, that this action would be resented by the Emperour." All this, I say, is very likely. Nevertheless those words, *James, the brother of him, who is called Christ*, have been suspected to be an interpolation. And, probably, (*f*) are so. Supposing (*g*) those words to be an interpolation, we can gather no more from that passage, than that Ananus did illegally condemn several persons to death, as transgressors of the Jewish laws. But who they were, or whether any of them were Christians, or not, cannot be determined with certainty.

5. Eusebius supposeth, that this passage of Josephus confirms the account given by Hegesippus: whereas (*h*) it appears, on the other hand, very difficult

(*d*) Transeamus ad Jacobum, qui frater Domini dicebatur, tantæ sanctitatis, tantæque justitiæ, et perpetuæ virginitatis, ut Josephus quoque historicus Judæorum propter hujus necem Jerosolymam subversam referat. Hic primus Episcopus ex Judæis Jerosolymæ credentis ecclesiæ. *Adv. Jovin. l. 1. T. 4. P. 2. p. 182. in.*

(*e*) Facile quidem crediderim Jerosolymitanos procures graviter tulisse, quod synedrium suâ auctoritate instituisset, cum dudum jus gladii a Romanis Judæis esset ereptum: quod iterum inconsulto Cæsare ab Anano usurpatum timebant, ne genti suæ gravi fortasse pœna luendum esset. Sed quæ de *Jacobo. Jesu, qui Christus dicebatur, fratre*, habentur, merum adjumentum male feriat Christiani esse videntur, Quæ de re alibi diximus. *Cleric. ubi supr. §. ii. p. 415. Conf. ejusd. Ars Crit. Part. 3. sect. i. cap. 14. num. xi.*

(*f*) See the *Credibility. &c. Part. i. B. i. ch. 2. §. xi. p. 163—165. the third edition. See here likewise not. (e) p. 50.*

(*g*) See *Dr. Benson's History of St. James. Sect. ii. p. 12. the second edition.*

(*h*) Quid magis contrarium esse potest, quam hæc Josephi, et illa Hegesippi narratio? Nam Josephus quidem damnatum esse scribit in publico Judæorum concilio: Hegesippus vero, per seditionem ac tumultum populi occisum. Et Hegesippus quidem fuisse fullonis necatum in media urbe. Josephus autem lapidatum occubuisse narrat. Fiebat autem lapidatio extra portas civitatis, ut notum est. *Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 41.*

Secundo, qui fidem habent narrationi Hegesippi, eos oportet, aut Josephum falso arguere, aut suspectum habere hunc locum, quo res publice Jerosolymæ gesta, adeoque notissima, aliter narratur: ut mirari fubeat, ab Eusebio Josephi

difficult to reconcile them. I do not perceive Hegesippus to say anything of Ananus, the High-Priest. Nor has he expressly mentioned the Sadducees, of which sect Ananus was. Nor does Hegesippus say a word of the Council of the Jews. And as the punishment of stoning, when ordered by magistrates, was generally inflicted on men out of the city; it is probable, that they who were put to death by the procurement of Ananus, suffered without Jerusalem. But according to Hegesippus, James died at the temple, or near it, and was buried not far off from the place, where he had expired.

6. Since what is said of James in the passage of Josephus, is justly suspected to be an interpolation, it ought not to be regarded. Learned men of late times find (i) it very difficult to determine, how James died. But that difficulty, as seems to me, is much increased by paying too much regard to a passage, the genuineness of which is far from being certain. Josephus, indeed, is an older author than Hegesippus, and he is an historian of good credit. But we should be first assured, that the account is his. If a passage, or part of a passage, has been inserted in his works, and there is good reason to think it not his; it should be disregarded, and stand for nothing.

If we once set aside that passage, we may soon come to a determination concerning the manner of James's death. That James had suffered martyrdom at Jerusalem, was the general persuasion of Christians in the time of Eusebius, and before, as we plainly perceive. Two ancient Christian writers of the second century assure us, that his death was completed by the blow of a fuller's pole, with which they are wont to beat wet cloths. And Hegesippus, in particular, and at large, relates, that his death was effected in a tumultuous manner. The tumult began at the temple. Where the Scribes and Pharisees, and other Jews, entered into discourse with James. He standing upon some eminence, which Hegesippus calls *πτερυγία*, and we now generally render a battlement, or pinnacle, openly declared, and argued, that Jesus was the Christ, or the expected Messiah, and that his doctrine contained full instruction, how men may be saved, and obtain eternal life. At which some leading men among the Jews were much offended. They then laid hold of him, and perhaps dragged him out of the temple. Some of the people threw stones at him. And though he earnestly prayed to God in the behalf of those who abused him, they persisted in their abuses, till one struck him with a long pole, which put an end to his life.

St. John has recorded two instances of the Jews taking up stones to throw at our Lord, when he was teaching in the temple. Ch. viii. 59. and ch. x. 31. . . . 46. The first is in these words: *Then took they up stones to cast at him. But Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple, going through the midst of them, and so passed by. They took up stones to cast at him.* And if our Lord had not saved himself by a miraculous exertion of power, they would have then killed him. Divine Providence
not

et Hegesippi verba allata, eodem capite, nec eum tentasse ea in concordiam redigere, aut alterutrius narrationis fidem in dubium non revocasse. *Cleric. Ars Crit. P. 3, sect. i. n. xii.*

(i) Potest tamen fieri, ut Jacobus hoc tempore mortuus sit. Sed genus mortis ignotum. *Cleric. H. E. Ann. lxii. num. iii. in.*

not interposing in a like manner, when a like attempt was made upon James, he fell a sacrifice to the rage of the unbelieving part of the Jewish people at Jerusalem.

Nor ought it to be thought exceeding strange, or absolutely unaccountable, that some Scribes and Pharisees, or other Jews, should gather about James at the temple, and ask his opinion concerning Jesus, though they knew it very well already: or that they should come to him with pretences of great respect, and assurances of paying a regard to his judgement. For many like things are recorded in the Gospels. Which every one is able to recollect. I shall therefore take particular notice only of that second instance, mentioned by St. John, of their taking up stones to throw at our Lord. John x. 22. . . . 31. *And it was at Jerusalem, the feast of the Dedication . . . And Jesus walked in the temple, in Solomon's porch. Then came the Jews round about him, and said unto him, How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly. Jesus answered them: I told you, and ye believed not. The works that I do in my Father's name they bear witness of me. . . . Then the Jews took up stones again to stone him.* They came to Jesus, and desired an answer to a question, that had been answered before. But they pretend now to desire, it should be answered in the plainest and fullest manner. Nevertheless they could not hear the answer with patience.

I said just now, that two ancient writers of the second centurie, Clement and Hegesippus, assure us, that the death of James had been completed by a fuller's pole, after he had been thrown off from the temple, I suppose this must have been the opinion also of Eusebius, who has taken notice of these things, and of other ancient Christians. It is the account, which (k) Jerome gives of the death of James, in his article, in the book of Illustrious Men, and likewise (l) elsewhere. The same is said by (m) Epiphanius.

Let this suffice for the circumstances, and the manner of the death of James.

VI. The time of the death of James may be determined without much difficulty. He was alive, when Paul came to Jerusalem at the Pentecost in the year of Christ 58. And it is likely, that he was dead, when St. Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, at the beginning of the year 63. Theodoret (n) upon Hebr. xiii. 7. supposeth the Apostle there to refer to the martyrdoms of Stephen, James, the brother of John, and James the Just. According to Hegesippus the death of James happened about the time of Passover, which might be that of the year 62. And if Festus was then dead, and Albinus not arrived, the province was without a Governour. Such a season

The Time of his Death.

(k) Qui cum præcipitatus de pinna templi, confractis cruribus, adhuc semivivus—fullonis fuste, quo uda vestimenta extorqueri solent, in cerebro percussus interiit. *De V. I. cap. 2.*

(l) Hic autem Jacobus Episcopus Jerosolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Justus:—Qui et ipse postea de templo a Judæis præcipitatus, successorem habuit Simonem, &c. *Comm. in ep. ad Gal. Cap. i. T. 4. p. 237.*

(m) *Her. 78. num. xiv. p. 1046.*

(n) *Theod. Tom. 3. p. 459.*

season left the Jews at liberty to gratify their licencious, and turbulent disposition. And they were very likely to embrace it. We may therefore very reasonably place this event at that juncture.

And it is now the general opinion of learned men, that James died about that time. Pearson (*o*) who seems to admit the genuinnesse of the whole passage of Josephus, placeth the death of James in the year 62. Him Mill (*p*) follows. Le Clerc, who disputes the genuinnesse of those words that relate to James, allows, that (*q*) he might dye about that time. This also is agreeable to Tillemont's (*r*) computation. And I refer to (*s*) Valesius.

In what respect he was our Lord's Brother.

VII. It still remains, that we consider, on what account he was called the *Lord's brother*, and whether he be the same as James the son of Alphaeus.

James, as we have seen, is called by St. Paul *the Lord's brother*. Gal. i. 19. All Christian writers in general speak of him in the like manner. The question is, in what sense he was so.

That James was not the son of Marie, or our Lord's brother by nature, has been well argued by Christians in former times, both (*t*) Latins, and (*u*) Greeks, from our Lord's words upon the crosse, recorded John xix. 26. 27. where he recommends the care of his mother to John: requiring her to consider him, as her son, and him to take care of her, as his mother.

And indeed it has been the opinion of all Christians in general, that Marie was always a virgin, and that she never had any children by Joseph. We must therefore inquire, in what respect this James was our Lord's brother, and some others his brothers, or sisters.

Eusebius, in a chapter quoted some while ago, the first of the second book of his Ecclesiastical Historie, without hesitation says, " that (*x*) James was said to be the Lord's brother, because he also was called the son of Joseph. And Joseph was reckoned his father, because the virgin Marie was espoused to him."

Origen

(*o*) *Ann. Paulin. p. 19. A. Chr. lxxii.*

(*p*) *Prolegom. num. 56.*

(*q*) *H. E. An. 62. num. iii.*

(*r*) *S. Jacque le Mineur. art. vii. in.*

(*s*) *Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 41.*

(*t*) Verum homines pravissimi hinc præsumunt opinionis suæ auctoritatem, quod plures Dominum nostrum fratres habuisse sit traditum. Qui si Mariæ filii fuissent, et non potius Josephi ex priore conjugio suscepti, nunquam in tempore passionis Joanni Apostolo transcripta esset in matrem, Domino ad utrumque dicente, Mulier ecce filius tuus, et Joanni, Ecce mater tuæ: nisi quod desolatæ solatium caritatem filii in discipulo relinquebat. *Hilar. Pist. Comm. in Matt. cap. i. p. 612. Ed. Bened.*

(*u*) Εἰ ἦσαν δὲ τέκνα τῇ μαρίᾳ, καὶ εἰ ἐπῆρχεν αὐτῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ, τίνι λόγῳ παρείδε τὴν μαρίαν τῷ ἰωάννῃ, καὶ τὸν ἰωάννην τῇ μαρίᾳ; *Epiph. Her. 78. num. x. p. 1042. C.*

Εἰ γὰρ ἔγνω αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ γυναικὶς εἶχε, πῶς ὡς ἀποστατευτοὺς αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐδὲνα ἔχουσιν, τῷ μαθητῇ παρατίθεται, καὶ κελεύει αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ ἴδια αὐτὴν λαβεῖν; *Chrysost. in Matt. hom. 5. T. 7. p. 77.*

(*x*) Τότε δὴ καὶ ἰσχυρότερον, τὸν τῷ κυρίῳ λεγόμενον ἀδελφόν, ὅτι δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἰωσήφ ἀνόμαστον παῖτα; τῷ δὲ χρίστῳ πατὴρ ὁ ἰωσήφ, ὃ μνηστευθεῖσα ἡ παρθένος. κ. λ. *Lu. 2. c. 1. p. 38. B.*

Origen (*y*) in the passage also cited (*z*) above, says, that the brethren of Jesus were the sons of Joseph by a former wife, who had cohabited with him before Marie. And he mentions it as supported by an ancient tradition. This was the opinion (*a*) of Epiphanius, and of many (*b*) ancient writers, both Greeks and Latins.

Jerome, in his article of this person, in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, says: "James (*c*) who is called the Lord's brother, surnamed the Just, was, as some think, the son of Joseph by another wife, but, as seems to me, the son of Marie, sister to our Lord's mother, mentioned by John, in his Gospel. John xix. 25." And in his book against Helvidius he delivers it as his opinion, that (*d*) those called our Lord's brethren in the Gospels, were so named, as they were cousins, or relations. He speaks to the like purpose also (*e*) in his Commentarie upon Matt. xii. 49. 50.

This opinion was at length embraced by Augustin. In his Exposition of the epistle to the Galatians, writ about the year 394. he speaks dubiously, saying, "that (*f*) James was the Lord's brother, as he was the son of Joseph by a former wife, or else as he was related to his mother Marie." But in works, writ afterwards, he continually says, that (*g*) our Lord's brethren were relations of his mother Marie.

The

(*y*) *In Matt. T. x. p. 462. 463. T. 3. Bened. P. 223. Tom. i. Huet.*

(*z*) *See before. p. 374.*

(*a*) *Epiph. Hær. 29. n. iii. et iv. Hær. 51. num. x. Hær. 78. num. viii. et ix. Ancorat. num. lx. p. 62.*

(*b*) *Greg. Nyssen. de Christi Resur. Or. 2. Tom. 3. p. 412. 413. Chrysostr. in Matt. hom. 5. Tom. 7. p. 77. C. Theophyl. in Gal. i. 19. p. 448. Niceph. Call. l. 2. cap. 3. in Hilar. Pictav. Comm. in Matt. cap. i. p. 612. ed. Bened. Ambros. de Insul. Virg. cap. vi. T. 2. p. 260. Bened. Ambrosiastri Comment. in Gal. i. 19. ap. Ambros. in App. T. 2. p. 213.*

(*c*) *Jacobus qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant, Joseph ex alia uxore, ut mihi videtur, Mariæ sororis matris Domini, cujus Johannes in libro suo meminit, filius. De V. I. cap. 2.*

(*d*) *Restat igitur, ut juxta superiorem expositionem fratres eos intelligas appellatos, cognatione, non affectu, non gentis privilegio, non naturâ: quomodo Lot Abraham, quomodo Jacob Laban est appellatus frater. &c. Adv. Helvid. T. 4. P. 2. P. 140.*

(*e*) *Quidam fratres Domini de aliâ uxore Joseph filios suspicantur, sequentes deliramenta apocryphorum, et quandam Mescham vel Escham mulierculam confingentes. Nos autem, sicut in libro, quem contra Helvidium scripsimus, continetur, non filios Joseph, sed consobrinos Salvatoris, Mariæ liberos, intelligimus, materteræ Domini: quæ esse dicitur mater Jacobi minoris, et Joseph, et Judæ: quos in alio Evangelii loco fratres Domini legimus appellatos. Fratres autem consobrinos dici, omnis scriptura demonstrat. In Matt. cap. xii. T. 4. p. 53.*

(*f*) *Jacobus Domini frater, vel ex filiis Joseph de aliâ uxore, vel ex cognatione Mariæ matris ejus debet intelligi. Aug. Expos. ep. ad Gal. cap. i. et ii. num. 8. Tom. 3. P. 2.*

(*g*) *Fratres ejus sic accipite, sicut nostis. Non enim novum est quod auditis. Consanguinei virginis Mariæ fratres Domini dicebantur. Scriptura tamen*

The former, as appears from the authors just cited, was the more ancient opinion. Nor does Jerome allege any before him who held the opinion mentioned as his own. Indeed he seems to have been the first, who said, that our Lord's brethren were the sons of Marie, his mother's sister, and therefore only cousins or relations. But when he advanced this notion, he (*b*) was inclined to think Joseph also a virgin. As has been well observed by (*i*) G. J. Vossius.

However Jerome's opinion has prevailed very much of late. I suppose, it may be that (*k*) of the Romanists in general. It was also the opinion of (*l*) Lightfoot. It is likewise embraced by (*m*) Witfius, and (*n*) Lampe, and (*o*) many other Protestants. But Valesius, among the Romanists, in his Annotations upon the above cited chapter of Eusebius, says, he (*p*) thinks, that James was the son of Joseph by a former wife. The

tamen hujusmodi cognationes fratres appellat. Nam Abraham et Lot fratres sunt dicti, cum esset Abraham patruus Lot: et Laban et Jacob fratres sunt dicti, cum esset Laban avunculus Jacob. &c. In *Joan. Tract.* 28. num. 3. *Tom. 3. P. 2. Vid. ibid. in Matth. Qu. xvii. et in Joan. Tr. x.*

Et Loth frater Abrahæ dicitur, cum patruus ejus esset Abraham. Ex quâ vocabuli consuetudine etiam fratres Domini vocantur in Evangelio, non utique quos Maria virgo pepererat, sed ejus consanguinitate omnes propinqui. *Contr. Faust. l. 22. cap. 35. T. 8.*

(*b*) Tu dicis, Mariam virginem non permanfisse. Ego mihi plus vindico, etiam ipsum Joseph virginem fuisse per Mariam, ut ex virginitatis conjugio virgo filius nasceretur. *Adv. Helvid. Tom. 4. p. 142. in.*

(*i*) Et sane, qui Josephum putaret non habuisse uxorem, antequam B. Mariam duceret, ante B. Hieronymum arbitror fuisse neminem; utcumque posterioribus temporibus, in virginitate extollenda immodicis, avide multi eam fuerint sententiam amplexi. *Voss. de Gen. Christi. cap. vi.*

(*k*) *Vid. Baron. in Apparatu num. lxi. Sc. Est. ad Gal. cap. i. 19. et alibi. Tillem. S. Jacques le Mineur. Art. i. et ii.*

(*l*) See *Lightfoot's Works. Vol. i. p. 270. 541. 660.*

(*m*) At quamvis Eusebius, Epiphanius, Gregorius Nyssenus, plurimique veterum, in eandem concesserint sententiam, non videtur mihi ea probabilibus niti argumentis. Rectius Hieronymo accedemus, arbitranti eos qui Domini fratres dicuntur, fuisse ejus consobrinos, loquendi genere, etiam Græcis et Romanis noto. *Witf. Comm. in ep. Jud. §. 4. p. 454.*

(*n*) Erat hic frater Jacobi minoris. . . Quare fuit consobrinus Christi secundum carnem, natus ex Maria, uxore Cleophæ, seu Alphæi, quæ soror erat Mariæ Matris Domini. *Lampe in Evang. Joan. cap. xiv. xvii. T. 3. p. 167.*

(*o*) *Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 5. n. xi. T. 3. p. 165. And see Lensant et Beaufobre sur Gal. i. 19. et la preface sur l'epître de S. Jacques. Dr. Benson in his preface to the Epistle of St. James. sect. ii. Doddridge in his preface to the same epistle.*

(*p*) Ait igitur Eusebius, Jacobum, qui in Evangelio et epistola Pauli frater Domini dicitur, filium fuisse Josephi ex aliâ conjugē, quam Josephus ante Mariam sibi sociaverat. Cum Eusebio consentit Epiphanius. . . Gregorius Nyssenus. . . sed Hieronymus in libro de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis Jacobum hunc idcirco fratrem Domini appellatum esse existimat, quod filius esset Mariæ, sororis fratris Domini. . . Multa quidem de hoc argumento disseruit Baronius in Annalibus. Mihi tamen verior videtur opinio eorum, qui Jacobum,

The same opinion has been asserted by several among the Protestants, as (q) G. J. Vossius, and (r) Basnage, and (s) Cave, in his Lives of the Apostles, writ in English. Nor does it appear that he had abandoned his first judgment, when (t) he wrote his *Historia Literaria*.

I likewise have for a long time been much inclined to the same opinion. And have composed an argument upon the question. But I have laid it aside, supposing it to be rather too prolix, and too intricate, to be inserted in this place. And after all, perhaps some might think, that the argument does not afford a compleat solution of all difficulties and objections. I therefore enter not at present into any dispute about it, but leave every one to judge as he sees good.

VIII. Whether James was the son of Joseph by a former wife, or the son of Marie, wife of Cleophas, sister to Marie, our Lord's mother, or otherwise nearly related to her, he was an Apostle. I think, it was clearly proved at the beginning of this chapter from the New Testament, that James, called *the Lord's Brother*, was an Apostle in the highest acceptance of the word. Consequently, he must be James the son of Alpheus, or Cleophas. For those names seem to be one, differently writ.

That He was an Apostle, and the son of Alpheus.

But how he was so, is made out differently. They who say, that those called our Lord's brethren were sons of Cleophas, husband of Marie, related to our Lord's mother, seem to have here no difficulty. But they who

bum, et reliquos Domini fratres, Josephi ex priore matrimonio filios esse dicunt. Hæc enim sententia magis convenit verbis Evangelii. *Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. l. 2. cap. 1.*

Fuit enim Jacobus filius Josephi, ac proinde oriundus ex stirpe David. *Id. in Annot. ad l. 2. cap. 23. p. 40.*

(q) *Voss. de Gen. J. C. cap. vi.*

(r) *Basnag. ann. ante Christ. 6. num. xxviii. et xxix.*

(s) "He was the son, (as we may probably conjecture,) of Joseph, afterwards husband to the blessed virgin, and his first wife. Hence reputed our Lord's brother, in the same sense, that he was reputed the son of Joseph. . . Jerome, and some others, will have Christ's brethren so called, because sons of Mary, cousin-german, or, according to the custom of the Hebrew language, sister to the virgin Mary. But Eusebius, Epiphanius, and the far greater part of the ancients, (from whom, especially in matters of fact, we are not rashly to depart,) make them the children of Joseph by a former wife. And this seems most genuine and natural, the Evangelists seeming very express and accurate in the account which they give of them. *Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Jude?* . . . Matt. xiii. 55. 56. By which it is plain, that the Jews understood these persons not to be Christ's kinsmen only, but his brothers, the same carpenter's sons, having the same relation to him that Christ himself had: though they indeed had more. Christ being but his reputed, they his natural sons." And what follows. *The Life of James the Less. num. 2*

(t) S. Jacobus apostolus. . . minor dictus, cognomento Justus, frater Domini, Josephi utpote ex priori conjugio, seu ut Hieronymo placet, Mariæ sororis matris Domini filius. *Hist. Lit. Tom. i. p. 14.*

who suppose our Lord's brethren to have been sons of Joseph by a former wife, are somewhat embarrassed. However, I just observe, that the account given by (u) Epiphanius, is this. Cleophas and Joseph were brothers. The former died without issue, and Joseph raised up seed to his brother. Accordingly, James being the first-born of Joseph, was called the son of Cleophas. In like manner speaks (x) Theophylact. But, as before said, I do not now form any debate about this.

That James, called our Lord's brother, is the same as he, who in the catalogues of the Apostles is called the *son of Alpheus*, or *Cleophas*, is allowed by Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and Theophylact. Epiphanius says, that (y) James, by nature the son of Joseph, who was called the Lord's brother, and was an Apostle, was appointed the first Bishop of Jerusalem. Chrysostom in his comment upon Gal. i. 19. says, "that (z) Paul calls James the Lord's brother, giving him that honourable appellation, when he might have said *the son of Cleophas*, as he is called in the Gospels." Theophylact likewise says, "that (a) Paul calls him brother, by the way of honorable distinction: when he might have called him the son of Cleophas. Nor was he the Lord's brother according to the flesh, but only thought to be so." I mention no more ancient writers.

And that James, called the son of Alpheus in the catalogues of the Apostles, was one of those, who are called *the Lord's brethren*, I think, may be shewn from the Gospels, by comparing several texts together.

In all the catalogues of the twelve Apostles of Christ the four last mentioned are these. *James the son of Alpheus, and Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus, Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him.* Matt. x. 3. 4. *James the son of Alpheus, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, which also betrayed him.* Mark iii. 18. 19. *James the son of Alpheus, and Simon called Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James, and Judas Iscariot, which also was the traitor.* Luke vi. 15. 16. *James the son of Alpheus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James.* Acts i. 13.

Let us now compare the texts in the Gospels, where our Lord's brethren are named. Matt. xiii. 55. *Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Marie? and his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas? And Mark vi. 3. Is not this the carpenter, the son of Marie, the brother of James, and of Joses, and of Judas, and Simon?*

All

(u) Vid. Epiph. Her. 29. n. iii. iv. H. 51. n. κ. H. 78. num. vii. viii. ix. et Ancorat. num. lx.

(x) Πῶς δὲ ἦν τῷ κλοπᾷ; Αὐτῷ· Κλοπᾶς καὶ ἰωσήφ ἀδελφοί. Τῷ κλοπᾷ ἄπειρος τελευτήσαντος, ὁ ἰωσήφ ἱεραίστησεν αὐτῷ σπέρμα, καὶ ἔτεκε τέτον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτῷ ἀδελφάς. κ. λ. Theoph. in Gal. i. 19.

(y) . . . κατασταθέντος· ἐκ τῶν ἰακώβ τῷ ἀδελφῷ κυρίῳ καλεσμένῳ καὶ ἀποστόλῳ ἐπισκόπῳ πρῶτε ὑπὲρ ἰωσήφ φύσει υἱός. κ. λ. Her. 29. n. iii.

(z) Εἰ γὰρ σημεῖναι ὃν ἔλεγεν ἤθελεν, ἐνὶν καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρου γνωρίσματος τῷ ποιεῖν ὄλον, καὶ εἰπεῖν, τὸν τῷ κλοπᾷ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἔλεγεν. Chr. in Gal. cap. i. T. κ. p. 678. E.

(a) Εἰδὲ δὲ καὶ ἰακώβον. Μετὰ τριῶν δὲ καὶ τέττα μέμνηται, τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῷ κυρίῳ εἰπων, ἔγω καὶ βαρκαρίας ἀπῆλθον· καίτοι εἰ ἠθέλητο σημεῖναι, εἶπευ αὐτὸν τῷ κλοπᾷ· ὅτι γὰρ κατὰ σῶκα ἀδελφὸς ἦν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐνομιζέτο. Theoph. in Gal. i. 19.

All these, except Joses, seem to have been Apostles. For must not the three Apostles, last mentioned before Judas Iscariot, in the first catalogues, and the three last mentioned, in the Acts, be three of the four called in the Gospels our Lord's brethren?

And I should choose to translate the texts of St. Luke, where the Apostles are named, somewhat differently from what is generally done, in this manner. *James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas, brethren of James*: declaring, that both Simon, and Judas, were brethren of James, the son of Alphaeus, before named. A word must be supplied. And the coherence leads me to think, *brethren* more proper than *brother*.

By all which we are led to conclude, that James, several times mentioned in the Acts, and St. Paul's epistles, is the same, who in the catalogues of the Apostles is called *James the son of Alphaeus*. For James, mentioned by St. Paul, is called *the Lord's brother*, and plainly appears to be an Apostle. Consequently, he is *James, the son of Alphaeus*, mentioned in all the catalogues of the Apostles of Christ.

Wall, in his notes upon John vii. at the beginning says: "These brethren and kinsfolk of our Lord, as they were but mean persons, so also they were some of the backwardest to believe in him. . . . They that are most usually called his brethren were James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas. . . . Two of these, James and Judas, some learned men think to have been two of the Apostles. And there were two Apostles of those names that were brethren. But this place, if they be of those that are meant in it, is a strong argument against that opinion. For these brethren did hardly yet believe in him. But the Apostles did. This was but half a year before he suffered."

Upon which I would observe. When St. John says ch. vii. 5. *For neither did his brethren believe in him*: he does not intend to say, that they had not faith in him. Grotius's comment appears to me very right. "The (*b*) meaning is not, that they did not believe at all: but that they did not believe, as they should."

Learned men are certainly in the right, when they say, that some of the Lord's brethren were Apostles. And it seems to me, that all those, who in the Gospels are called our Lord's brethren, had early and always an affection and esteem for him. This may be perceived from several places in the Gospels, as Matt. xii. 46. Mark iii. 31. Luke viii. 19. See also John ii. 12. And in time they all believed in him, and that rightly, as the Messiah. St. Luke, in the historie of things after our Lord's ascension, Acts i. 13. 14. having mentioned the names of the Apostles, adds: *These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Marie the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren*. And St. Paul 1 Cor. ix. 5. speaks of *brethren of the Lord*, not Apostles, who labored in spreading the Gospel in the world.

They, of whom St. John speaks, had worldly views and expectations. They were desirous, that Jesus, if he were indeed the Messiah, should go to Jerusalem, and set up his kingdom in a glorious manner. Even after this several, who certainly were Apostles, betrayed great ignorance, or weak faith, or wrong apprehensions, by their discourses, and questions
put

(*b*) Non omnino, non ut oportebat. Grot. in. loc.

put to our Saviour. Of Thomas see John xiv. 5. Of Philip see ver. 8. . . . 11. and of Judas ver. 22. 23.

Those brethren of our Lord proposed, that he should hasten to Jerusalem, to the feast of Tabernacles, nigh at hand. . . . *Jesus said to them: My time is not yet come. But your time is always ready. The world cannot hate you. But me it hateth, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil. Go ye up unto this feast. I go not up yet unto this feast. For my time is not yet full come.* ch. vii. 6. 7. 8. It is manifest, that he taxeth their carnalitie and worldlimindednesse. As if he had said, "It is (c) not proper for me to go up to this feast, as yet, nor till after it is begun. But you may go up at any time, since you have done little or nothing to make the Jews unfriendly to you, as I have done: who, by the strictnesse of my doctrine, and the freedom of my reproofs, have provoked many to a great degree."

It follows in ver. 9. 10. *When he had said these things unto them, he abode still in Galilee. But when his brethren were gone up, then went he also up unto the feast, not openly, but as it were in secret.* These words may afford, in the opinion of some, another objection to the supposition, that these brethren of our Lord were Apostles. But to me the objection appears not of much moment. Some of these brethren might nevertheless be among the Apostles, and go up to the feast before him. For our Lord seems not to have been attended by all his Apostles in that journey. So much is implied in the manner, in which it was performed. *He went not openly, but as it were in private:* in a more private manner, than he had usually done, and attended by a small number of his Apostles only, several of them having gone up to Jerusalem before him, upon occasion of the approaching solemnity.

Chrysostom seems not to have doubted, that some of the brethren of our Lord, here spoken of, were Apostles, or at least among his disciples. For discoursing on John vii. 3. 4. 5. he says: "Observe (d) with me the power of Christ. Of them who uttered these words, one was the first Bishop of Jerusalem, even the blessed James, of whom Paul says: *Other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother.* And Judas also is said to have been a wonderfull man." So says Chrysostom, who did not receive the epistle of St. Jude, so far as we can perceive, though he did that of St. James.

IX. This James is called by St. Mark, *the less*, ch. xv. *Why called the Less.* 40. *There were also women looking on afar off. Among whom was Marie Magdalen, and Marie the mother of James the less, and Joses, and Salome.* That hereby is meant James, the Lord's brother, and the son of Alpheus, is generally supposed, and I think reasonably. He can be no other, because Joses is presently afterwards mentioned, as his brother; agreeably to other places of the Evangelists, where our Lord's brethren are named, Matt. xiii. 55. Mark vi. 3. But interpreters are not agreed, why he was so called.

It

(c) Compare Mr. James Macnight's *Harmony of the Gospels*. p. 5. Vol. ii.

(d) Σὺ δὲ μοι σκόπει τῷ Χριστῷ τὴν δόξαν. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τέτων τῶν ταῦτα λεγόντων τὰ ῥήματα, ὁ πρῶτος τῶν ἱεροσολίμων ἐπίσκοπος γέγονεν, ὁ μακάριος Ἰάκωβος. . . . Ἀγγελὰς δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰούδας θαυμαστὸς τε γεγυῖναι. In *Jo. hom.* 48. T. 8. p. 284. D.

It has been thought, that (e) herein is a reference to James the son of Zebedee, and brother of John, who had been beheaded by Herod in the year of Christ 44. And Lightfoot says, "that (f) James, or Jacob, is commonly called *James the great*, in distinction from James the son of Alphæus, who is called the less, not for any dignity, or superiority of apostleship that he had above the other, but either because this James was the elder, or because of the singular privacy, that Christ admitted him to with himself, as he also did Peter and John."

Here are several reasons of this denomination, but though Lightfoot says, James the son of Zebedee was commonly called *James the great*, there is no instance of it in the New Testament.

It may be observed, that *the less*, in the original, is not a comparative, but a positive, *the little*, τὸ μικρὸν. And so Beza has translated. Maria Jacobi parvi et Jose mater. However in the Latin Vulgate it is Jacobi minoris. And it is evident that (g) Jerome so understood the word.

Gregorie Nyssen (h) thought, he was called the less, as not being one of the twelve Apostles. Which reason I cannot admit, because I am persuaded he was an Apostle, if he was the Lord's brother. Nor do I perceive in the New Testament more than two of his name.

Some say, he was so called, because he was the younger of the two Apostles of this name. But of this there is no proof, nor probability. For James, the son of Alphæus, must have been his father's first-born, and may have been as old, or older than James the son of Zebedee.

Some have conjectured, that (i) he might have been so called on account of his stature. Which conjecture is favoured by the literal sense of the word in the positive degree, *James the little*. And some may be apt to think, that this was one reason, why the Jews at the temple, according to Hegesippus, placed him on an eminence, that he might be heard by all the people, when assembled in great numbers. So Zacheus, being *little of stature*, and there being a great croud, climbed up into a sycamore tree, to see Jesus, as he passed by. Luke xviii. Perhaps, this is as likely a conjecture, as any.

Nevertheless I shall mention one more. He might be so called, on account of his inferiority, in comparison of the other James. It is manifest,

(e) Puto ita dictum inter Apostolos ad discrimen Jacobi Zebedaidæ. *Grot. ad Marc. xv. 40.*

(f) *The third Part of the Harmony of the four Evangelists. Vol. i. p. 634.*

(g) Si non est Apostolus, sed nescio quis Jacobus, quomodo est frater Domini putandus? Et quomodo tertius ad distinctionem majoris appellabitur minor? quum major et minor non inter tres, sed inter duos soleant præbere distantiam. *Adv. Helvid. p. 138. in.*

(h) Ο δὲ μάρκος ἰακώβου τὸ μικρὸν ἢ ἰωσὴφ μῆτέρα αὐτὴν εἶπεν, ἐπειπερ ἦν ἄλλος ἰακώβος· ὁ τῶ ἀλφάου, διὰ τὸτο μέγας, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τοῖς δώδεκα συναριθμητο· ὁ γὰρ μικρὸς ἐκ ἧν αὐτοῖς ἐναριθμῆται. *Greg. Nyss. De Christ. Ref. Or. 2. T. 3. p. 413.*

(i) Potuit etiam Jacobus parvus appellari ad corporis molem ratione habitæ: quomodo apud Romanos ob corporis affectiones Pauli, Magni, Longi, Crassi, Claudii, Pulchri nuncupabantur. *Basnag. ann. ante Dom. 6. num. ἀκρί.*

nifest, that during the time of our Lord's abode on this earth, Peter, and James, and John, the two sons of Zebedee, were the most eminent and considerable of the disciples. They were the most favored, and were admitted by our Lord to some special measure of confidence and freedom. And it is observable, that in all the catalogues of the Apostles James the son of Alpheus, and Simon the Canaanite, or Zelotes, and Judas, are the last mentioned, except Judas Iscariot. Possibly these three, whom I suppose to have been our Lord's brethren, were the latest called to be Apostles, and for a while were defective in faith, and understanding, or not so considerable, and eminent, as some of the other Apostles, particularly, James the son of Zebedee. The question put to our Lord by Judas, one of them, recorded in John xiv. 22. seems a remarkable instance of the slowness of his understanding in the things of religion, under all the advantages, which he had enjoyed.

James therefore might be called *the less*, by way of distinction from another of the same name, who had been called to be an Apostle before him, and was more eminent. And yet the appellation carried not in it any reflection. This coincides with some things said by Lightfoot above.

However, it is mentioned only as a conjecture, to be considered by those, who are disposed to do it. For I am not able to say with assurance, what was the ground and reason of this appellation.

Surnamed the Just, and other Marks of Respect.

X. We have seen divers proofs of the respect shewn to this person, which any one is able to collect, and therefore they need not to be repeated.

However, I shall here take notice of a few such things.

I. He is never called Justus, or the Just, in the New Testament. But he seems to have been so called by many even in his life-time, as well as afterwards. Eusebius says, that (*k*) he was called the Just by the ancients on account of the eminence of his virtue. He is several times so called in the passages of Clement of Alexandria, quoted from Eusebius (*l*) some while agoe. Hegeſippus says, he (*m*) had been called the Just by all from our Saviour's time to his own: and afterwards, that (*n*) on account of his eminent virtue he was called the Just, and Oblias. He likewise says, that (*o*) the Jews at the temple called him the Just, as may be seen in the account of his death, transcribed above. Jerome (*p*) in the beginning of his article of this person says, "that James the Lord's brother was surnamed the Just."

2. In

(*k*) Τῶτον δὴ ἦν αὐτὸν ἰάκωβον, ὃν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπικλήναι οἱ πάλαι δι' ἀρετῆς ἐκάλουν προτερήματα. . . . Euf. H. E. l. 2. c. 1. p. 38. B.

(*l*) p. 371. 372.

(*m*) Ο ὁμομαθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος ἀπὸ τῶν τῷ κυρίῳ χρόνων μέχρι καὶ ἡμῶν. Ap. Euseb. l. 2. c. 23. p. 63. D.

(*n*) Διὰ γένει τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο δίκαιος καὶ ὠβλίαν. Ib. p. 64. A.

(*o*) . . . καὶ ἔκραζαν αὐτῷ, καὶ εἶπον. Δικαίε, ᾧ πάντες πείθεσθαι ὀφείλομεν. Ib. D. Vid. ei p. 65. A. et B.

(*p*) Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus. De V. I. cap. 2.

2. In his commentarie upon the epistle to the Galatians, at ch. i. 19. he says, “that (q) James, there spoken of, was in such esteem for his sanctity, that it was no uncommon thing for people to crowd about him, and strive to touch the hem of his garment.”

3. Eusebius says, that (r) the episcopal chair, in which James was used to sit, was preserved to his time, and was had in veneration by the church at Jerusalem.

XI. I have not been able to write the historie of this person so regularly, as that of some others. For which reason it may not be amiss to take a summarie view of what we have seen.

*A Review of
the whole.*

James, sometimes called the less, the son of Alpheus, and called the Lord's brother, either as being the son of Joseph by a former wife, or a relation of his mother Marie, was one of Christ's Apostles. We have no account of the time, when he was called to the apostleship. Nor is there any thing said of him particularly in the historie of our Saviour, which is in the Gospels. But from the Acts, and St. Paul's epistles, we can perceive, that after our Lord's ascension he was of note among the Apostles. Soon after St. Stephen's death in the year 36. or thereabout, he seems to have been appointed President, or Superintendent in the church of Jerusalem, where, and in Judea, he resided the remaining part of his life. Accordingly, he presided in the Council of Jerusalem, held there in the year 49. or 50. He was in great repute among the Jewish People, both believers and unbelievers, and was surnamed the Just. Notwithstanding which he suffered martyrdom in a tumult at the temple: and, probably, in the former part of the year 62. He wrote one epistle, not long before his death, of which we shall speak presently.

C H A P. XVII.

THE EPISTLE OF St. JAMES.

I. *The Evidences of it's Genuinnesse.* II. *When writ.* III. *To whom.*

HAVING now done all I am able for clearing up the historie of this person, I come to consider the epistle ascribed to him.

Here I would observe the evidences of it's genuinnesse, and authority, the time when, and the people to whom it was writ.

I. And

(q) Hic autem Jacobus episcopus Jerosolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Justus: vir tantæ sanctitatis et rumoris in populo, ut simbriam vestimenti ejus certatim cuperent attingere. *In. Gal. T. 4. p. 237. in.*

(r) Τὸν γὰρ ἱακώβου θρόνον τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας . . εἰς δεῦρο πεφυλαγμένον οἱ τῆδε κατὰ διαδοχὴν περιέποντες ἀδελφοί. κ. λ. *H. E. l. 7. c. 19.*

It's genuinnesse. I. And for the first point. This epistle seems to be alluded, or referred to, by Clement Bishop of Rome. Vol. i. p. 95. . . 97. and by Hermas, p. 128. . . 131. It is not expressly quoted by Irenæus. Nor are there in him any indisputed references to it. Vol. i. p. 373. . . 378. Nor do we perceive it to be quoted by Clement of Alexandria. Vol. ii. p. 504. . . 508. and 511. . . 515. nor by Tertullian. p. 613. . . 616. This epistle is quoted once or twice by Origen, but, as of doubtfull authority, or not received by all. Vol. iii. p. 262. . . 264. We do not observe any notice to be taken of this epistle by Cyprian. Vol. iv. p. 828. It seems to be referred to by Commodian, a Latin writer about the year 270. Vol. v. p. 124. It is probable, that it was received by the Manicheans, and Paulicians. Vol. vi. p. 337. 338. and p. 428. . . 432. It seems to be referred to by Lactantius. vii. p. 188.

From a passage of Eusebius, cited in the (a) preceding chapter, it appears, that in his time, the beginning of the fourth centurie, all the seven epistles called catholic, were well known, and received by many. And he expressly says, that the epistle of James was the first of them. And to the like purpose again in another passage to be here taken notice of by us. Having given a particular account of the death of James, called the Just, and the brother of the Lord, and Bishop of Jerusalem, he concludes the chapter in this manner. "Thus far, (b) says he, concerning James, "who is said to be the writer of the first of the epistles called catholic, "But it ought to be observed, that it is spurious: [meaning that it was "a contradicted book of scripture, or at the utmost, that it was doubted "of, or rejected by many:] Forasmuch as there are not many of the ancient writers, who have quoted it: as neither that called Jude's, another of the seven epistles called catholic. However we know, that "these also are commonly used [or publicly read] in most churches, together with the rest."

This passage is very satisfactorie. For it assures us, who was the writer of this epistle: namely James, before spoken of, called the Lord's brother, surnamed the Just, who generally resided at Jerusalem. It also assures us, that though it had been doubted of by some, it was then generally received, and publicly read, in the assemblies of Christians. They who have leisure, and are curious, may see what was farther observed by us formerly relating to the opinion of Eusebius himself concerning this epistle, and the writer of it. Vol. viii. p. 150. . . 156.

I only add here, that this epistle of St. James is one of the three catholic epistles received by the Syrian Christians, and by Chrysostom, and Theodoret. And that after the time of Eusebius, this and the other six catholic epistles, were received by all Greeks and Latins in general: and are in the catalogues of canonical scripture composed by Councils, and learned

(a) See before. p. 364.

(b) Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἰακώβου, ἃ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν εἶναι λέγεται. Ἰστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται. Οὐ πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνήμουντο, ὡς εἶδε τῆς λεγομένης ἰάδα, μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς ἔσης τῶν ἑπτα λεγομένων καθολικῶν. Ὅμως δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλεῖσιν διδραμοστυμέναι ἐκκλησίαις. *H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 66. Comp. Vol. viii. p.*

learned authors. As was shewn in a foregoing chapter. However, there might be still some few, who doubted of it's authority, especially in the East, as was observed Vol. xi. p. 298. 299.

This epistle was received by Jerome, as was distinctly and largely shewn in his article, Vol. x. p. 125. . . . 129. Who in one place says: "The (c) apostles, James, Peter, John, Jude, writ seven epistles, of few words, but full of sense." It may nevertheless be worth the while to recollect here particularly what he says of it in his book of Illustrious Men, transcribed there at p. 125. "James, the Lord's brother, . . . wrote but "one epistle, which is among the seven catholic epistles. Which (d) "too is said to have been published by another in his name. But gradually, in proceſſe of time it has gained authority. This is he, of "whom Paul writes in his epistle to the Galatians. And he is often "mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles."

Which likewise, says Jerome, is said to have been published by another in his name: that is, even that one epistle is said by some to be spurious, and not really writ by James, though it bears his name. But I do not believe, there is reason to think, that was ever said by any. And I am persuaded, that what Jerome says here is owing to a mistake of his, not rightly understanding Eusebius. Who, as may be remembered, says: "This James is said to be the author of the first of the epistles called catholic. But (e) it ought to be observed, that it is spurious." By which Jerome understood Eusebius to say, that this epistle was falsely ascribed to James, and was not his. Whereas Eusebius means no more, than that it was a contradicted book, not received by all as of authority: or at the utmost, that it was doubted of, or rejected by many. This I suppose to have been clearly shewn before. See Vol. viii p. 112. . . . 121. and also p. 155. 156. (A).

The reason why this epistle was not received by all, I suppose to have been, that it was not certainly known, that James, the writer of it, was an Apostle. We have observed several ancient writers, who did not allow him to have that high character. There were two Apostles, of this name: James the son of Zebedee, and James the son of Alphaeus. That the writer of this epistle was not James the son of Zebedee, must have been evident. Nor was it certain, that he was the son of Alphaeus. Another reason of doubting of his apostleship may have been, that he was often called Bishop of Jerusalem, and said by some to have been appointed to that office by the Apostles. This also may have contributed to the doubt, whether he was one of the twelve Apostles of Christ.

Other reasons have been assigned in late ages, why some might hesitate about receiving this epistle as a part of canonical scripture. But those reasons are not to be found in the most early antiquity. Whereas we can plainly perceive, that not a few learned Christians

(c) Vol. x. p. 77.

(d) Quæ et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita afferitur.

(e) ἡ γὰρ δὲ ὡς ἡδη ῥηται μιν. H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 66. C.

(A) I likewise refer to Dr. Leonard Tawell's Examination of the late new Text and Version of the N. T. Part. 2. ch. 2. p. 82. Who speaks to the like purpose.

tians of the first ages were not satisfied, the writer was an Apostle. Which must have occasioned a demur concerning the high authority of the epistle.

If this James was not one of the twelve Apostles, he was nevertheless a person of great distinction, as he was the Lord's brother, and resided many years at Jerusalem after our Lord's ascension, as president, or superintendent of the church there, and of the Jewish believers in Judea in general. Accordingly, Eusebius, who did not think this James to be one of the twelve Apostles, in his *Commentarie upon Isaiah*, reckons fourteen Apostles, meaning Paul, and this James, though not equal to him. See Vol. viii. p. 153. 154. And Jerome likewise, in one place, formerly taken notice of, reckons this James, brother of the Lord, an additional Apostle with Paul, beside the twelve. Vol. x. p. 128.

But I think it manifest, that James, the Lord's brother, who resided at Jerusalem, several times mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and in St. Paul's epistles, was an Apostle, one of the twelve, and consequently the same with him, who is called the son of Alphaeus. And as this epistle has been all along ascribed to James, the Lord's brother, surnamed the Just, I receive it as a part of sacred scripture, and think, it ought to be so received.

When writ. II. Concerning the time of this epistle, there cannot be very different apprehensions.

Mill (*f*) says, it was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem, and a year or two before his own death, about the year 60. Which is also the opinion of (*g*) Fabricius.

But that appears to me rather too soon. If St. James suffered martyrdom in the year 62. I should be inclined to think, this epistle was writ in the beginning of that year, or in 61. and but a short time before his death.

Eusebius says: "When (*b*) Paul had appealed to Cesar, and had been sent to Rome by Festus, the Jews who had aimed at his death, being disappointed in that design, turned their rage against James, the Lord's brother, who had been appointed by the Apostles Bishop of Jerusalem." In like manner Tillemont adopting that thought, says: "St. Paul (*i*) having been sent to Rome, near the end of the year 60. by Festus, Governor of Judea, the Jews finding themselves not able to accomplish their design against him, turned their rage against James. Nevertheless they did not shew it, till eighteen months after, when Festus being dead, and Albinus, who succeeded him, not being yet arrived, the province was without a Governour."

That

(*f*) De tempore, quo scripta est, certum est in primis exaratum fuisse ante excidium Hierosolymitanum. De hoc enim, ut et de generali Judæorum calamitate, veluti jam imminente, loquitur. cap. v. 1. Jam vero Jacobus statim post Festi mortem martyrium obiit, teste Josepho, anno æræ vulgaris, ex rationibus Pearsonianis, quas libenter sequor, lxii, adeoque uno vel altero ante mortem, scriptam censuerim hanc epistolam circa annum lx. *Prol. num. 56.*

(*g*) *Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. n. ix. Tom. 3. p. 165.*

(*b*) *H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. in.*

(*i*) *S. Jacque le Mineur. Art. vii. Mem. Tom. i.*

That the Jews were much vexed, when Paul was sent to Rome, and had thus escaped out of their hands, is very reasonably supposed. But that their vexation upon that account was the occasion of the death of James is mere conjecture. Nor does any thing like it appear in the accounts of his death, which Eusebius has transcribed from Hegesippus, and Josephus.

If I likewise may be allowed to mention a conjecture, (which is at least as probable, as that just taken notice of,) I should say, I am apt to think, that the death of James was partly occasioned by the offence taken at his epistle: in which are not only sharp reprehensions of the unbelieving Jews for the crimes committed by them, but also affecting representations of the dreadful calamities coming upon them. Chap. iv. . . I. 8. v. I. . . 6.

III. I am now to consider, to whom this epistle was sent. *To whom.*

Beza says, it (*k*) was sent to the believing Jews, dispersed all over the world. Cave (*l*) seems to say, to believing Jews chiefly. And (*m*) to the like purpose Fabricius. Grotius (*n*) says, to all the people of Israel living out of Judea. Wall's account of this epistle is this: "It (*o*) was written to such Jews, (being now Christians,) as were dispersed abroad out of Judea. . . This epistle consists of general exhortations to piety, patience, and other moral virtues. It has twice or thrice mentioned our Saviour: but has nothing of his miracles, or teachings, or death, or resurrection, or our redemption by him: of which Paul's, and Peter's, and John's epistles are full."

To me it seems, that this epistle was writ to all Jews descendents of Jacob, of every denomination, throughout the world, in Judea, and out of it. For such is the inscription: *James, a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad, greeting.* No expression can be more general than *the twelve tribes*. There is not any limitation, restraining it to Christians, or believers in Jesus. Nor does he wish them grace or peace from Jesus Christ. It is only a general salutation, or greeting. Indeed he does not dissemble his own character. He calls himself *a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ*. He takes upon himself the character of a Christian, and, perhaps, of an Apostle. But he does not so characterize those, to whom he writes. Nor is there any Christian benediction at the end of the epistle.

Nor can I see, why *the twelve tribes scattered abroad* should not comprehend those of them in Judea, which were the peculiar charge of the

(*k*) . . . fidelibus omnibus Judæis, cujuscunque tribus sint, per orbem terrarum dispersis. *Bez. ad cap. i. 1.*

(*l*) Scripsit, Paulo, ut videtur, ante mortem, epistolam catholicam Judæis ἐν διασπορᾷ, Christianam præcipue doctrinam professis. *Cav. H. L. in Jacobo.*

(*m*) Ad Judæos maxime Christianissimum amplexos, qui usquequaque dispersi debebant. *Ubi supr. p. 160.*

(*n*) Id est, gente Israelitica qui erant extra Judæam. *Gr. ad loc.*

(*o*) *Crit. Notes upon the N. T. p. 144.*

the writer. And divers things in the epistle seem to belong to them especially. He means therefore the people of the twelve tribes every where, in Judea, and out of it.

A large part of the epistle is suitable to Christians. But there are divers paragraphs, that must be understood, to be addressed to unbelieving Jews, particularly ch. v. 1. . . . 6. as is generally allowed. I think likewise, that the first ten verses of ch. iv. are addressed to unbelieving Jews. Where it is said : *Whence come wars and fightings among you ? Come they not hence, even of your lusts, that war in your members ? Ye lust, and have not. Ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain. Ye fight and war.* These things could not be said to Christians. They must relate to those disturbances, which, some while before the Roman war broke out, were every where among the unbelieving Jews.

I am of opinion, that this way of writing was chosen to abate the offense, which the reproofs, and exhortations, and warnings of the epistle were likely to occasion. St. James writes in a general way. Let all apply to themselves those things which belong to them. Wall's note upon ch. v. 6. is to this effect : " This is spoken, not to the Christians, but to some rich Heathens, or infidel Jews, that oppressed and murdered them. No Christians of those times had any wars, or fightings, such as ch. iv. 1. or *killing*, as here : viz. not in the time of James, Bishop of Jerusalem."

And says Whitby upon ch. iv. 1. "*Whence come wars ?* This epistle seems to have been writ about the 8. of Nero, and the 62. of Christ, the year before the death of James : before which time the Jews had great wars and fightings, not only with their neighbours, [See note upon Matt. xxiv. 6.] but even among themselves, in every citie and familie, saith Josephus : nor only in Judea, but in Alexandria, and Syria, and many other places." A very proper note upon the text, as seems to me. And what he says upon the following verses of that chapter, and upon ch. v. 1. . . . 6. and in his preface to the epistle sect. v. and. vi. deserves also attentive regard. Where indeed he expressly says : " Since James writes "to the whole *twelve tribes*, I doubt not but those of Palestine must be "included."

Mr. Pyle (p) has spoken clearly to the like purpose in the preface to his Paraphrase of this epistle.

I shall now transcribe a part of Venerable Bede's note upon the beginning of this epistle. From the words, *scattered abroad*, he is led to think of what is said Acts viii. 1. that upon occasion of the persecution against the church at Jerusalem after the death of Stephen, *they were all scattered abroad*

(p) " These circumstances gave occasion to this Apostle, the Residentiary of the circumcision in Judea, to endite this epistle, partly to the infidel, and partly to the believing Jews. . . . It was directed to the Jews and Jewish converts of the dispersion. Yet, as that to the Hebrews was intended for the general benefit of all the scattered tribes, though directed to the natives of the holy land : so, no doubt, this had an equal respect to them, over whom James immediately presided, in the special character of their Bishop." Pyle's Paraphrase. vol. ii. p. 290, 291.

abroad throughout the regions of Judea, and Samaria, except the Apostles, and says, "that (q) James writes this epistle to those who were scattered abroad, and suffered persecution for the sake of righteousness: nor to them only, but also to those, who though they had believed in Christ, were not careful to be perfect in good works, as what follows in the epistle plainly shews: and likewise to such as continued unbelieving, and to the utmost of their power persecuted those who believed." Which appears to me very right.

C H A P. XVIII.

ST. P E T E R.

I. *His Historie to the Time of our Saviour's Ascension.* II. *To the Council of Jerusalem, in the year 49.* III. *He goes to Antioch, where he is re-proved by St. Paul for Dissimulation.* IV. *His Travels, and the Time of his coming to Rome.* V. *The Time of his Death.* VI. *Several Things, hitherto omitted, or but lightly touched upon.* 1. *His Episcopate at Antioch.* 2. *his having been five and twenty Years Bishop of Rome.* 3. *his Children.* 4. *his Wife's Martyrdom.* 5. *his absconding at Rome.* 6. *the Manner of his Crucifixion.* VII. *That he was at Rome, and suffered Martyrdom there.*

I. "THE land of Palestine, says (a) Cave, at and before the coming of our Blessed Saviour, was distinguished into three several provinces, Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. This last was divided into the Upper and the Lower. In the Upper, called also *Galilee of the Gentils*, within the division, belonging to the tribe of Naphtali, stood Bethsaida, formerly an obscure and inconsiderable village, till lately re-edified, (b) and enlarged by Philip the Tetrarch, and in honour of Julia daughter of Augustus called by him Julias. It was situated upon the banks of the sea of Galilee, called also the sea of Tiberias, and the lake of Gennesareth, which (c) was about forty furlongs in breadth, and a hundred in length, and had a wilderness on the other side,

His Historie to the Time of our Saviour's Ascension.

5th
12th
longth

(q) Legimus, occiso a Judæis B. Stephano, quia facta est in illa die persecutio magna, in ecclesiâ, quæ est Hierosolymis, et omnes dispersi sunt per regiones Judææ et Samariæ, præter Apostolos. His ergo dispersis, qui persecutionem passi sunt propter justitiam, mittit epistolam. Nec solum his, verum etiam illis, qui percepta fide Christi necdum operibus perfecti esse curabant, sicut sequentia epistolæ plane testantur: necnon et eis, qui etiam fidei exortes durabant, quin et ipsam in credentibus, quantum valüere, persequi ac perturbare studebant. *Bed. Expos. super Jacob. Epist.*

(a) *Life of St. Peter. Sect. i.*

(b) *Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. cap. 3. al. 2. in.*

(c) *Id. de B. J. l. 3. cap. 10. al. 18.*

sides, called the desert of Bethsaida, whither our Saviour used often to retire."

At this place was born (*d*) Simon, surnamed Cephas, or Petros, Petrus, Peter, signifying a stone, or rock. He was a fisherman upon the fore-mentioned lake, or sea: as was also, in all probability, his father Jonas, Jonah, or John. He had a brother, named Andrew. Which was the oldest of the two, is not certain. For concerning this there were different opinions among the ancients. Epiphanius (*e*) supposed Andrew to be the elder. But according to Chrysostom (*f*) Peter was the first-born. So likewise (*g*) Bede, and (*h*) Cassian, who even makes Peter's age the ground of his precedence among the Apostles. And Jerome himself has expressed himself in the like manner, saying, "that (*i*) the keys were given to all the Apostles alike, and the Church was built upon all of them equally. But for preventing dissension, precedence was given to one. John might have been the person. But he was too young. And Peter was preferred upon account of his age."

St. John (*k*) has informed us of the first acquaintance of Simon Peter with Jesus: to whom he was introduced by his brother Andrew. *He findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him: We have found the Messiah. And he brought him to Jesus. And when Jesus beheld him, he said: Thou art Simon the son of Jonas. Thou shalt be called Cephas.*

Undoubtedly, they had been from the beginning among those, who are said to have looked for the kingdom of God, and waited for redemption in Israel. Andrew had received Jesus as the Messiah. And his brother Simon readily concurred in the same belief and profession. They had heard John, and, as may be supposed, had been baptized by him, as all Jews in general were. Being from his testimonie, and by personal conversation with Jesus convinced, that he was the Messiah, it is likely, that henceforward they often came to him, and heard him, and saw some of the miracles done by him. We may take it for granted, that they were present at the miracle at Cana in Galilee: it being expressly said, that *Jesus and his disciples were invited to the marriage-solemnity in that place.* John ii. 1. 2. It is also said ver. 11. *This beginning of miracles did Jesus*
in

(*d*) John i. 44.

(*e*) H. 51. num. xvii.

(*f*) Hom. in Matt. 58. al. 59. T. 7. p. 586. D.

(*g*) In Evang. Joann. cap. i.

(*h*) Interroganti ergo Domino Jesu Christo, quem eum crederent. . . respondit primus Apostolorum Petrus, unus utique pro omnibus. Idem enim unius habuit responsio, quod habeat [f. habebat] omnium fides. Sed primum debuit respondere, ut idem esset ordo responsionis, qui erat honoris, et ipse antecederet confessione, qui antecedebat ætate. Cassian. de Incarn. l. 3. cap. 12. ap. Bib. P. P. Tom. 7.

(*i*) At dicis, super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia: licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cælorum accipiant: et ex æquo super eos Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur: tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut, capite constituto, schismatis tollatur occasio. Sed cur non Joannes electus est virgo? Ætati delatum est, quia Petrus senior erat: ne adhuc adolescens, ac pene puer, progressæ ætatis hominibus præferretur. Adv. Jovin. l. i. T. 4. p. 168.

(*k*) Ch. i. 35. . . 42.

in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glorie. And his disciples believed on him: that is, were confirmed in the persuation, that he was the Messiah.

The call of Andrew and Peter to a stated attendance on Jesus is recorded by (l) three Evangelists. Their father, Jonas, seems to have been dead. For there is no mention of him, as there is of Zebedee, when his two sons were called. It is only said of Andrew and Peter, that when Jesus called them, *they left their nets, and followed him*. At that time Jesus made them a magnificent promise. *Follow me*, said he, *and I will make you fishers of men*. "In time you will be qualified by me to gain men, and to recover them, in great numbers, from ignorance and error, follie and vice, and form them to just sentiments in religion, and the practice of virtue."

From this time they usually attended on our Lord. And (m) when he compleated the number of his Apostles, they were put among them.

Having before writ the historie of St. John at large, I need not be so particular in that of Peter, because these two Apostles were much together. However, I intend to take notice of the most remarkable things in his life, especially after our Saviour's ascension.

Simon Peter was married, when called by our Lord to attend upon him. And upon occasion of that alliance, as it seems, had removed from Bethsaida to Capernaum, where was his wife's familie. Upon (n) her mother our Saviour in a very gracious manner wrought a great miracle of healing.

And I suppose, that when our Lord *left Nazareth, and came and dwelled at Capernaum*, (as mentioned Matt. iv. 13.) he made Peter's house (o) the place of his usual abode, when he was in those parts. I think, we have a proof of it in the historie just taken notice of. When Jesus came out of the synagogue at Capernaum, *he entered into Simon's house*. Luke iv. 38. Comp. Mark i. 29. Which is well paraphrased by Dr. Clarke: "Now when Jesus came out of the synagogue, he went home to Peter's house." And there it was that the people resorted unto him in the evening. Luke iv. 40. Matt. viii. 16. Mark i. 32. . . . 34.

Another proof of this we have in a historie, which is in St. Matthew only. ch. xvii. 24. . . . 27. of our Lord's paying at Capernaum the tribute-money for the use of the temple, and his directing Peter, when he had found a piece of money, in the manner there prescribed, to pay it for both of them. The text is to this purpose. *And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received the tribute-money, came to Peter, and said: Doth not your master pay tribute? He saith: Yes. And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him*. . . . The beginning of that account

at

(l) Matt. iv. 18. . . . 20. Mark i. 16. . . . 18. Luke v. 1. . . . 9.

(m) Matt. x. 1. . . . 4. Mark iii. 13. . . . 19. Luke vi. 12. . . . 16.

(n) Matt. viii. 14. 15. Mark i. 29. . . . 31. Luke iv. 38. 39.

(o) It is called *Peter's house*. Matt. viii. 14. *Simon's house*. Luke iv. 38. *the house of Simon and Andrew*. Mark i. 29.

at ver. 24. is thus paraphrased by Dr. Clarke. "Now when they were come home to Capernaum, where Jesus used to dwell, the officers, appointed to gather the yearly offering for the service of the temple, came to Peter."

After the miracle of the five loaves, and two fishes, *straitway* Jesus constrained his disciples to get into a ship, and to go before him to the other side, whilst he sent the multitudes away. In their passage they met with a contrary wind. In the fourth watch of the night, near morning, Jesus came toward them, walking on the sea. And there not being yet light enough, to know who he was, they were affrighted, thinking it had been an apparition, and cried out for fear. Jesus then spake to them, and they knew him. After which follows a particular concerning Peter, related by St. Matthew only. "*Peter (p) answered him, and said: Lord, if it be thou, bid me come unto thee on the water. And he said: Come. And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he walked on the water, to go to Jesus. But when he saw the sea boisterous, he was afraid. And beginning to sink, he cried, saying: Lord, save me. And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him. . . . And when he was come into the ship, the wind ceased.*" Peter at first presumed too much upon the strength of his faith, and was forward to shew his zeal. However, this must in the end have been of use to confirm his faith. He had here great and sensible experience of the knowledge, as well as the power of Jesus. As soon as his faith failed, our Lord suffered him to sink. And upon his calling for help, Jesus immediately stretched out his hand, and saved him.

The next day our Lord preached in the synagogue at Capernaum, as related by St. John. ch. vi. 24. . . . 65. where many, who expected from the Messiah a worldly kingdom, were offended at his discourse. And it is said ver. 66. . . . 69. *From that time many of his disciples, who had hitherto followed him, and professed faith in him, went back, and walked no more with him. Then said Jesus unto the twelve: Will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered him: Lord, to whom should we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we know, and are sure, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.*

Some time after this, when our Lord had an opportunity of private conversation with the disciples, he inquired of them, what men said of him, and then, whom they thought him to be? *Simon Peter answered, and said: Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.* Matt. xvi. 13. . . . 16. So far likewise in Mark viii. 27. . . . 29. and Luke ix. 18. . . . 20. Then follows in Matthew ver. 17. . . . 19. *And Jesus answered, and said unto him: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar Jona. For flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.* That is: "It is not a partial affection for me, thy master, nor a fond and inconsiderate regard to the judgements of others, for whom thou hast a respect, that has induced thee to think thus of me. But it is a just persuasion, formed in thy mind by observing the great works, which thou hast seen me do by the power of God, in the confirmation of my mission and doctrine." *And I say unto thee: Thou art Peter, and*

upon

upon this rock will I build my Church. . . . And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. By which many interpreters suppose, that (A) our Lord promised to Peter, that he should have the honour of beginning to preach the gospel, after his resurrection, to Jews and Gentils; and of receiving them into the Church. If so, that is personal. Nevertheless, what follows: *And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.* This, I say, must have been the privilege of all the Apostles. For the like things are expressly said to them. Luke xxii. 29. 30. John xx. 21. 22. Moreover, all the Apostles concurred with Peter in the first preaching both to Jews and Gentils. As he was President in the college of the Apostles, it was very fit, and a thing of course, that he should be primarily concerned in the first opening of things. The confession, now particularly before us, was made by him. But it was in answer to a question, that had been put to all. And he spoke the sense of all the Apostles, and in their name. I suppose this to be as true in this instance, as in the other, before taken notice of, which is in John vi. 68. 69.

In the account, which St. John has given of our Saviour's washing the disciples feet, Peter's modestie and fervour are conspicuous. John xiii. 1. 10.

When (q) the Jewish officers were about to apprehend our Lord, *Peter having a sword, drew it, and smote a servant of the High-Priest, and cut off his right ear.* Our Lord having checked Peter, touched the servant's ear, and healed him. So great is Jesus every where!

They that laid hold of Jesus, led him away to the house of Caiaphas. The rest of the disciples now forsook their Master, and fled. *But Peter followed him afar off unto the High-Priest's palace, and went in, and sat with the servants, to see the end.* Here Peter thrice disowned his Lord, peremptorily denying, that he was one of his disciples, or had any knowledge of him, as related by (r) all the Evangelists. For which he soon after humbled himself, and wept bitterly.

We do not perceive, that Peter followed our Lord any farther, or that he at all attended the crucifixion. It is likely, that he was under
too

(A) Dr. Clarke is very singular in his paraphrase of that text. Matt. xvi. 18. "You shall be the first preacher of my true religion to the Gentil world." And ver. 19. "You shall first open the kingdom of the Messiah, and make the first publication of the gospel to the Gentils." Upon both verses also referring to Acts x. When I first observed this, I was surpris'd. Nor could I see the ground of it. But now I guess, that he confined this personal privilege to Peter's first preaching to Gentils at the house of Cornelius, because Peter was then alone, and none of the Apostles were there with him: whereas, after the pouring out of the Holy Ghost, all the Apostles were present with him, as it is said, Acts ii. 14: *But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lift up his voice. . . .*

(q) John xviii. 10. 11. Matt. xxvi. 51. . . 54. Mark xiv. 46. 47. Luke xxii. 50. 51.

(r) Matt. xxvi. 51. . . 71. Mark. xiv. 53. . . 72. Luke xxii. 55. . . 62. John xviii. 15. . . 27.

too much concern of mind, to appear in public, and that he chose retirement, as most suitable to his present temper and circumstance.

On (s) the first day of the week, early in the morning, when Marie Magdalen, and other women came to the sepulchre, bringing the sweet spices, which they had prepared, *they saw an angel, who said unto them: Be not affrighted. Ye seek Jesus, who was crucified. He is not here. For he is risen. . . . Go quickly, and tell his disciples, that he is risen from the dead: as in Matthew. Tell his disciples, and Peter, as in Mark. And behold, he goes before you into Galilee.* That was a most gracious disposal of Providence, to support the disciples, Peter in particular, under their great affliction.

Our Lord first shewed himself to Marie Magdalen, and afterwards to some other women. On the same day likewise, on which he arose from the dead, he shewed himself to Peter, though the circumstances of this appearance are no where related. However it is evident from Luke xxiv. 33. 34. For when the two disciples, who had been at Emmaus, returned to Jerusalem, they found the eleven gathered together, and those that were with them, saying: *the Lord is risen indeed, and has appeared unto Simon.* That must be the same appearance, which is mentioned by St. Paul. 1 Cor. xv. 5. *and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve.* And it has been observed, that as Marie Magdalen was the first woman, so (t) Peter was the first man, to whom Jesus shewed himself after he was risen from the dead.

In the xxi. chapter of St. John's Gospel are some appearances of our Lord to his disciples, in which Peter is greatly interested, to which the attentive reader is referred. Our Lord there graciously affords Peter an opportunity of making a threefold profession of love for him. Which he accepts, and renews to him the apostolical commission, and as it were re-instates him in his high and important office: requiring him, as the best testimonie of love for his Lord, to feed his sheep with fidelity and tenderneſſe. And notwithstanding his late unsteadineſſe, our Lord encourageth this disciple to hope, that in his future conduct he would set an example of resolution and fortitude under great difficulties, and at length glorify God by his death, in the service, to which he had been appointed.

As we have now proceeded in the historie of this Apostle to the time of our Lord's ascension, it may be worth the while to look back, and observe those things in the Gospels, which imply his peculiar distinction, or at least are honourable to him.

By Mark ch. v. 37. and Luke viii. 51. we are assured, that Peter was one of the three disciples, whom our Lord admitted to be present at the raising of Jairus's daughter. That particular is not mentioned by Matthew. ch. ix. 18. . . . 26. From all the first three Evangelists we know, that Peter was one of the three, whom our Lord took up with him into the mountain, where he was gloriously transformed. Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28. He was also one of the three, whom

our

(s) *Matt. xxviii. Mark xvi. Luke xxiv. John xx.*

(t) . . . ἄλλ' ἐν ἀνδράσι τῷ πρώτῳ τῷ μάλιστα αὐτὸν πεθεῖν. Chrys. in 1 Cor. hom. 38. Tom. 30.

our Lord took with him apart from the other disciples, when he retired to prayer, a little before his last sufferings. As we know from Matt. xxvi. 37. Mark xiv. 23. But that particular is omitted by Luke ch. xxii. 39. . . . 46.

And if it might not be reckoned too minute and particular, I would observe some things of this kind, mentioned by one Evangelist only.

There are several such things deserving notice in St. Matthew. 1. In the catalogue of the Apostles Matthew only (*u*) calls Peter *chief*, or *the first*. ch. x. 2. He only has the account of Peter's desiring to come to Christ upon the water, and what follows. ch. xiv. 28. . . . 31. 3. He alone has recorded what our Lord said to Peter, when he gave him the keys of the kingdom of heaven. ch. xiv. 16. . . . 19. 4. He only relates our Lord's paying the tribute-money for Peter. ch. xvii. 24. . . . 31. 5. He likewise says, that after Peter had denied Christ, *he wept bitterly*. ch. xxvi. 75.

In St. Mark are chiefly two things to be observed, as honorable to Peter. The first is, that he was one of the four Apostles, to whom our Lord addressed himself, when he foretold the destruction of the temple, and the calamities attending it. Mark xiii. 3. The other is, that in the message, sent by the angel to the disciples after our Lord's resurrection, Peter is particularly named. ch. xvi. 7.

In St. Luke are these things remarkable. First, that when our Lord warned Peter of his danger, he also assured him, *he had prayed for him, that his faith might not fail*. Luke xxii. 31. 32. Secondly, we perceive from St. Luke, that our Lord appeared to Peter in particular on the day of his resurrection, though the circumstances of that appearance are not recorded. ch. xxiv. 33. 34.

In St. John's Gospel are divers things honourable to Peter. 1. The profession of faith in Christ, related John vi. 67. . . . 69. 2. Peter's remarkable humility, expressed in an unwillingness, that Jesus should wash his feet, with our Lord's particular discourse to him. ch. xiii. 6. . . . 10. 3. Peter's zeal in cutting off the ear of the High-Priest's servant is related by other Evangelists. But St. John only mentions Peter by name. ch. xviii. 10. 4. It is, I think, honorable to Peter, that when he and John went together to the sepulchre, John, only *stooping down*, looked in: but Peter went in, and searched the sepulchre. After which John also went in. ch. xx. 4. . . . 8. 5. St. John only mentions Peter's faith and zeal in *casting himself into the sea*, to go to Christ. ch. xxi. 7. 6. Our Lord's discourse with Peter concerning his love to him, and his particular repeated charge, to *feed his sheep*. ver. 15. . . . 17. 7. Our Lord's predicting to Peter his martyrdom, and the manner of it. ver. 18. 19.

It is observable, that Matthew and John, the two Apostles, have mentioned more of these prerogatives of Peter, than the other two Evangelists. We may hence conclude, that the Apostles, when illuminated by the Spirit with the knowledge of the true nature of Christ's kingdom,
were

(u) Πρῶτος σίμῶν ὁ λεγόμενος πῆτρος.

were quite free from envie, and that Peter was not assuming and arrogant among his brethren.

It may be here observed likewise, that as our sacred historians were not envious, so neither were they fond and partial. The several advantages and virtues of Peter are recorded by some only. But his fault in denying Christ, when under prosecution, is related by all.

II. In a short time after our Lord's ascension Peter, as president in the college of the Apostles, proposed, that in the room of Judas another should be chosen out of the men that had accompanied them during the time that Jesus had been with them. And when two such had been nominated, and they had by prayer appealed to God, *who knows the hearts of all men, the lot fell upon Matthias. And he was numbered with the eleven Apostles.* Acts i. 15. . . . 26.

I have here, and elsewhere, spoken of Peter, as presiding among the Apostles, or having a primacie of order. For it appears in what has been just mentioned, and in other things related afterwards. And it is observable, that in all the catalogues of the twelve Apostles Peter is named first, though there is some variety in the order of the names of the other Apostles. I might add, that (x) where ever the three disciples, Peter, James, and John, are mentioned together, Peter is always put first, though there is a variety in the order of the names of those two brothers, James and John, sons of Zebedee. He is also first placed, where (y) four are named, Andrew being added to them. And likewise where (z) only he and John are mentioned. There is an exception in Gal. ii. 9. where the order is James, Cephas, and John. The reason of which I take to be, that (a) James, there mentioned, then presided in the church of Jerusalem, where Paul then was. I place below (b) the thoughts of *Bajnage*

(x) See Mark v. 37. and Luke viii. 51. Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28. Matt. xxvi. 37. Mark xiv. 33.

(y) See Mark xiii. 3.

(z) Luke xxii. 8. Acts iii. 1. iv. 13. 19. viii. 14.

(a) See before, p. 373.

(b) Ordinis primatum quod attinet, illum a Petro abjudicari non posse censemus, si qua fides evangelio. Neque ulla ratio assignari potest, cur Apostolorum in indiculo a tribus Evangelistis exhibito, Petrus semper ordinem ducat. Quippe solâ necessitate numerandi non scribitur Matthæo *primus Petrus*: (sic enim sequens secundus dici debuisset:) sed quia in divino hoc collegio præsidem agebat. Eo quidem munere functum fuisse, ubique Scriptura testatur. Aliorum sane Apostolorum ordinem mutavit Lucas in Actis, primum tamen Petro locum servavit: Petrus, Jacobus, Joannes. Quid, nonne prædis functio fuit, surgere in medio discipulorum, eosque monere, ut in proditoris Judæ locum alium sufficerent Apostolum? Si ordinis causâ non præerat Apostolis, cur Petrus surgens cum undecim Judæos miraculum linguarum stupentes alloquitur. . . . Cur etiam dum Joannis erat in comitatu Petrus, et claudum sanandum alloquitur, et Senatum Hierosolymitanum compellat, et Simoni Mago munitur? Rationis est quidem et consuetudinis, ut legatorum primus orationem habeat, quomodo Paulus, qui Barnabam eminebat, præibat in loquendo. Ut ad pauca redeamus, is Petro collatus honor est, ut primus et in Judæis, et in Gentibus, Ecclesiæ fundamenta jaceret. Qui longe maximus honos principem Apostolorum decuit, nec a prædis munere divelli potest. Annon nobiliores Apostolatus functiones honoratori competebant? *Bajnage, ann. 31. num. lxxv.*

Basnage concerning this point, who speaks to the like purpose: without denying the equal dignity of the Apostles, or ascribing to Peter any jurisdiction over them. For which there is not any the least foundation either in the Gospels, or the Acts.

On the day of Pentecost, next ensuing, the promised gift of the Holy Ghost came down upon the Apostles and their companie. And upon this occasion Peter, *standing up with the eleven*, preached to a great number of people assembled about the Apostles, and asserted the resurrection of Jesus, and with such force, that about three thousand were converted, and baptised. Acts ii. 14. . . . 47.

Afterwards Peter and John healed a poor man at the temple, who had been lame from his birth, a well known person, forty years of age. And many being gathered about them, Peter made an affecting discourse, whereby many were awakened, and convinced. And in a short time after this, the number of believers at *Jerusalem was* (B) *about five thousand*. ch. iii. and iv. 4. But the Jewish Priests and Rulers were much offended. And whilst Peter and John were speaking to the people, their officers came, and laid hold on them. And it being then evening, they put them in prison, till the next day. On the morrow therefore they were brought before the Council. Having been examined, they were at length dismissed, with a charge not to preach any more in the name of Jesus, and were severely threatened, if they did. ch. iv. 1. . . . 22.

The number of believers being much encreased, and many being in low circumstances, *some who were possessed of houses, or lands, sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the Apostles feet. And distribution was made to every man, according as he had need*. But a certain man, named Ananias, and Sapphira, his wife, when they had sold a possession, brought a part of the price, keeping back the rest, though they declared it to be the whole price. For this they were reprov'd by Peter, and were charg'd with having lied to God himself, who acted by the Apostles. At his reproof Ananias and Sapphira were both struck dead by the immediate hand of God in a small space of time, one after the other. ch. iv. 31. . . . v. 1. . . . 11. We have here, as seems to me, a proof, that Peter now presid'd in the assemblee of the Apostles, and the whole church of Jerusalem.

And, after this, by the hands of the Apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people . . . insomuch that they brought forth the sick in the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them. There came also a multitude out of the cities round about Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them that were vexed with unclean spirits. And they were healed every one. ch. v. 12. . . . 16.

I put this in the historie of St. Peter, as he has a share in it. But I do not think, that all the miracles here spoken of were wrought by his hands,

(B) How that *five thousand* in Acts iv. 4. ought to be understood, was shewn Vol. xi. p. 201. 202. I shall now add here the words of *Seueur*. Ainsi croissoit l'Eglise Chretienne parmi les Juifs. Et elle se montoit bien alors à cinq mille personnes. A. C. 35. *Histoire de l'Eglise, et de l'Empire*. Vol. i. p. 133.

hands, or by his shadow passing by. It seems, that many of these miracles were wrought by other Apostles, as hinted, or expressly said, at the beginning of the citation, in ver. 12. In a word, there were now miracles wrought at Jerusalem in great numbers by all and every one of the Apostles. This may be also farther argued hence, that hereupon all the Apostles were taken up, as is said ver. 17. 18. *Then the High-Priest rose up, and all they that were with him, and were filled with indignation. And they laid their hands on the Apostles, and put them in the common prison.* The event may be seen in what follows. ch. v. 17. . . 42. However, I am willing to allow, that there were no miracles wrought by the shadow of any of the Apostles, except Peter's. This (c) seems to be most agreeable to St. Luke's expressions.

Upon the death of Stephen *there arose a great persecution against the church that was at Jerusalem: insomuch that all the believers in general were scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the Apostles. Then Philip, one of the Seven, went down to Samaria, and preached Christ to them. And many of the people there believed. Now when the Apostles, which were at Jerusalem, heard, that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John, that they might confer upon them the gift of the Holy Ghost. Which they did by prayer, and laying on of their hands.* Here Peter reprov'd Simon of Samaria, as he is called: who himself was a believer for a while, but had given proofs of insincerity. These two Apostles then returned to Jerusalem, and in their way thither *preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans.* ch. viii. 1. . . 25.

St. Paul, who informs us of his return to Jerusalem, three years after his conversion, has assured us, that he then saw Peter and James, and no other of the Apostles. Gal. i. 18. 19. And St. Luke having given the historie of St. Paul's opposition to the disciples, and of his conversion, and return from Damascus to Jerusalem, says, that *Barnabas brought him to the Apostles.* Acts ix. 1. . . 30. These two accounts are easily reconciled. Paul saw only Peter and James. But they received him in the name, and with the approbation of all the Apostles, and thus he had communion with them.

It follows in St. Luke's historie. Acts ix. 31. *Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified. And walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.* This rest, as was formerly shewn, commenced in the year 40. and probably continued a year, or more. This season, as we may well suppose, was improved by all the Apostles, and by Peter, in particular. Of whom it is said, that he passed through all parts of the country, and came down also to the saints that dwelt at Lydda. Here, in the name of Jesus Christ, he healed Eneas, who had the palsy, and had kept his

(c) Omnibus accurate perpenſis, illorum opinionis magis ſumus, qui ſoli Petro, id auctoritatis conceſſum fuiſſe putant, ut iplius umbrâ ægroti a morbis ſuis recrearentur. Neque id obſcure Lucas indicat. Præmiſſis enim Apoſtolorum prodigiis, ſubinde hoc addit. *In plateas efferbant ægrotos et ponebant in lectis, ut venientis Petri vel umbra inumbraret aliquem eorum.* Cur non dixit, *ut prætereuntes Apoſtolorum vel umbra ſi facultatem ejuſmodi a Chriſto acta fuit?* &c. Baſnagi. Ann. 34. n. xviii.

his bed eight years. Whilst he was in that place, a Christian woman, named Tabitha, died at Joppa, which was not far off. The disciples therefore sent to Peter, desiring him without delay to come to them. Which he did, and there restored her to life. *And he tarried many days at Joppa, with one Simon, a tanner.* ch. ix. 32. . . . 43.

Whilst Peter was there, Cornelius, of *Cesarea by the sea-side*, (the city, where the Roman Governour had his residence) a Centurion, a worshipper of God, but not of the house of Israel, nor a Jewish proselyte, had a vision. Wherein he was directed by an angel, to send to Joppa, for *Simon, whose surname was Peter*: from whom he would receive farther information in the things of religion. When the vision was over, he called two of his servants, and a pious soldier, and sent them to Joppa. The day after, as they drew near the city, Peter went up to the top of the house, to pray, about the sixth hour of the day, or noon. There he fell into a trance, or extasie, and had a vision. A vessel descended, wherein were all sorts of living creatures, wild and tame, clean and unclean. *And there came a voice to him, saying: Kill and eat.* But Peter said: *Not so, Lord. For I have never eat any thing that is common or unclean.* And the voice spake unto him again the second time: *What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common.* . . . While Peter thought on the vision, the Spirit said unto him: *Behold, three men seek thee. Arise therefore, and get thee down, and go with them, doubting nothing. For I have sent them.* . . . On the morrow Peter went away with them, and certain brethren from Joppa, six in number, accompanied him. The next day they arrived at Cesarea, and entered into the house of Cornelius, where were also many others, his relations, and intimate friends, whom Cornelius had invited to come thither. Peter said unto them: *Ye know, how that it is an unlawful thing for a Jew, to keep companie; or to come unto one of another nation. But God has shewn me, that I should not call any man common or unclean.* . . . While Peter was preaching, and speaking to them the things concerning Jesus Christ, and before he had finished, the Holy Ghost fell on all of them that heard the word. And they of the circumcision, which believed, were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentils also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost. For they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God. . . . Peter therefore commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord. Then prayed they him to tarry certain days. ch. x.

Thus the door of faith, or the kingdom of heaven, or of the Messiah, was opened to Gentils, and they were received into the church of God. And, if I may say it, God now cleansed all Gentils, and shewed with full evidence, and divine attestations, that all men, of every nation, who became worshippers of God, and believed in Jesus, were accepted of him, as his people, and the members of his Church, and in the way of salvation, without circumcision, or taking upon them the observation of the rituals of the law of Moses.

While Peter tarried at Cesarea, the Apostles and brethren, that were in Judea, heard that the Gentils also had received the word of God. And when Peter was come up to Jerusalem, they that were of the circumcision contended with him, saying: *Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them.* But Peter gave them an account of the transaction from the beginning,

begining, and all were satisfied. *When they heard those things, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying: Then hath God also to the Gentils granted repentance unto life.*

An opinion has obtained among Christians in late ages, that Cornelius was a proselyte of the gate. Which opinion is founded upon a supposition, that there were among the Jews two sorts of proselytes: some called proselytes of the covenant, or of righteousness, who were circumcised: and others, called proselytes of the gate: who, though they were not circumcised, observed some things, not obligatorie in themselves, as is supposed, in order to facilitate commerce between the Jews and them. What those things were, or are supposed to be, I do not now inquire.

However, for clearing up this matter I would observe, that there was but one sort of proselytes among the Jews: and that Cornelius was not a proselyte, but a Gentil.

First. There was but one sort of proselytes among the Jews. They were circumcised. So they became Jews by religion, and were admitted to eat the passover, and to partake of all religious privileges, as the Jews by descent did. They were called *strangers, or proselytes within the gates, and sojourners*, as they were allowed to dwell, or sojourn among the people of Israel. And they were so called, because they could not possess land. For according to the law of Moses, all the land of Canaan was to be given to the twelve tribes of Israel, the descendants of the Patriarch Jacob. Which enables us to discern the propriety of the expression, just mentioned.

What has been now said, may be illustrated by some texts. Which, though well known, shall be alleged here.

Exod. xii. 48. *And when a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the Lord, let all his males be circumcised. And then let him come near, and keep it. And he shall be as one born in the land.* 49. *One law shall be to him that is home-born, and to the stranger that sojourneth among you.*

Lev. xvii. 8. *Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers, which sojourn among you, that offereth a burnt-offering, or sacrifice . . . ver. 12. . . . children of Israel, neither any stranger, that sojourneth among you.* The same again, ver. 13. and ver. 15. *One of your own country, or a stranger.*

Numb. ix. 14. *And if a stranger shall sojourn among you, and will keep the passover to the Lord . . . ye shall have one ordinance, both for the stranger, and for him that was born in the land.*

Num. xv. 15. *One ordinance shall be both for you of the congregation, and also for the stranger that sojourneth with you . . . as ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord.* 16. *One law, and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth among you.*

In all these places by *stranger, and stranger that sojourneth among you*, I suppose to be meant men circumcised, according to the law of Moses.

Perhaps, it may be here asked: Could none then dwell among the Israelites in the land of Canaan, but proselytes, or circumcised men? To which I answer: It seems to me, that no other had the privilege of a settled abode, or residence there, that is, to sojourn in the land.

However,

However, I think, there must have been an exception for travellers, passing through the countrey, even though they were idolaters, and for some, whose traffick was needfull, and therefore allowed of. As Patrick says upon Deut. xiv. 21. "There were some called Nocherim, which we here translate *aliens*: who were mere Gentils, and not suffered to have an habitation among them, but only to come and go in their traffick with them."

And, if I mistake not, an argument of the Apostle may be hence illustrated. Eph. ii. 13. *But now, in Christ Jesus, ye, who some time were far off, are made nigh*, very nigh, even to a coalescence, *by the blood of Christ*. ver. 19. *Now therefore ye are no more strangers, and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God*. The Apostle alludes to the state of things in the Jewish Commonwealth. *Now therefore*, says he, *ye are no more strangers, and foreigners*. Those are not terms of distance, as they seem to be in our translation, and as some have supposed, but of nearnesse. They are expresseive of all the favour and privilege, which could be vouchsafed to any, not of the natural seed of Israel, before the manifestation of the gospel. "*Now (d) therefore ye are no longer guests*. Such you might be, and be well, and civilly entertained (c) for a while, though you were aliens: *and sojourners*, as the Jewish profelytes were, who might live in the countrey, but had few privileges, they not being allowed to possess land, nor to have any share in the government of it: *but ye are fellow-citizens with the saints*: you have equal rights of citizenship with the people, and natives of the countrey: *and are God's domesticks*. You are brought into the court and familie of the King of the countie, and are admitted to his presence, and to attend upon his person." The whole of this is much the same with what is said 1 Pet. ii. 9. 10. and Rev. i. 8. I place below a Latin version (e) of this text, which appears to me to be right.

Profelyte is a word of Greek original, equivalent to stranger, long since become a technical word, denoting a convert to the Jewish religion, or a Jew by religion.

In the fourth commandment they are called *thy stranger within thy gates*. Ex. xx. 14. and Deut. v. 4.

According to the Jewish way of reckoning, agreeably to the law of Moses, there were three sorts of men in the world: *Israelites*, called also *home-born*, or natives: *strangers within their gates*, and *aliens*. So Deut. xiv. 21. *Ye shall not eat any thing that dieth of itself. Thou shalt give it to the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it: or thou mayest sell it*

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(d) Ἀρα ὅν ἐκτίει ἐς τὸ ξένον, καὶ πάροικον ἀλλὰ συμπολιτὴν τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ οἰκίης πατρὸς.

(c) The Greek word ξένος, like the Latin word, *hospes*, signifies both a *host*, and a *guest*, an entertainer, and him that is entertained, et qui domo suscipit, et qui suscipitur. In Rom. xvi. 23, it is used in the former, here in the latter sense.

(e) Nempe igitur non amplius estis hospites, et inquilini, sed concives sanctorum, ac domestici Dei.

to an alien. Or, otherwise, there were two sorts of men, circumcised and uncircumcised, Jews and Gentils, or Heathens.

A proselyte, as before said, is a man circumcised according to the law of Moses, or a Jew by religion. This is the sense of the word in all the texts of the New Testament, where it is used, Matt. xxiii. 15. *Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte.* Acts ii. 10. *Jews and proselytes.* Acts vi. 5. *Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch.* xiii. 43. *religious proselytes.* There never was any doubt about preaching to these, and receiving them into the Church. Such were among St. Peter's hearers of his first sermon. And one such person at least was among the seven Deacons in the church of Jerusalem.

In this sense the word is always understood by ancient Christian writers. Says Bede in his Exposition of the second chapter of the Acts; "They (*f*) called those proselytes, that is, strangers, who being of Gentil original, had embraced circumcision, and Judaism." To the like purpose (*g*) another Latin writer, of the ninth centurie, in his Commentarie upon St. Matthew's Gospel. So likewise (*h*) Theodoret, and (*i*) Euthymius. Nor do I believe, that the notion of two sorts of Jewish proselytes can be found in any Christian writer before the fourteenth centurie, or later.

Cornelius is not called a proselyte in the New Testament. It is said of him, that (*k*) he was a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house: that is, he was a truly good man. What is there said of him is only his personal character. Here is not any thing, denoting a religious denomination, as some have thought. And it is plain, that, notwithstanding his piety, he was an alien. Peter would not have conversed with him, if he had not been directed by an express command. The reason is, that there is no appointment in the law of Moses for receiving any men into covenant with God, or to communion with his people, but by circumcision: which implied an obligation to obey all the laws of the Mosaic institution.

Let us now go over, and observe the most remarkable particulars of this historie.

Cornelius,

(*f*) *Judæi quoque et proselyti.*] Proselytos, id est, advenas, nuncupabant eos, qui de Gentibus originem ducentes, circumcisionem et judaismum eligere malebant. Non solum ergo, inquit, [*f. inquit,*] qui naturâ suâ Judæi ex diverso orbe conveniant: verum et ii, qui de præputio nati, eorum ad hærese ritui. *Bede. Expos. in Act. ap. cap. ii.*

(*g*) Proselytus dicebatur Græce advena: quia de alia gente ad legem ipsorum convertebatur, ut fuit Jethro, et Achior. Et multa millia vivorum fuerunt, qui de Gentibus circumcisi fuerunt, et Deum cæli crediderunt. *Christian. Druthmar. Grammatic. Exp. in Matth. ap. Bib. PP. Tom. 15. p. 156. A.*

(*h*) Οι ἐξ ἰθὺν προσεληλυθότες, καὶ κατὰ τὴς σὲς νόμους ποθήσαντες πολιτεύεσθαι, τὴν ἀδικὸν παρ' αὐτῶν σφαγὴν ὑπομένονσι. προσελύτης γὰρ τέτης ὀνόμασι. *Theod. in Ps. xciii. al. xciv. ver. 6. Tom. i. p. 775. Conf. Suid. V. Προσηλύτος.*

(*i*) Proselytum vero Judæi appellabant, qui ex Gentili effectus fuisset Judæus. *Euthym. in Ps. xciii. p. 396. ap. Bib. PP. T. 19.*

(*k*) Ευσεβὴς καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν, σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

Cornelius, and his friends, are called Gentils. ch. x. 45. xi. 1. and 18. xv. 7. that is, *gojim*, a Hebrew word, very frequent in the Old Testament, and rendered by us *nations*, or *heathen*, or *heathens*. And in our version of the New Testament likewise is several times put *heathen* instead of *the nations*, or *the gentils*. 2 Cor. xi. 26. Gal. ii. 9. iii. 8.

In the next place we take notice of the vessel let down from heaven, and set before Peter. There were in it *all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air*: some of them altogether abominable, and exceeding filthy in the eye of Jews. Hereby are represented the people, who had sent for Peter, though pious, because they were uncircumcised. But it is likely, that herein are also included, and represented Gentils of all sorts, men of every nation, all men uncircumcised in general, whether worshippers of God, or not. ver. 13. 14. *And there came a voice to him, saying: Arise, Peter, kill, and eat. But Peter said: Not so, Lord. For I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean. And the voice spake unto him again the second time: What God has cleansed, that call not thou common. This was done thrice. And the vessel was received up again into heaven. . . .*

What God has cleansed, that call not thou common: denoting, that those people, which were most impure in Jewish esteem, were now cleansed, or to be cleansed, and to be received as pure and holy.

Omitting some other things, in the next place we observe Peter's address to the house of Cornelius. ver. 28. *Ye know, how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew, to (D) keep companie, or to come to a man of another nation*. The people therefore, to whom Peter had been sent, and among whom he now was, were such, as no Jew might converse with, according to the law of Moses, and their established custom. *A man of another nation: ἄλλοφύλω*: an alien, or foreigner. Jerome observes, that (I) though the Greek word signifies in general a man of another

(D) “*Κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προσέχουσθαι ἄλλοφύλω*. By which words is not to be understood, as if a Jew might have no dealing at all with a Gentil, and traffick with them: for it was next to impossible to do otherwise, they living, very many of them, in Heathen cities. And Gentils came continually, in the way of trade, to Jerusalem. Neh. xiii. 16. What was unlawfull, was conversing with Gentils in near and close society, as the word *κολλᾶσθαι* signifies, and that especially in these two things, *not to eat with them*, and *not to go into their houses*. And this is that, for which they of the circumcision excepted at Peter upon his return. *Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them*. ch. xi. 3.” So Lightfoot in his Commentarie upon the Acts of the Apostles. Vol. i. p. 844. Where follow other things, relating to this subject, very worthy of observation.

(I) Pro Philistiim semper lxx. alienigenas interpretati sunt, nomen commune pro proprio: quæ est hodie gens Palæstinorum, quasi Philistinorum. Hieron. in Is. cap. ii. 6. Tom. 3. p. 24.

Philistæos autem, ut sæpe diximus, Palæstinos significat, quos alienigenas vulgata scribit editio: quum hic non unius gentis, sed omnium ceterarum gentium vocabulum sit. Id. in Is. xiv. 29. p. 116.

Videamus autem, quid Philistiim, et urbes ejus peccaverint, quos septuaginta semper alienigenas transtulerunt. Ubiquumque enim in veteri testa-

another nation; the seventy Translators of the Old Testament constantly made use of it, to denote the Philistins, or heathen people of the land of Palestine. That observation is repeated by him. And I have transcribed below several of his passages. This character, *an alien, or a man of another nation*, satisfies us, that the people, to whom Peter was now sent by divine order, had not been before received into the Jewish church, or admitted to communion with them, but were aliens from their commonwealth.

It follows in the same address of Peter: *But God has shewed me, that I should not call any man common or unclean.* Those expressions are as general and comprehensive, as any that can be used: plainly including all mankind, who now were cleansed, or to be cleansed, and purified by faith, and received into the church of God without circumcision.

Cornelius having declared the occasion of sending for him, *Peter opened his mouth, and said: Of a truth, I perceive, that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.* These expressions are as general and comprehensive, as the former, including men of all nations, without exception.

The conclusion of St. Peter's discourse at the house of Cornelius is this: *To him give all the Prophets witness, that through his name, whosoever believeth in him, shall receive remission of sins.* Which, so far as I am able to perceive, is preaching the gospel as clearly, as ever it was preached by Paul himself.

While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them that heard the word. Or, as St. Peter himself expressed it, rehearsing the matter at Jerusalem. ch. xi. 15. *As I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on all them, as on us at the beginning.* Whereupon Peter ordered them to be baptized, and so received into the Church. And, as he says in the defense of himself: *Forasmuch then, as God gave them the like gift, as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ: what was I that I could withstand God?*

That very extraordinarie manifestation, the coming down of the Holy Ghost immediatly from heaven upon these persons, leads us to think, that the transaction at the house of Cornelius was a very important thing, and no less, than cleansing the whole Gentil world: or encouraging the preaching of the gospel to them, and receiving them to communion, without the rites of the law. And from this time forward it was so preached to them, as appears from the historie in the Acts.

I suppose, that what I have now said is agreeable to the sense of all Christians in ancient times. Who call Cornelius (*m*) the first-fruits of the

mento ἀλλοφύλων, id est, *alienigenas*, legimus, non commune nomen omnium externarum gentium, sed proprie Philistinum, qui nunc Palæstini vocantur, accipiendi sunt. *Il. in Amos. cap. i. ib. p. 1376.*

(*m*) Ex quibus esse arbitror etiam Cornelium illum, qui Cæsariensis ecclesiæ cum iis cum quibus Spiritum Sanctum meruit accipere, primitiæ merito dicitur. Et non solum hujus ecclesiæ, sed fortassis et omnium gentium primitiæ Cornelius appellandus est. Primus enim credidit ex gentibus, et primus Sancto Spiritu repletus est. Et ideo rectæ primitiæ gentium appellabitur. *Origen, in Num. hom. xi. p. 306. T. 2. Bened.*

the Gentils, and (*n*) the begining of the Gentils. And say, that (*e*) in him all Gentils were cleansed and sanctified, and that (*p*) the living creatures of all kinds, which were in the vessel let down to Peter, and held by four corners, represented all Gentils throughout the world.

Many learned men of late times make a great difference between preaching the gospel to what they call *dévout gentils*, or *profelytes of the gate*, and *idolatrours gentils*. But I do not perceive, that Christians in ancient times had any notion of this. Nor is there any foundation for it in the New Testament. But all men, uncircumcised, whether worshippers of God, or idolatrours, are called gentils. That Cornelius, and his familie, and friends, are called gentils, though pious, has been lately seen. And in almost innumerable places of St. Paul's epistles the same word is used of such as then were, or had been idolaters.

Nor can I conceive, how there should be an objection against preaching to idolatrours gentils, in order to convert them from idolatrie. It is well known, that the Jewish people were very diligent in making profelytes to their religion. Our Lord himself has taken notice of it. Matt. xxiii. 15. The obstructions given to Paul were not owing to his converting men from idolatrie, but to his manner of receiving them. If he had taught, and required them to be circumcised, and keep the law, all had been well. For certain, I think, there could have been no offense taken by any believers from among the Jews, however bigotted. And I, brethren, says the Apostle to the Galatians, *if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? Then is the offense of the crosse ceased.* Gal. v. 11.

These thoughts, which are now proposed to public consideration, are not new. A thorough examination of this point was occasioned by the *Miscellanea Sacra*, which was published in 1725. And in a few years I came to a full determination. Nor have I concealed my sentiments. They have been communicated to several. And by some they have been approved.

Nor

(*n*) Οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἵνα ἀρχὴ γίνεται τῶν ἔθνων. Chrys. in Act. Ap. hom. 22. T. 9. p. 180.

(*e*) Sub Apostolis vero, cum ii, qui in Christum ex circumcisione crediderant, eos qui gentiles erant, dicebanturque præputium, justificationem gratiæ arbitrarentur participes esse non posse, docet B. Apostolus Petrus, quam indiscretus apud Deum uterque sit populus, si in unitatem fidei denuo convenierint. Cum autem inquit, cepissem loqui, &c. De Vocatione Gentium. Lib. 2. cap. 18.

(*p*) Etenim Ecclesia necdum erat in gentibus. In Judæa crediderant ex Judæis, et putabant . . . solos se pertinere ad Christum. Missi sunt Apostoli ad gentes, prædicatum est Cornelio. . . Disens ille, qui habebat omnia animalia, significabat omnes gentes. Ideo autem quatuor lineis pendeat, quia quatuor sunt partes orbis, unde futuri populi erant. August. Enarr. in Ps. xcvi. num. 13. Tom. iv.

Siquidem cum Sanctus Petrus per visionem omne genus animalium, de baptizando Cornelio, ac perinde de omnibus gentibus doceretur, atque ille immundum et indiscretum cibum Judaica observantia recusaret, trina ad eum vox facta sit, dicens: Quæ Deus mundavit, tu ne commune dixeris. Prosper. ep. ad Rufin. cap. xi. ap. Aug. T. x. in Append. Ed. Bened.

Nor do I make any question, but that others likewise are of the same opinion. I shall therefore here transcribe a paragraph of a letter from my honored friend, Mr. Joseph Hallett, of Exeter, received from him in the year 1735. "It is certain fact, says he, that the Scripture never mentions the difference between preaching to devout Gentiles, and idolatrous Gentiles, which some do. The original instruction was: *Go, disciple all nations.* Matt. xxviii. 19. *Preach the gospel to every creature.* Mark xvi. 5. The order, in which the Apostles were to preach the gospel, was in *Jerusalem, in all Judea, in Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the earth.* Acts i. 8. In these, and all other places, *one* and the same character comprehends *all* Gentiles. When St. Peter stuck at preaching the gospel to Cornelius, the plain reason was, because he was *uncircumcised*. See Acts xi. 3. Neither he at first, nor they that afterwards quarrelled with him, would have any more hesitated to preach to idolaters, than to Cornelius. Only in that case, they must have begun with proving the unity of God. Which they had no need to do in the case of Cornelius, since he already believed it."

And as I have this opportunity, I shall now communicate to the public some other thoughts of Mr. Hallett, relating to the same subject, which I received from him at the same time. "That the decree in Acts xv. relates to the idolatrous Gentiles in particular is manifest. Indeed it is demonstrable from ver. 19. where St. James speaks of those, *who from among the Gentiles are turned to God.* Their being *turned to God* here is the same, as their becoming Christians. They were not turned to God before. And therefore they were (not devout, but) idolatrous Gentiles. They were plainly of the same sort with the Thessalonians, who *turned to God from Idols.* 1 Thess. i. 9. who are acknowledged to be idolatrous Gentiles. The same character then will prove, that the others were so too. The same thing is demonstrable from ver. 17. For the expression, *all the Gentiles*, can never be restrained to a few proselytes of the gate. Farther, the letter of the church of Jerusalem was directed and sent to the believing Gentiles in Antioch, &c. ver. 23. to decide a dispute, which was raised there. But the dispute there was about idolatrous Gentiles in particular. ver. 2. 3. 5. Consequently, the letter must be interpreted to speak of the same persons. Nay the church at Antioch was composed of such as had been idolatrous Gentiles. And therefore the letter must relate to that sort of men. And when Paul went through Syria, Cilicia, Derbe, Lystra, &c. (where, it is allowed, there were converts from among the idolatrous Gentiles,) *he delivered the decrees to them, i. e. the said idolatrous Gentiles, to keep.* ch. xvi. 1. 4." So Mr. Hallett.

Dr. Doddridge, in the third volume of his *Family-Expositor*, which is upon the Acts of the Apostles, has many acute and judicious observations, relating to this subject. And I am well satisfied, that he intended to write a Dissertation concerning Jewish Proselytes. Which is also acknowledged by (q) the learned editor of his posthumous volumes: though

(q) See the note at the bottom of p. 218. of the sixth volume of the *Family-Expositor*.

though no such thing has been found among his papers: And in his general Introduction to the first epistle of St. Peter, Dr. Doddridge freely declares, “that there is no sufficient ground to suppose, that there ever were any such persons, as Profelytes of the gate.” And he thinks, “that what he has suggested in his notes upon the Acts may convince an attentive reader.” And indeed I am of the same opinion concerning what he has said in those notes. For which reason I do not so much regret the loss of the Dissertation, as otherwise I should

Says Sueur, speaking of St. Peter's vision of the sheet: “God (r) thereby shewed unto his servant, that thence forward he would have all the people of the world, without exception, called to partake in his gracious covenant in his son Jesus Christ, and to the knowledge of salvation by him.” That it was so understood by the primitive Christians, we have lately seen. And that this whole transaction was so understood by the Apostles, and by the Evangelists, their fellow-labourers, is manifest from the sequel of the history in the book of the Acts.

For removing difficulties, and fully clearing up this point, it may be needful to consider that text. Gal. ii. 1. 2. *Then fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem, with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that Gospel, which I preach among the Gentils, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run in vain.*

Some * who contend for the supposition of two sorts of Profelytes among the Jews, and think, that the Gospel was preached several years to such as they call *profelytes of the gate*, before it was preached to idolatrous Gentils, and understand the decree of the Council of Jerusalem, to bind those profelytes only, say, that the conversion of idolatrous Gentils was unknown to the church at Jerusalem, when that decree was made, and explain the above cited words after this manner: “That † Paul communicated what he had preached to the Gentils, only to James, and Peter, and John, the three renowned Apostles of the circumcision, and that under the seal of the greatest secrecy.”

But that cannot be St. Paul's meaning. For most, if not all the converts at Antioch, must have been idolaters. But, supposing for the present, that they had been devout Gentils; it is universally allowed, that before the controversy arose at Antioch about circumcising the Gentils that believed, the gospel had been preached for a good while by Paul and Barnabas to idolatrous Gentils in Cyprus, Perga, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, and other places: of which a particular account is given Acts xiii. xiv. And presently after, St. Luke, relating the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, says ch. xv. 3. 4. *And being brought*

(r) Et puisque Dieu rompoit cette separation, il montrait à son serviteur, que de là en avant il vouloit appeller indifferement tous les peuples de la monde à son alliance de grace en son fils Jesus Christ, et à sa salutaire connoissance. *J. Sueur Hist. de l'Eglise, &c. A. C. 41. Tom. i. p. 165.*

* See *Miscellanea Sacra* in the Preface, and Essay iv. and Dr. Benson's *History of the first planting the Christian Religion* vol. 2. chap. iii. sect. i. ii. &c.

† *Miscell. Sacr. Ess. iv. p. 50. Dr. Benson, as before, Vol. 2 p. 52. 2d. ed.*

brought on their way by the church [of Antioch] they passed through Phenice, and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentils. [or Heathens.] And they caused great joy to all the brethren. And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received by the church, and by the Apostles, and Elders. And they declared all things, that God had done with them. In which must have been included their preaching not only at Antioch, in Syria, but also in all the other countreys and cities mentioned just before. Of this they gave an account to the church of Jerusalem in general, and particularly to the Apostles and Elders.

And Acts xv. 12. in the Council. *Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what miracles God had wrought among the Gentils by them.*

And ver. 25. 26. the Apostles and Elders in their Epistle speaking of Barnabas and Paul, say, *they were men that had hazarded their lives for the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.* Intending, as may be reasonably supposed, the dangers, and sufferings, which they had met with, when preaching the gospel to idolaters at Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, and Lystra, of which St. Luke has given an account Acts xiii. near the end, and ch. xiv. to which St. Paul also refers. 2 Tim. iii. 11. These things Paul and Barnabas, or the brethren that went up with them from Antioch, had related to the church at Jerusalem, and to the Apostles and Elders. For we hence plainly perceive, that these things were well known there.

That is St. Luke's historie. Let us now observe St. Paul's own words in this text. *Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem. . . And I went up by revelation, and communicated to them that gospel, which I preach among the Gentils:* meaning, as seems to me, the church, or the believing brethren there. So say all the best interpreters in general. Dr. Hammond's paraphrase is in these words: "And by God's appointment, either first signified, or afterwards confirmed to me by vision, (such as Paul had about several matters,) I went up at this time to Jerusalem, and gave the church there an account of my preaching, and the successe of it among the Gentils. This I thought fit to do, and yet first to do it to those that were the principal men among them." So Hammond. To the like purpose Estius, whom †* I transcribe below. Le Clerc's French version is to this purpose. "And †† I explained in public to the saints the gospel which I preach among the Gentils: the which I also did in particular to them who were in reputation. And Beaufobre's I †* went thither by revelation, and I conferred with the faithful

†* *Et contuli cum illis evangelium, quod prædico in Gentibus.* Augustinus legit: *Et exposui illis.* Sed intellige, more conferentis. Id enim vult, etiam Hieronimo teste, quod in Græco est, ἀνεβήμην αὐτοῖς. Nam sensus est: Communicaui cum illis qui Jerosolymis erant, de evangelio, quod prædico inter Gentes, deque tota ratione doctrinæ meæ quam tradidi, et etiam nunc trado Gentibus, quarum sum Apostolus. Non itaque discendi studio, quod supra negavit, evangelium suum nunc demum cum Ecclesia Jerosolymitana confert. &c. *Est. ad Gal. ii. 2.*

†† J'y allai. . . . et j' expliquai en public aux saints l'évangile, que j'annonce parmi les Gentils: ce que je fis aussi en particulier à ceux qui étoient le plus en reputation. *Le Clerc.*

†* Or j'y allai par revelation, et je confèrai avec les fidelles touchant l'évangile,

faithfull about the gospel, which I preach among the Gentils. I conferred about it also in particular with those who were most esteemed among them. **

It follows in the same verse : *Left by any means I should run, or had run in vain.* That is : " This I thought fit to do, in order to secure the successe of my ministrie : for removing obstacles in the way of my preaching for the future, and that the minds of converts already made might not be unsettled. With those views I conferred with the believers at Jerusalem in public, and also in private with those who were most esteemed."

Ver. 3. *But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised.* The Apostle's taking such particular notice of Titus in a letter to Christians converted from idolatrie, and calling him a Greek, lead us to think, that he was originally idolatrous.

Ver. 4. *And that because of false brethren, unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage.* 5. *To whom we gave place by subjection, no not for an hour : that the truth of the gospel might continue with you.*

Where St. Paul seems to refer to the rise of the dispute at Antioch, which is thus related by St. Luke. Acts. xv. 1. *And certain men, which came down from Judea, taught the brethren, and said: Unless ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved.* These, as the Apostle here says, had intruded themselves into the church of Antioch, that they might bring them into subjection to all the burdensome observances of the law of Moses. Upon that account, and for defeating their design, he went up to Jerusalem, and there acted, as just shewn.

This text, and the explication now given of it, may receive illustration from the account, which St. Luke gives of Paul's coming to Jerusalem afterwards, where he first converses with *the brethren*, and then has a conference with James, and the Elders. The result of which is soon made known to all. Acts xxi. 17. *And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly.* 18. *And the day following Paul went in with us unto James. And all the elders were present.* 19. *And when he had saluted them, he declared to them * particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentils by his ministrie.* Certainly St. Paul here intends heathens

gile, que je prêche parmi les Gentils. J'en conferei en particulier avec les plus celebres entre eux. *Beauf.*

* * The interpretation given by me of St. Paul's phrase *καὶ ἰδίαν*, as equivalent to *separatly, particularly*, may be much confirmed by a passage of Libanius, which I here transcribe. Ἐγὼ δὲ σοι μετὰ τῆς ὅλης πόλεως ἰδίᾳ χάριν. Ὅτι γὰρ με καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου εἶναι γραμμασι καὶ πάλιν ἰδίᾳ ταυτοῦ ποιῶ. Liban. [ad Maximum.] Ep. 1157. p. 553. ed. Wolf. To which may be added another from Josephus. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπέσχημαι τὴν ἀπολογία ἀπάντων ἰδίᾳ συγγραφάμενος παραδώσειν, εἰς τότε καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς ἐμπνησίαν ἀναβαλέμαι. Antiq. l. i. cap. i. §. 1.

Accordingly, the Latin Vulgate is thus : *Scorsum autem iis, qui videbantur aliquid esse.* . . . And, in the margin of some of our Bibles, for *privately* is put *severally*. Which I think to be the true meaning.

* . . . ἐξηγῆτο καθ' ἑκάστον ὃν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι διὰ τῆς διακονίας αὐτοῦ.

thens and idolaters. Ver. 20. *And when they heard it, they glorified the Lord, and said to him. . . .* Ver. 25. *As touching the Gentils which believe we have written, and concluded, that they observe no such thing. . . .* The connexion leads us to suppose, that they speak of all Gentils whatever, idolatrous, as well as others.

Upon the whole the Apostle assures the Christians, his converts, in Galatia, that his going to Jerusalem, his declaring there to all the gospel, which he preached among the Gentils, and his conferring in private with the Apostles, particularly, with those who were reckoned the chief of them, were all done with a view to their benefit, *that the truth of the gospel might continue with them*, and other Gentils. And the event, as related by St. Luke, and as represented by the Apostle himself in this epistle, was entirely to his satisfaction.

St. Paul in this epistle most earnestly exhorts the *Galatians, to stand fast in the liberty, with which Christ has made us free, and not be entangled again with the yoke of bondage* ch. v. 1. and he severely censures instability in the genuine faith of the gospel. It would be, as seems to me, very strange, to suppose him to say, that when he was at Jerusalem, a few years only before writing this epistle, he had studiously concealed the doctrine, which he preached among the Gentils, from all but some few Apostles. His so doing, whether through fear, or from prudential considerations, or any reasons whatever, must have been a great discouragement to those, to whom he is writing. How could it be expected, that they should openly assert before all the world the true evangelical liberty, if himself had been upon the reserve upon a late and important occasion?

St. Paul's having a private conference with some of the Apostles, is no proof, that he had any secrets, with-held from the knowledge of others. But it might be a proper piece of respect, to discourse with those who were in great esteem, about what was to be communicated to all.

If St. Paul had desired to conceal his preaching to idolatrous Gentils, he could not have done it. His preaching at Antioch, and his and Barnabas's peregrination in divers other countreys, related in Acts xiii. xiv. were well known to all the Christians at Antioch. And when Paul and Barnabas went thence to Jerusalem about the question that had been started there; it is very likely, that some went to Jerusalem upon the same occasion, who were on the imposing side of the question. If Paul had endeavoured to conceal any thing of an offensive nature, they would not have failed to divulge it.

We now proceed in the historie.

Peter having by divine appointment and direction performed that important service at the house of Cornelius in Cesarea, and having received Gentils into communion by baptism, without circumcision according to the law of Moses: and his conduct having been approved by the Apostles, and brethren at Jerusalem: *they who had been scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen*, and had hitherto preached the word to none but Jews only, having heard of this transaction, when they came to Antioch, *spake unto the Greeks there, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the band of the Lord was with them. And a great number believed, and turned*

unto the Lord. Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church which was at Jerusalem. And they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch. He afterwards brought Paul thither. And from that time forward the Gospel was freely preached to Gentils, as well as Jews, and with great successe. Acts xi. 19. . . . 26.

Soon after the conversion of Cornelius, it is likely that *the rest of the churches*, before mentioned, was abated, till it was quite interrupted. However, Peter, and the other Apostles, still continued in Judea. And according to the utmost of their power, as the circumstances of things allowed, employed themselves in confirming the believers, and making additions to their number.

Toward the end of his reign *Herod Agrippa* became an open persecutor of the believers. And killed *James, the brother of John, with the sword.* And because he saw, it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther, to take *Peter also.* [Then were the days of unleavened bread.] And when he had apprehended him, he put him in prison, and delivered him to four quaternions of soldiers to keep him; that is, sixteen in all, four of which were by turns to watch him: intending after Easter, to bring him forth to the people. Acts x. 1. . . . 4.

The conversion of Cornelius happened, as I suppose, in the year 41. of our Saviour's nativity, according to the vulgar computation. And the Easter, or Passover, here mentioned, was, probably, the Passover of the year 44.

Peter therefore was kept in prison. But prayer was made without ceasing of the church unto God for him. ver. 5. And he was delivered out of prison in a miraculous manner, as related ver. 6. . . . 11. The Divine Being did not allow, that a period should be yet put to the life of that Apostle. One thing very observable in this historie is the compofure of Peter's mind in a great extremity, and in the near apprehension of death. For it is said ver 6. *And when Herod would have brought him forth, the same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains.* In that posture the angel found him, who at that instant was sent to assist his escape.

Having informed some of his intimate friends, assembled at the house of *Marie*, in Jerusalem, of his wonderful deliverance out of prison, *he departed, and went to another place.* ver. 17. Meaning either another house in Jerusalem, or else some city, or village, not far from it. Where, probably, he lived privately, till the death of *Herod Agrippa*, which happened before the end of that year.

Some have thought, that Peter now went to Antioch, or Rome. But there is no good evidence of either of those opinions. Says Mr. *Lenfant* upon the place: "If St. Peter had gone to some celebrated city, for instance, Antioch, according to some, or Rome, according to others, no doubt St. Luke would have mentioned it, and some of the brethren would have accompanied him according to custom. From the manner, in which St. Luke expresseth himself, nothing is more natural, than to suppose, that St. Peter, that he might not expose to danger the faithfull at the house where he first called, and where many were assembled, retired to some other place in Jerusalem."

In the year 49. or 50. was assembled the Council of Jerusalem, con-

cerning the question, *whether it was needful to circumcise the Gentils, who believed, and to command them to keep the law.* At this assemblie Peter was present, and in the debate clearly declared his opinion, that *the yoke of the law should not be laid upon the neck of the disciples from among the Gentils.* As a cogent argument for his opinion, he reminded the assemblie, how by divine appointment he had preached the word of the gospel to Gentils; at Cesarea, and that God, *who knoweth the hearts of all men,* had shewn his acceptance of them by giving to them the Holy Ghost, though uncircumcised. By which it had been made manifest, that they might be saved by faith in Jesus Christ, without the rituals of the law.

Whilst Paul was this time at Jerusalem, James, Peter, and John, *gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship,* that they might proceed in preaching to the Gentils: whilst they, and the other Apostles, still continued in Judea to preach to those of the circumcision. Gal. ii. 6. . . . 10.

He goes to Antioch, where he is reproved by St. Paul.

III. Some short time afterwards, as it seems, Peter was at Antioch, as we learn from St. Paul. Gal. ii. 11. . . . 16. I place this journey of Peter to Antioch, after the Council of Jerusalem, according to the general opinion. But Basnage argues, that (s) it was before it. If it was not till after it, (as I rather think,) it could not be long. For Barnabas was now at Antioch. Whereas in a short time after their return thither from Jerusalem, he and Paul parted. Here Peter at first conversed freely with the Gentil converts. But when there came thither from Judea some Jewish believers, zealous for the law, *he separated himself, fearing them of the circumcision.* Herein Peter acted contrarie to his own judgement, and declared opinion, through fear of the displeasure of others. St. Paul therefore represents his conduct, as *disimulation*, or hypocrisy. What he now did, in compliance with the zealots for the law, was a thing of very bad tendence. St. Paul therefore justly *withstood him*, and so shewed him to be blamable, that Peter acquiesced. Hereby, as Paul expresth it, *he (ε) compelled the Gentils to judaize, or become Jews.*

For

(s) Illud nobis verosimilius, Concilii Hierosolymitani celebrationi antecessisse Petrinam hanc in Syriæ metropoli commorationem. Argumento est disceptatio Pauli cum Petro, cujus dissimulationem obruisset autoritate Synodi, si jam coacta fuisset. Quin immo nulla Petro, et timendi Judæos, et eorum gratiâ sese separandi a Gentibus causa fuit, si tum temporis promulgata fuisset Concilii Hierosolymitani Epistola: quo veluti clypeo, ad omnes telorum Judaicorum ictus tutus erat. *Basnage, Ann. 46. num. xxv.*

(ε) *He compelled the Gentils to judaize, or become Jews.*] Our translation is: *Why compellest thou the Gentils to live as do the Jews?* But it is far from being exact. Τί τὰ ἐθνη ἀνγκάζεις; ἰουδαΐζειν; To judaize is to become a Jew, or profelyte to the Jewish religion. Esther viii. 17. *And many of the people of the land became Jews.* Or, as in the Seventy *were circumcised, and judaized.* Καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰβηῶν περιετέμνοντο, καὶ ἰουδαΐζον. The Greek word is used in the same sense by *Josephus. De B. J. l. 2. cap. 18. n. 2.* Ἀπειθεῖσθαι γὰρ τὰς ἰουδαίους δοκῶντες ἰατροί, τὰς ἰουδαΐζοντας εἶχον ἐν ἰποψίᾳ. To christianize, arianize, sabellianize, is to become a Christian, an Arian, a Sabellian. And to judaize is to become a Jew. Which, if I may be allowed to say it, shews the impro-

For his separating from them, as unfit for converse and communion with the Apostles of Christ, and the believers from among the Jews, implied, that they were not acceptable in the sight of God, nor in the way of salvation: and that in order to be saved, it was needful for them to be circumcised, and keep the law.

It was, as I suppose, soon after the Council, and the year 50. in which Peter came to Antioch. And I imagine, that he now first of all went abroad out of Judea into Gentil countreys. It is very likely that he was desirous to see the Christian people at Antioch. But hitherto he had been little used to converse with Gentils. And when some zealous Jewish believers came to Antioch from Jerusalem, he was alarmed: recollecting, it is likely, how some at Jerusalem had contended with him after he was come from Cesarea, because he had been with men uncircumcised, and *did eat with them*. Acts xi. 23. and very well knowing, from long and frequent experience, the prevailing temper of the people of his countrey. But it is reasonable to think, that Peter never more shewed the like unsteadiness, but was firm ever afterwards.

This is the last time, that Peter is expressly mentioned in the New Testament, excepting in his own epistles, and 1 Cor. i. 12. and iii. 22. From which texts Pearson concludes, that (t) St. Peter had been at Corinth, before St. Paul wrote his first epistle to the church there. But others think that (u) there were some at Corinth, who had heard Peter preach in Judea: and some, who had seen Peter in prison. They who said, *I am of Cephas, or of Christ*, must be supposed to have been Jews, either by descent or religion.

I do not think, these words can prove that Peter had been at Corinth, before Paul wrote this epistle. At ch. iii. 6. St. Paul says: *I have planted. Apollos watered*. He makes no mention of Peter's labours among the Corinthians. Peter may have been at Corinth afterwards, in his way to Rome. But I do not see any proof from this epistle of his having been there.

IV. We

impropriety of the use of the word, *Judaizer*, now very common among learned moderns, as denoting a man, who is for imposing Judaism upon others.

(t) At certissimum est, Petrum non minus quam Paulum Corinthi fuisse, et quidem antequam S. Paulus primam epistolam dedit ad Corinthios. Ita enim Apostolus loquitur. 1 Cor. i. 12. Unde colligitur, non minus Cepham, et Apollo, quam Paulum Corinthi fuisse. *Pearf. Op. Post. Diss. i. cap. vii. p. 37.*

(u) Alii ergo Corinthi ab Apollo instituti post Pauli abitum, alii ab ipso Paulo, alii qui ex Judæa venerant a Petro, sub illis nominibus, alia atque alia dogmata tradebant. . . . *Ego autem Christi*. Venerant enim ex Judæa quidam, qui ipsum Christum docentem audierant. *Grot. ad 1 Cor. i. 12. Vid. et Witsf. de Vita Pauli. sect. 7. num. xx. Miletem. p. 104. 105.*

Sunt viri docti qui existimant, Petrum Apostolum hoc anno Corinthum venisse, dum in ea urbe etiamnum esset Apollos. . . . Sed propensio in Petrum esse potuit, licet Corinthum pedem non intulisset. Nihil enim vetat fuisse Christianos Corinthi, qui cum Petrum in Judæa aut alibi audivissent, magistrum eum suum discitarent, et Paulo preferrent. Itaque iter hoc Petri nimis levi conjecturâ nititur. *Cleric. H. E. ann. 55. num. v.*

His Travels, and the Time of his coming to Rome. IV. We have no where any very distinct account of this Apostle's travels. He might return to Judea, and stay there a good while after having been at Antioch, at the time spoken of by St. Paul in the epistle to the Galatians. However, I formerly quoted Epiphanius, saying, that (x) Peter was often in the countreys of Pontus, and Bithynia. And by Eusebius we are assured, that Origen in the third tome of his Exposition of the book of Genesis, writes to this purpose: "Peter (y) is supposed to have preached to the Jews of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia. Who at length coming to Rome, was crucified with his head downwards, himself having desired it might be in that manner."

For the time of Peter's coming to Rome, no ancient writer is now more regarded by learned moderns, than Lactantius, or whoever is the author of the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors. Who says, that (z) Peter came thither in the time of Nero. Inasmuch that (a) Pagi assents to this account: and has shewn it to be altogether improbable, that (b) St. Peter came thither in the time of Claudius. He likewise (c) observes some difficulties, which they are liable to, who suppose, that he first came to Rome in the reign of Claudius, and afterwards in the reign of Nero. But though Peter did not come to Rome before the reign of Nero, which began in the year of Christ 54. we cannot say exactly the time, when he came thither, as is also (d) acknowledged by the same excellent chronologer.

However, it appears to me very probable, that St. Peter did not come to Rome before the year of Christ 63. or 64. nor till after St. Paul's departure thence, at the end of his two years imprisonment in that city.

The books of the New Testament afford a very plausible, and probable, if not a certain argument for it. After our Lord's ascension we find Peter with the rest of the Apostles at Jerusalem. He and John were sent by the Apostles from Jerusalem to Samaria, whence they returned to Jerusalem. When Paul came to Jerusalem three years after his conversion, he found Peter there. Upon occasion of the tranquillity of the churches in Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, near the end of the reign of Caligula, Peter left Jerusalem, and visited the churches in the several parts of that countrey, particularly, at Lydda, and Joppa, where *he tarried many*

(x) Vol. viii. p. 310.

(y) Πέτρος δὲ ἐν πόσιν . . . κηρυκέναι τοῖς ἐν διασπορᾷ Ἰουδαίοις ἔοικεν. Ὅς καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ἐν ῥώμῃ γεόμενος, ἀνεσχολεπίστη κατὰ κεφαλῆς, ἔτως αὐτὸς ἀξιώσας παθεῖν. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. i.

(z) . . . et per annos xxv. usque ad principium Neroniani imperii per omnes provincias et civitates Ecclesie fundamenta miserunt. Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit, et editis quibusdam miraculis, quæ virtute ipsius Dei, data sibi ab eo potestate, faciebat, convertit multos ad justitiam, Deoque templum sæde ac stabile collocavit. Quâ re ad Neronem delatâ . . . et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci adlaxit, et Paulum interfecit. De Mort. Persic. cap. 2.

(a) Critic. in Baron. ann. 43. num. iii.

(b) Ibid. num. ii.

(c) Ibid. num. iii.

(d) . . . cum verus ejus adventus annus nos lateat. Id. ann. 54. num. ii.

many days. Thence he went to Cesarea by the sea-side, where he preached to Cornelius, and his companie. Thence he returned to Jerusalem. And some time afterwards he was imprisoned there by Herod Agrippa. This brings down the historie of our Apostle to the year 44. A few years after this he was present at the Council of Jerusalem. Nor is there any evidence, that he came thither barely for that occasion. It is more probable, that he had not yet been out of Judea. Soon after that Council he was at Antioch, where he was reprov'd by St. Paul.

The books of the New Testament afford no light for determining, where Peter was for several years after that. But to me it appears not unlikely, that he returned in a short time to Judea from Antioch: and that he staid in Judea a good while, before he went thence any more. And it seems to me, that when he left Judea, he went again to Antioch the chief city of Syria. Thence he might go into other parts of the continent, particularly, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, which are expressly mentioned at the begining of his first epistle. In those countreys he might stay a good while. It is very likely, that he did so: and that he was well acquainted with the Christians there, to whom he afterwards wrote two epistles.

When he left those parts, I think, he went to Rome: but not till after Paul had been in that city, and was gone from it. Several of St. Paul's epistles furnish out a cogent argument of Peter's absence from Rome for a considerable space of time. St. Paul, in the last chapter of his epistle to the Romans, writ, as we suppose, in the begining of the year 58. salutes many by name, without mentioning Peter. And the whole tenour of the epistle makes it reasonable to think, that the Christians there had not yet had the benefit of that Apostle's presence, and instructions: During his two years confinement at Rome, which ended, as we suppose, in the spring of the year 63. St. Paul wrote four, or five epistles, those to the Ephesians, the second epistle to Timothie, to the Philippians, the Colossians, and Philemon: in none of which is any mention of Peter. Nor is any thing said, or hinted, whence it can be concluded, that he had ever been there.

I think therefore, that Peter did not come to Rome before the year 63. or perhaps 64. And, as I suppose, he obtained the crown of martyrdom in the year 64. or 65. Consequently, St. Peter could not reside very long at Rome, before his death.

It is very remarkable, that (e) Nicephorus, at the begining of the ninth centurie, in his Chronographie, computes St. Peter's episcopate at Rome to have been of two years duration only. For that passage I am indebted to (f) Basnage, whose argument upon it I have placed below. Nicephorus,

(e) Ὅτι ἐν ῥώμῃ ἐπισκοπεύσαντες ἀπὸ χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων,
αὐτὸς Πέτρος ἀποστόλος ἔτι b.

Ap. Scalig. Thes. Temp. p. 308.

(f) Lactantius Eusebio paullo antiquior Petrum non Claudio quidem, sed Nerone imperante Roman venisse tradit. . . . Neque Lactantio propria chronologia hæc est. In Nicephori enim Chronographia legimus: *Qui Romæ episcopatum gesserunt a Christo et Apostolis. Petrus apostolus annis duobus.* Quibus consequens

phorus, therefore, (and probably others likewise,) must have supposed, that Peter did not come to Rome, till near the end of his life.

As the foregoing is the most likely account of St. Peter's travels, which I have been able to form; I do not see any reason to believe, that he ever was in Chaldea. Cosmas, of Alexandria, who thought, that by (g) Babylon at the end of St. Peter's first epistle is meant Babylon in Persia, must have supposed, that this Apostle was in that countrey. And learned men (b) who understand Babylon in the same sense, take it for granted, that St. Peter travelled into that part of the world. But I do not perceive them to support their opinion by testimonies of ancient writers. Which surely would have been of advantage to it.

And there are some passages of ancient authors, where it would be reasonable to expect an account of such a journey, if there had been in those times any knowledge of it, or well attested tradition about it.

Origen, in the passage cited by (i) Eusebius, and already quoted by us likewise from him, says: "Peter is said to have preached to the Jews of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia. Who at length coming to Rome was crucified."

Eusebius, in his Chronical Canon, as published by Scaliger, says, in the Greek, "that (k) Peter having founded the church in Antioch, went away "to Rome preaching the gospel."

Jerome, in his book of Illustrious Men, in like manner says: "that (l) Peter having been at Antioch, and preached to the Jews of the dispersion in Pontus, and the neighboring countreys, went to Rome." In another place Jerome says: "that (m) Christ was with the Apostles in all the places whither they went. He was with Thomas in India, with Peter at Rome, with Paul in Illyricum, with Titus in Crete, with Andrew in Achaia." Why does he not also say, that Christ was with Peter in Babylon?

Ephraim

consequens est, Petrum biennium circiter ante mortem iter in urbem direxisse, Secus diuturniorem ei episcopatum vindicasset Nicephorus. *Basn. ann.* 42. num. x.

(g) See vol. xi. 275.

(b) . . . Verum ego priorem sententiam tanquam longe verisimiliorem amplector, tum quod in Babylone Parthica magna esset Judæorum frequentia, qui ἀρχιμαλοτάρχην suum habuerunt: tum quod Petro Antiochiâ discendenti facilius ac commodior esset in hæc loca transitus, in quibus eum diu prædicasse, nemo, opinor, facile negabit. *Cav. H. L. in Petro. p. 6. Et Conf. Basnag. Ann. 57. num. iii. et ann. 46. num. xxv.*

(i) *Vid. Euf. H. E. l. 3. cap. i.*

(k) Πέτρος ὁ κεφαλὸς τῆν ἐν ἀντιοχείᾳ πρώτῃν θεμελιώσας ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ῥώμην ᾤκεισε κηρύττων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. *Chr. Can. p. 204.*

(l) Simon Petrus, . . . princeps Apostolorum, post episcopatum Antiochenis ecclesiæ, et prædicationem dispersionis eorum, qui de circumcisione crediderant, in Ponto . . . secundo Claudii Imperatoris anno, ad expugnandum Simonem Magum, Romanæ pergit. *De V. I. cap. i.*

(m) *Tom. iv. P. i. p. 167. ad Marcell. ep. 148.*

Ephraim the Syrian says, “that (*n*) Peter preached at Rome, John at Ephesus, Matthew in Palestine, and Thomas in the Indies.”

Gregorie Nazianzen (*o*) speaks of Paul, as having for his province all the Gentils in general, Peter Judea, Luke Achaia, Andrew Epirus, John Ephesus, Thomas the Indies, and Mark Italie.

Why do none of these writers take in Babylon, or Persia, or Chaldea, as the Apostle Peter's province?

Once more. Says Chrysostom: “This (*p*) is one prerogative of our city, (Antioch,) that we had at the begining the chief of the Apostles for our master. For it was fit, that the place, which was first honoured with the name of Christians, should have the chief of the Apostles for its Pastour. But though we had him for a master a while, we did not detain him, but resigned him to the royal city, Rome. Or rather, we have him still. For though we have not his body, we have his faith.” I might refer to other places of Chrysostom, where he speaks of Peter's having been at Rome. But why does he not also mention Babylon?

I therefore rely upon the account before given of St. Peter's travels, as most likely. And in particular I observe, that we have not in ancient Christian writers any good assurance of his having ever been in Persia, or Parthia. A learned writer of our time, who contends that he was there, and that his first epistle was writ at the Assyrian Babylon, acknowledgeth, that (*q*) from that epistle of S. Peter alone we have any assurance of his having been at Babylon.

V. In the historie of St. Paul I have already shewn it to be probable, that he and Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome in 64. or 65. *The Time of his Death.*

Cave (*r*) likewise, in his life of St. Peter, writ in English, in 1676. placeth the death of this Apostle in 64. or 65. Nor was his mind much altered, when he published his *Historia Literaria* in 1688. For there also

(*n*) See *Vol. ix. p. 211.*

(*o*) *Orat. 25. p. 438. A.*

(*p*) Εν γὰρ καὶ τῷ πλεονέκτημα τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, τὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαίον λαβεῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ διδασκαλον. . . . Ἀλλὰ . . . οὐκ εἰς τέλος κατέχομεν, ἀλλὰ παρεχωρήσαμεν τῇ βασιλίδι ῥώμῃ. κ. λ. *In Princip. Act. Ap. rom. 2. T. 3. p. 70.*

(*q*) Supereſt aliquid, quod ex hoc Petri loco diſcamus. Primum igitur cognoscimus hic, quod aliunde non conſtat, Babylone etiam fuiſſe Petrum, magnamque ibi meſſuiſſe Chriſto meſſem. *Heumann. Nova Sylloge Diff. Part. 2. p. 113.*

(*r*) “The date of his death is differently assigned by the ancients. . . . That which seems to me most probable, is, that it was in the tenth of Nero, or the year lxv. Which I thus compute. Nero's burning of Rome is placed by Tacitus under the Consulship of C. Lucanus, and M. Licinius, about the month of July, that is, A. Ch. lxiv. This act procured him the hatred and clamours of the people. Which having in vain endeavored several ways to remove and pacify, he at last resolved upon this project, to derive the odium upon the Christians. Whom therefore, both to appease the Gods, and please the people, he condemned as guilty of the fact, and caused to be executed with all manner of acute and exquisite tortures. This persecution began, as we may suppose, about the end of that, or the beginning of the following year. And under this persecution, I doubt not, it was, St. Peter suffered, and changed earth for heaven.” *Cave's Life of St. Peter, sect. xi.*

also he supposeth, that (s) St. Peter died a martyr at Rome, in the year of Christ 64. at the begining of Nero's persecution. And indeed expresseth himself with a great deal of assurance and positiveness.

Jerome concludes his article of St. Peter, saying: "He (t) was buried at Rome in the Vatican, near the triumphal Way, and is in veneration all over the world." We likewise formerly (u) saw a passage of Caius, about the year 212. where he speaks of the tombs of the two Apostles, Peter and Paul, at Rome. And Chrysostom, in a passage lately cited, supposes St. Peter to have been buried in that city.

VI. I shall now take notice of a few things hitherto entirely omitted, or but slightly touched upon. His Episcopate at Antioch, his having been five and twenty years Bishop of Rome, his children, his wife's martyrdom, said to have happened at Rome, the manner of his crucifixion.

I. We have seen several authors, who speak of Peter's having been at Antioch. Chrysostom seems to have supposed, that (x) he was there a good while. This may be also implied in the passage of Jerome before cited (y) from his Book of Illustrious Men, where he speaks of Peter's episcopate of Antioch. And in his Commentarie upon the epistle to the Galatians he says, that (z) Peter was at first Bishop of Antioch, and afterwards Bishop of Rome. Eusebius speaking of Ignatius, and his epistles, calls (a) him the second Bishop of Antioch after Peter. Jerome (b) calls Ignatius the third Bishop after Peter. They both suppose Euodius, of whom (c) Eusebius speaks elsewhere, to have been the first Bishop of Antioch, or the first after Peter.

What real foundation there is for all this, is hard to say: whether it be built entirely upon what St. Paul writes Gal. ii. 11. . . . 16. or whether there was some other ground for it.

But, as before said in the account above given of St. Peter's travels, I think, that St. Peter did not stay long at Antioch, the first time he was there, which is mentioned by St. Paul, but returned to Judea, and after some time leaving that countrey, he went to Antioch again. Where he might

(s) Tandem sub Nerone, forsan circa annum 63. Romam venit, fideles, quos ibi repperit, in ordinem redegit, ecclesiam constituit, auxit, et mox sanguine suo locupletavit. . . . Obiit igitur sanctus Petrus anno Christi 64. Neronis 10. sub initium persecutionis Neronianæ, ut in opere vernaculo, *De Vitis Apostolorum*, latius differuimus. Etenim cum Nero ob grande illud scelus, Romanæ Urbis incendium, in odium omnium venisset, abolendo rumori, inquit Tacitus, crimen conjecit in Christianos, eosque hæc de causâ quæsitissimis pœnis affectit. Quin hæc occasione rapti sint ad martyrium Apostoli, nemo, cui sanum sinciput, dubitare potest. *Hist. Lit. de Petro. p. 5.*

(t) See Vol. x. p. 131.

(u) Vol. iii. p. 23.

(x) See p. 427.

(y) See before, p. 426. note (l).

(z) Denique primum Episcopum Antiochenæ ecclesiæ Petrum fuisse accepimus, et Romam exinde translatus, quod Lucas penitus omisit. *Hieron. in ep. ad Gal. cap. 2. 11. . . . 13. T. 4. P. i. p. 244.*

(a) . . . τῆς κατ' ἀντιόχειαν πίτρου διαδοχῆς δεύτερος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κεκληρωμένος. *H. E. l. 3. cap. 36. p. 106. D.*

(b) Ignatius Antiochenæ ecclesiæ tertius post Petrum Apostolum Episcopus. *De V. I. cap. 16.*

(c) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 22.*

might stay a while, and then go and preach in the countreys mentioned at the beginning of his first epistle, and then go to Rome.

2. It has been said, that Peter was Bishop of Rome five and twenty years. This is said by Jerome in (*d*) his book of Illustrious Men, and (*e*) in his Chronicle, or his Latin edition of Eusebe's Greek Chronicle, or Chronicle Canon, as it is sometimes called: where (*f*) he added divers things not said by Eusebius himself.

But this is inconsistent with the history in the Acts. Nor is it any where expressly said by Eusebius, though, perhaps, it might be argued from some things said by him. How the origin of this notion is accounted for by (*b*) Pagi, and (*i*) Baluze, both Romanists, may be seen in their own words, which I transcribe below. I refer likewise to (*k*) Basnage, and (*l*) Dodwell. In all whom are good observations relating to this point.

Clement

(*d*) Post episcopatum Antiochenſis eccleſiæ, et prædicationem diſperſionis eorum, qui de circumciſione crediderant in Ponto. . . Romam pergit: ibique viginti quinque annis cathedram ſacerdotalem tenuit, uſque ad ultimum annum Neronis, id eſt, decimum quartum. *De V. I. cap. i.*

(*e*) Petrus Apoſtolus, quum primus Antiochenam eccleſiam fundaſſet, Romanam mittitur, ubi evangelium prædicans xxv. annis ejuſdem urbis Episcopum perfeverat. *Chron. p. 160.*

(*f*) . . . *Ibid. xxv. annis ejuſdem urbis episcopus perfeverat.*] Adjecta ſunt ab Hieronymo, et ab eodem repetuntur in Catalogo Scriptor. Ecc. Græca enim non habent. Ab Aſſumptione Domini, ad id tempus, quo Petrus conſectus fuit in vincula ab Herode Agrippa. . . Petrus ſemper fuit in Palæſtina, aut Syria. Herodes obiit quarto anno Claudii. Quomodo igitur anno ſecundo Claudii proſectus eſt Romam? Quomodo viginti quinque annos Romæ perfeveravit? *Scaliger. Animadv. p. 189.*

(*b*) Præſtat hic Lactantii citati verba in medium aſſerre. *Apoſtoli per annos xxv. uſque ad principium Neroniani Imperii per omnes provincias et civitates Eccleſiæ fundamenta miſerunt. Cumque Jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit. . . . Ex his viginti quinque annis, qui ad prædicationem omnium Apoſtolorum ex æquo pertinent, orta videtur opinio de xxv. annis, qui vulgo tribuuntur S. Petro in ſede Romanâ. Pagi. ann. 43. num. iii.*

(*i*) Fortaſſis ergo ex his viginti quinque annis, qui ad prædicationem omnium Apoſtolorum æque pertinent, orta eſt opinio de viginti quinque annis, quos quidam veteres, et innumerabile recentiorum agmen, ſancto Petro apoſtolo tribuunt in ſede Romana. Sane licet fruſtra et ſupervacaneè a nonnullis negari putem adventum ejus ad urbem Romam, qui clariffimis veterum teſtimoniis comprobatus eſt, de tempore tamen multum ambigo, cum videam tot tantaſque difficultates habere eorum ſententiam, qui illum Romam veniſſe volunt Claudio imperante, ut coacti ſint duplicare proſectionem ejus in urbem, et duplex item ejus cum Simone Mago certamen commiſci. primo quidem temporibus Claudii, dein principatu Neronis. Quæ res quam abſurda ſit, cum id a nullo veterum proditum ſit memoriæ literarum, pervident iſtarum rerum periti. . . . Itaque ſi fas eſſet recedere a vulgari, et inimicis hominum inſita opinione, ei Lactantianam lubenter præferrem; id eſt, Petrum quidem Romæ prædiçaſſe evangelium facile concederem, non ſub Tiberio Claudio, ut vulgo putant, ſed ſub Nerone Claudio. &c. *Steph. Baluz. annot. ad libr. de M. P. cap. 2.*

(*k*) *Ann. 42. n. x. xi.*

(*l*) *Diſſ. Singularis. cap. iii. n. 1. p. 13.*

Clement of Alexandria (*m*) reckons Peter among those Apostles, who had children. According to him, Philip was another. Epiphanius says, that (*n*) Peter came to Christ after he was married, and had children. Jerome, in his first book against Jovinian, takes notice, that (*o*) in the Circuits, probably meaning the Recognitions, mention was made both of Peter's wife and daughter. But, says he, that is not a canonical book. And still we have a passage in the Recognitions, where St. Peter's wife is mentioned: but, as (*p*) Cotelierius observes, what was said of Peter's daughter is wanting. Possibly these things may illustrate the words of Peter, recorded Matt. xix. 27. *Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee. What shall we have therefore?* And indeed Origen, in his Commentarie upon St. Matthew says: "It (*q*) seems, that Peter did not leave nets only, but also a house, and a wife, whose mother the Lord healed of a fever, and, as may be supposed, children, and possibly likewise some small estate."

4. Farther, Clement of Alexandria (*r*), cited also by (*s*) Eusebius, informs us: "It was said, that the blessed Peter, seeing his wife led forth to death, rejoiced for the grace of God vouchsafed to him: and calling to her by name, exhorted, and comforted her, saying: *Remember the Lord.*"

If time and place had been mentioned, it would have added to the credibility of the storie. However she might be at Rome, as we know Peter was. And if so, she might suffer about the same time with him. For Nero's persecution took in people of both sexes, and all conditions, as we know from the account given by Tacitus. And we learn from St. Paul, that Peter was attended by his wife in his travels. 1 Cor. ix. 5.

5. It is also said, that " (*t*) St. Peter being imprisoned at Rome, or being in some imminent danger of suffering, the brethren there entreated him
to

(*m*) . . . ἡ καὶ ἀποστόλος ἀποδοκιμάζει; Πέτρος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Φίλιππος ἐπαιδοποιή-
σατο. *Clem. Strom. l. 3. p. 448. D. et ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 30.*

(*n*) Μιστὰ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι, καὶ τέκνα κικτῆσθαι, καὶ πυνθῆραν ἔχειν, συνέτυχ-
ε τῷ σωτήρι, ἐξ ἰσδαίων ὀρμώμενος. *Her. 30. num. 22. p. 147. B.*

(*o*) Possumus autem et de Petro dicere, quod habuerit focrum eo tempore quo credidit, et uxorem non habuerit: quamquam legatur in Περίοδῳ; et uxor ejus et filia. Sed nunc nobis de canone omne certamen est. *Contr. Jovin. l. 1. T. IV. P. 2. p. 168. in.*

(*p*) *Die autem postea sedens cum uxore Petri.*] Testatur Hieronymus contra Jovinianum scribens, legi in Periodis et uxorem Petri et filiam. Ea igitur Circuituum pars, in qua de Petri filia (Petronillam illam vocant) sermo erat, nunc desideratur. Uxorem autem memorant præterea Clem. A. Str. 7. ubi et martyrium illius refert verbis, quæ citantur ab Eusebio. iii. 30. Origines ad Matt. xix. 27. Epiphanius H. 30. n. 22. Hieronymus ep. 34. *Cotelier. ad Recognit. l. 7. cap. 25.*

(*q*) *Origen. in Matt. Tom. xv. p. 682. T. 3. Bened.*

(*r*) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 30.*

(*s*) Φασὶ γέν, τὸν μακάριον πῆτρον θεασάμενον τὴν αὐτῆ γυναῖκα ἀγομένην τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον, ἡσθῆναι τῆς κλήσεως χάριν. . . ἐπιφανῆσαι δὲ ἐν μάλα πεσοτρπηκῶς καὶ παρακλητικῶς ἐξ ὀνόματος προσείποντα. Μέμνησο ὡ αὐτῇ τῷ κυρίῳ. *Str. 7. p. 736. B.*

(*t*) Idem Petrus postea, victo Simone, cum præcepta Dei populo seminaret, excitavit animos Gentilium: quibus cum quærentibus, Christianæ animæ deprecata

to consult his safety by flight, and to reserve himself for farther service and usefulness. At length he was persuaded, and went out in the dark night. But when he came to the gate, he saw Christ entering into the city. Whereupon he said: *Lord, whither art thou going?* Christ answered, *I am come hither to be crucified again.* By which Peter apprehended himself to be reproved, and perceived, that Jesus spake of his death, and that now he was to be crucified in his servant. Accordingly Peter turned back, and gave satisfaction to the brethren. And being soon after taken up, he was crucified."

This storie is in Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, in the fourth centurie. Tillemont (u) has endeavoured to find some grounds for it, or references to it, in more ancient authors. But they are very obscure, and doubtful. Bafnage (x) has some remarks upon it, which may be read by such as have leisure.

6. St. Peter's death, and the manner of it, we saw just now in a passage cited from (y) Origen, and likewise, that when he was to be crucified, he desired, it might be in that way. So likewise Jerome, "that (z) he was crucified by order of Nero, and so crowned with martyrdom, his head downward, and his feet lifted up, saying: He was unworthie to be crucified, as his master was." To the like purpose (a) Prudentius. Chrysostom also several times speaks (b) of Peter's being crucified with his head downwards.

And

deprecatae sunt, ut paulisper cederet. Et quamvis esset cupidus passionis, tamen contemplatione populi precantis inflexus est. Rogabatur enim, ut ad instituendum et confirmandum populum se reservaret. Quid multa? Nocte muros egredi cœpit. Sed videns sibi in portâ Christum occurrere, urbemque ingredi, ait: Domine quo vadis? Respondit Christus: Venio iterum crucifigi. . . . Intellexit ergo Petrus, quod iterum Christus crucifigendus esset in servulo. Itaque sponte remeavit. Interrogantibus Christianis responsum reddidit, statimque correptus, per crucem suam honoravit Dominum Jesum. *Ambr. Serm. contr. Aux. T. 2. p. 867. A. B. ed. Bened.*

(u) *S. Pierre. art. 35. et note 39. Mem. Tom. i.*

(x) *Ann. 65. num. xi.*

(y) *Sec p. 424.*

(z) A quo et affixus cruci, martyrio coronatus est, capite ad terram verso, et in sublime pedibus elevatis: asserens, se indignum, qui sic crucifigeretur, ut Dominus suus. *De V. I. cap. i.*

(a) Primum Petrum rapuit sententia, legibus Neronis,

Pendere jussum præminente ligno.

Ille tamen veritus celsæ decus æmulando mortis

Ambire tanti gloriam magistri:

Exigit, ut pedibus versum caput imprimant supinis,

Quo spectet imum stipitem cerêbro.

Περὶ γεφ. cap. 12.

(b) . . . αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ πλείονος λαβὼν δύναμιν καὶ μῆζον τὸ θάρος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆ ἀποθανῆναι, καὶ τῷ σαυρῷ κατὰ κεφαλῆς προσομιλῆσαι. κ. λ. *Chr. in. Pr. Ad. hom. 4. T. 3. p. 93. E.*

Παῦλος δὲ καὶ πέτρος ἐχ' ὅς μὲν ἀποτμηθεῖς, ὅς δὲ ἀπ' ἐναντίας τῷ δεσπότῃ τῷ σαυρῷ τὴν τιμωρίαν δεξάμενος, ἔτω μετέτη τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ ζωῆς; *In Gen. hom. 66. T. 4. p. 630. A.*

Ὁ χεῖρὸς ἐσαυρώθη ἔτος ἔμελλεν ἀποκεφαλίζεσθαι. ὁ πέτρος κἀνταῦθα ἀνεκράτισθη. *In 2 Tim. hom. 5. T. xi. p. 687. D.*

And it is unquestioned, that (c) among the Romans some were so crucified, to add to their pain and ignominie. Nevertheless some ancient writers, who speak of Peter's martyrdom by crucifixion, do (d) not take notice of that circumstance. Which has induced (e) Basnage to dispute the truth of it. Allowing, that (f) Peter was crucified in that manner, he thinks it not reasonable to suppose, it was at his own request. And it must be acknowledged, that his reasoning is plausible.

It seems to me, that Peter might be crucified in that manner, and that it might be owing to the spite and malice of those, who put him to death. The saying, that it was at his own desire, may have been at first only the oratorical sight of some man of more wit than judgement. But the thought was pleasing, and therefore has been followed by many.

That he was at Rome, and suffered Martyrdom there. VII. Some learned men have denied, that Peter ever was at Rome, as (g) Scaliger, (h) Salmasius, (i) Frederick Spanheim, and some others. Mr. Bower is much of the same mind. His words are: "From (k) what has been hitherto said every impartial judge must conclude, that it is at best very much to be doubted, whether St. Peter ever was at Rome." Nevertheless there have been many learned men among the Protestants, as well as Romanists, whose impartiality was never questioned, who have believed, and argued very well, that Peter was at Rome, and suffered

(c) *Vid. Basnag. ann. 65. num. xiv.*

(d) *Ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adæquatur. Tertull. Pr. cap. 36. p. 245. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, quum cruci adstringitur. Id. Scorpi. cap. 15. p. 633.*

... Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit. *De Mort. Persec. cap. 2.*

(e) *Ubi supra. num. xiv.*

(f) Concesso, ut plures testantur, sublimibus Petrum vestigiis affixum cruci, quin ex Prætoris mandato irrogatum hoc supplicii, quo pereunti adderetur dolor et ludibrium, non credere non possumus. . . Præpostera sane et vana ea videtur esse modestia, quam ascribunt Petro. . . Neque præscorum aliquem martyrum, qui in crucem acti fuerunt, similis unquam incessit humilitas. . . Præterea certo certius est, atrocior eorum fuisse supplicium, qui inverso, quam qui recto capite figebantur cruci. . . Martyris autem est, imperatam sibi mortem perferre fortiter, non vero poscere, ut intendantur a carnifice tormenta. *Id. ib. num. xv.*

(g) Quum igitur Petrus ad *περιτρομήν* missus esset, videtur in *διασπορά* Asiana periisse, si conjecturæ locus est. Nam de ejus Romam adventu, sedæ 25. annorum, et supremo capitis supplicio, ibidem, nemo qui paullo humanior fuerit, credere posset. *Jes. Scal. annot. ad Job. xviii. 31.*

(h) De Petro vero a Nerone sublato non constat. Si non potest probari Romæ illam fuisse unquam, quomodo ibi crucifixus? Putem ego cum Salmasio Babylonem martyrium passum esse, si quid divinare in re incerta licet. *Gallens ad Laet. Instit. l. 4. cap. 21. Vid. et de Salmasii sententiâ Pearson. De Success. prim. Rom. Episcop. Diff. i. cap. viii.*

(i) *Diff. de ficta professione Petri Ap. in urbem Romam. Opp. Tom. 2. p. 331. &c.*

(k) *History of the Popes. Vol. i. p. 5.*

ferred martyrdom there. I refer to some: (l) Cave, (m) Pearson, (n) Le Clerc, (o) Basnage, (p) Barratier.

I shall therefore remind my readers of some testimonies of ancient writers, relating to this matter, making also a few remarks upon them. And then let every one judge.

I begin with Clement of Rome, who wrote an epist'le to the Corinthians, before the year of Christ 70. as some think, or about the year 96. as others suppose. In that epistle are these expressions. "But (q) not to insist any longer, says he, upon examples of former times, let us come to those worthies, that are nearest to us, and take the brave examples of our own age. Through zeal and envie they who were the most righteous pillars of the church (r) have been persecuted even to a cruel death. Let (s) us set before our eyes the excellent Apostles. Peter through unrighteous zeal underwent not one or two, but many labours, till at last being martyred he went to the place of glorie that was due to him. Through (t) zeal Paul obtained the reward of patience. Seven times he was in bonds, he was whipped, he was stoned. He preached both in the East and in the West. And having taught the whole world righteousness, and (u) coming to the borders of the West, and suffering martyrdom under the Governours, so he departed out of the world, and went to the most holy place, being a most eminent pattern of patience.

"To (x) these men, who lived a divine life, was joyned a great multitude of choice ones, who having undergone through zeal many reproaches and torments, became an excellent example among us."

From these passages I think it may be justly concluded, that Peter and Paul were Martyrs at Rome in the time of Nero's persecution. For they suffered among the Romans, where Clement was Bishop, and in whose name he was writing to the Corinthians. They were Martyrs, when many others were an *example*, or *pattern*, of a like patience among them. To these Apostles, says Clement, was joyned a great multitude of choice ones, or elect, that is, Christians. This is a manifest description of Nero's persecution at Rome, when a multitude of Christians there were put to death

(l) *Hist. Lit. in Petro.*

(m) *De Successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum. Diss. i. cap. vii. et viii.*

(n) *Hist. Ecc. ann. 67. n. i. et ann. 68. n. 1. 2.*

(o) *Ann. 64. num. ix. x. xi.*

(p) *De Successione Episc. Roman. cap. i.*

(q) *Clem. ep. ad Cor. cap. v. vi.*

(r) . . . ἰδύχθησαν καὶ ἕως θανάτου θεινῆ.

(s) Λάβωμεν περὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἀποδόχας. Πέτρος διὰ ζήλον ἄδικον.

. . . καὶ ἔτι μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης.

(t) Διὰ ζήλον ὁ παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραδείον ὑπέσχετο.

(u) Καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρας τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ ταῖν ἡγεμείων, ἔτις ἀπὸ πηλλὰγῃ τῆ κοσμοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τόπον ἐπαρέρθη, ὑπομονῆς γεόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.

(x) Τάτοις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖν θεῶς πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, ἔτις πολλὰς αἰκίαις καὶ βασάνοις διὰ ζήλον παθόντες ὑπὸ διγμοῦ κάλλιστον ἔργοντο ἐν ἡμῖν.

death under grievous reproaches, and exquisite torments, as we are assured by Tacitus. These were joyned to the excellent Apostles, Peter and Paul, before mentioned. Therefore Peter and Paul had suffered at that place, and at that time: and, as it seems, according to this account, at the begining of that persecution. Which may be reckoned not at all improbable.

When Clement says, that Paul *suffered martyrdom under the Governours*, he may be understood to mean *by order of the magistrate*. It cannot be hence inferred, that Peter and Paul did not die by Nero's order, or in virtue of his edict against the Christians. It should be considered, that Clement is not an historian. He is writing an epistle, containing divers exhortations. It was not needfull for him to be more particular. He does not name the city, in which either Peter, or Paul died, nor the death, which they underwent. But he intimates, that they suffered a cruel death, together with many choice ones *among them*. Which must mean Rome. And he plainly represents these Apostles as Martyrs, who had suffered through envie and unrighteous zeal. The place and the manner of their death were well known to the Christians at Corinth, to whom Clement was writing.

If we consider, where Clement was, he may be reasonably excused from naming the Emperour, or being otherwise more particular. This epistle was writ soon after some troubles, which the Christians at Rome had met with, as appears plainly from the begining of it: meaning, it is likely, either the persecution of Nero, or of Domitian, the next persecutor of the Christians. It is not at all strange, that at such a time Clement should think himself obliged to circumspection in the manner of his expressions.

Indeed the primitive Christians were always very carefull, not to speak disrespectfully of Heathen Princes, or other Magistrates, how much soever they suffered from them. The epistle begins in this manner. *The calamities and afflictions, brethren, which have befallen us, have somewhat retarded our answer to your inquiries.* Those afflictions intend, as before said, the persecution of Nero, or Domitian. And if so, certainly there is much mildness in the expressions. But a very different stile is used presently after in speaking of the dissension, which there was among the Christians at Corinth. It is called *a wicked and ungodly sedition, unbecoming the elect of God, fomented by a few rash and self-willed men.*

Bp. Pearson has argued from this place, that (y) Peter and Paul did not die by order of Nero himself, but by order of the Prefects of the City, when Nero was absent, and, particularly, on Febr. 22. in the year of Christ 68. and the last year of Nero. And he says, that (z) the Greek word,

(y) S. Paulus (cum Petro) ultimo Neronis anno martyrium fecit. Factum autem id est sub Præfectis in Urbe, ut testatur Clemens Romanus, absente scilicet Nerone, Februarii die 22. *Ann. Paulini* p. 25. *A. D.* 68.

(z) Quod si Romam diserte non expresserit, Neronem certe multo minus delineavit. Dicit enim Paulum ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμένων. . . . Neque enim ἡγεμῆτες Imperatores dicti sunt: sed qui sub Imperatore, in provinciis præsertim, Prædium loca sub variis nominibus obtinebant. . . . Neque hæc vox tantum in provinciis solennis fuit, sed etiam Romæ. . . . Tales erant Romæ, ultimo Neronis

word, which I have rendered *Governours* or *Magistrates*, never denotes the Emperour, but only the Prefects of the city, or of the provinces.

But Pearson was very unhappy in that observation. For Nero was at Rome in the begining of the year 68. Pagi (*a*) and Basnage (*b*) have shewn, that whereas Nero was absent from Rome almost two years, the greatest part of 66. and 67. he arrived at Rome from Greece in December 67.

And the word, which I have rendered *Governours*, is often used, not only for Prefects, but also for Kings, and Emperours, or other supreme magistrates. Of (*c*) which I place several instances in the margin.

However, both the noun and the verb are general words, and are used concerning Governours supreme and subordinate. As is apparent from that well known text, Luke iii. 1. *Now (d) in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being Governour of Judea.* As the words are well rendered in our version. But, literally, they might be translated in this manner. *Now in the fifteenth year of the government of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being Governør of Judea.*

As for the word being in the plural number: it is no uncommon thing to prefer that to the singular, when we are obliged to be cautious, and intend, as I suppose Clement did, to speak in a general way. In short Clement shews, that Peter and Paul had died by martyrdom, and not in a tumult of the people, but by order of the magistrate, meaning the Emperour, though he is not named.

So that I must take the liberty to say, that Pearson's observation, that Peter and Paul were put to death, not by Nero, but by the Prefects of Rome, or some other great officer, in the absence of the Emperour, appears

Neronis anno, duo Præfecti Prætorii, Tigellinus et Sabinus, et cum summa potestate Helius. *De Succession. prim. Romæ Episcop. Diff. i. cap. 8. §. ix.*

(*a*) *Ann. 67. num. ii.*

(*b*) *Ann. 66. num. vi. et 67. n. v.*

(*c*) 1 Kings xv. 13. it is said of *Asha*: *And also Maachab, his mother, he removed from being Queen.* In the lxx. it is thus: *Καὶ τὴν ἀνὰ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ μετέστη τὴν μὴ εἶναι ἡγεμένην.* 2 Chron. vii. 18. When God appeared to Solomon, he said: *Then will I establish the throne of thy kingdom. There shall not fail thee a man to be Ruler in Israel.* *Οὐκ ἐξαρθήσεται σοι ἡγεμενος ἀνὴρ ἐν ἰσραὴλ.* 2 Chr. ix. 26. *And he reigned over all the Kings from the river.* *Καὶ ἦν ἡγεμενος πάντων τῶν βασιλέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ.* When St. Matthew ch. ii. 6. quotes the words of the Prophet Micah: *Out of thee shall come a Governour, ἡγεμενος, that shall rule my people Israel:* he does not mean a Governour of inferior rank, but the Messiah himself. I shall add only a like instance or two from Josephus, and from a Greek classic, though many might be mentioned. . . *μέχρις ἑτὸς δωδεκάτῃ τῆς νέωνος ἡγεμονίας.* Joseph. *Ant. l. 20. cap. x. sect. ult. n. 2. . .* *δωδεκάτῃ μὲν ἔτει τῆς νέωνος ἡγεμονίας.* D. B. I. l. 2. cap. 14. n. 4. . . *τὸν περὶούτερον αὐτῶν ἀποδείξει ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνα.* Dion. Hal. l. 4. cap. 4. p. 202. ed. Hudson.

(*d*) *Εν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαδικατῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς ἐξ αἰσχροῦ, ἡγεμονούντος πωρτίου πελῶν τῆς ἰουδαίας.*

pears to be of no value. And it is destitute of all authority from history. For we shall see, as we proceed, that the death of these two Apostles is continually ascribed to Nero by all who speak distinctly about it.

One thing more I must take notice of. From these passages of Clement it has been argued, that Peter never was at Rome, in (e) this manner. "Clemens Romanus (who was personally acquainted with the Apostles, and knew very well where they traveled,) writes a letter from Rome to Corinth, and mentions St. Paul's traveling very far to spread the gospel: but in the same section, though he mentions St. Peter's sufferings and martyrdom, yet he says nothing of his traveling much, nor one word of his ever having been at Rome."

Upon which I beg leave to observe, *first*. It seems to me, that Clement says, Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome. For speaking of the great multitude of the elect, who had been an excellent example of patience among them, meaning the Romans, he says, they (f) were joined to or with the good Apostles, before mentioned. Therefore the Apostles had suffered in the same place. Certainly Clement, who wrote this, did not think, that Peter died at Babylon in Mesopotamia, and Paul at Rome in Italie. *Secondly*. The reason why Clement so particularly mentions St. Paul's travels, probably, was, because the extent of his preaching was very remarkable. And it is likely, that Clement refers to Rom. xv. 19. *Thirdly*. His omitting to speak of Peter's travels is not a denial of his having traveled a great deal. Nor does it imply, that he had not been at Rome. St. Paul must have been twice in the West, and at Rome, if he suffered martyrdom there. But Clement does not say so, though he knew it very well. As did the Corinthians likewise. But when we speak or write of things well known, (as these things were at that time) there is no need to be very particular. It was sufficient, if Clement mentioned such things, as would render his exhortations effectual.

I shall now transcribe below (g) some like observations of Pearson, in his confutation of Salmasius.

Upon

(e) See Dr. Benson's Preface to St. Peter's first epistle, sect. iii. p. 157. 2d. ed.

(f) τέτοις . . . συνηρώσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν.

(g) Denique manifestum est, nihil hic a Clemente de Urbe, vel de Imperatore diserte et expressim dictum esse, quia a Romanis ad Corinthios scripsit, qui hæc omnia, non minus quam ipse, noverunt. Imo Clemens mentionem loci non fecit, non quia ipse ignorabat, sed quia illi cognoverunt. Nam si ignorasset quo in loco, qua in regione, aut qua in orbis parte, mortuus est Petrus, quomodo asserere potuit, eum martyrio coronatum fuisse? . . . Proculdubio hæc loci omissio non ex ignorantia cujuscumque, aut scriptoris alterius, sed ex certissima omnium, ad quos spectabat hæc epistola, tum Romanorum, tum Corinthiorum, aliorumque fidelium cognitione et explorata scientia, quæ ulteriorem expositionem minime requirebat. Ac tandem argumentum hoc negativum ex Clemente productum, non eorum sed nostrum est. Clemens optime novit, et ubi, et quomodo passus est S. Petrus. Idem etiam bene noverunt tum Romani, tum Corinthii. Aliter eos eadem de re certiores fecisset Clemens. Pearson. de Success. prim. Romæ Episc. Diss. i. cap. 8. sect. ix.

Upon the whole, I cannot but think, that these passages of Clement bear a testimony to the martyrdoms both of Peter and Paul, and that at Rome, which cannot be evaded.

Ignatius, about 108. writing to the Romans, says: "I (*h*) do not command you, as Peter and Paul. They were Apostles. I am a condemned person." Ignatius must have supposed, that the Christians at Rome had been instructed by Peter, as well as by Paul. The observations of (*i*) Pearson, and (*k*) Barratier, upon this place, which I put below, appear very just.

The Preaching of Peter, or of Peter and Paul, quoted by several ancient writers, (as has been shewn in this work,) though not as a book of authority, composed (*l*) about the middle of the second century, or sooner, makes mention of Peter's being at Rome, in this manner, as cited by Lactantius. "After (*m*) his resurrection Christ opened to his disciples all things that should come to pass, which things Peter and Paul preached at Rome." And what follows. There (*n*) is another large quotation of this book in the Author of Rebaptizing, writ about 256. where it is supposed, that Peter and Paul were together at Rome.

Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth about 170. in a letter to the church of Rome, inscribed to Soter their Bishop, as cited by Eusebius, takes notice, "that (*o*) Peter and Paul going to Italic, taught there, and suffered martyrdom about the same time."

Irenæus about 178. speaks of the church of Rome, " (*p*) as founded and

(*h*) Ουχ' ὡς πῆτρος καὶ παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν. Εκείνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατὰκριτος.
Ad Rom. cap. 4.

(*i*) Quid enim ex his verbis ad Romanos scriptis apertius, quam sanctissimum Martyrem in eâ sententiâ fuisse, quod Petrus, non minus quam Paulus, Romæ evangelium prædicavit, et passus sit? *Pearson. ib. cap. 7. n. ii.*

(*k*) Ignatius, . . Romanis scribens, negat se ipsis, tanquam Petrum et Paulum, præcipere velle. Cur Petrum et Paulum unâ nominat, nisi quod uterque Romæ fuerit? Cur Petrum, si cum Romanis nullum nexum habuerit? Si enim Romæ non fuerit, tum Romanis non scripserit, nil magis cum iis commune habebat, vel iis præceperat, quam Jacobus, vel Judas, vel Joannes. Manifestum est Ignatium Romanum Petri iter novisse. *Barrat. ubi supr. num. iii. p. 5.*

(*l*) See note (F).

(*m*) Sed et futura aperuit illis omnia, quæ Petrus et Paulus Romæ prædicaverunt. Et ea prædicatio in memoriam scripta permanfit. *Lactant. Inst. l. 4. cap. 21. p. 422.*

(*n*) See *Vol. iv. p. 889. 890.*

(*o*) Ομόως δὲ καὶ εἰς ἰταλίαν ὁμοῦτε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν.
Ap. Euseb. l. 2. cap. 25. p. 68. The same passage is largely quoted *Vol. i.*

(*p*) Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximæ, et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis Apostolis, Petro et Paulo, Romæ formatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem, et annuntiatam omnibus fidem. &c.
Adv. Har. l. 3. cap. 3.

and established by the two great Apostles Peter and Paul." In another place he says, "that (q) Matthew wrote his gospel, whilst Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and establishing the church there." Irenæus, who was as likely to know as most, had no doubt about these things. And some of his arguments with heretics are partly built upon them: well knowing, that they could not be contested, and that they were generally allowed.

According to Clement of Alexandria, who flourished about the year 194. St. Mark's Gospel (r) was writ at the desire of St. Peter's hearers at Rome.

Tertullian, about the year 200, and after, often speaks (s) of Peter being at Rome, and teaching there, and suffering martyrdom together with Paul, or about the same time.

Caius, about 212. observes, that (t) in his time were to be seen at Rome the tombs of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, who had established that church.

Origen, about 230. as cited by Eusebius, says, that (u) Peter having preached in Pontus, Galatia, and other places, at length came to Rome, where he was crucified.

Cyprian (x) at Carthage, about 248. and afterwards, always supposeth the church of Rome to have been established by Peter. So (y) likewise does Firmilian, in Cappadocia, in his letter, writ in 258.

Lactantius

(q) *Adv. Her. l. 3. cap. 1. et ap. Euseb. l. 5. cap. 8.*

(r) *Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 15. et lib. vi. cap. 14. and of this work Vol. ii.*

(s) Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam. . . . Ista quam felix ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt! Ubi Petrus passioni Dominicæ adæquatur: ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur. *De Præfer. Her. cap. 36. p. 245.*

Nec quicquam refert inter eos, quos Joannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit, *De Baptism. cap. 4. p. 257.*

Videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint . . . Quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. *Adv. Marcion. l. 4. cap. 5. p. 505. B.*

Orientem fidem Romæ primus Nero cruentavit. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, quum cruci adstringitur. Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanæ consequitur nativitatem, quum illic martyrii renascitur generositate. *Scorpiac. cap. 15. p. 633. B.*

(t) . . . ἐνθήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσμένων ἐκκλησιῶν. *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 25. p. 68. in. And see in this work Vol. iii. p. 371.*

(u) *Ap. Euseb. l. 3. cap. i.*

(x) Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio . . . cum nemo ante se factus esset, cum Fabiani locus, id est, cum locus Petri, et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret. *Cyprian. ad Antonian. ep. 55. p. 104.*

Post ista adhuc insuper pseudo-episcopo sibi ab hæreticis constituto, navigare audent, et ad Petri cathedram, atque ecclesiam principalem . . . a schismaticis et profanis literas ferre. . . . *Cyprian. Cornelio. ep. 59. p. 135. Oxon. 1682.*

(y) Atque ego in hac parte jussu indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam

Lactantius (z) about 306. in his Institutions, ascribes the death of Peter and Paul to Nero at Rome.

The same Lactantius, or whoever is the Author of the book of the Deaths of Persecutors, is very clear, that (a) in the reign of Nero, Peter came to Rome, and that by his order Peter was crucified, and Paul also put to death.

Eusebius, both in his Demonstration, and in his Ecclesiastical Historie, bears witness to the same things. Not now to insist on his Chronicle. In the former (b) he says, "that Peter was crucified at Rome with his head downward, and Paul beheaded." In his Ecclesiastical Historie, speaking of Nero, "as (c) the first persecutor of the Christians, he says, "that he put to death the Apostles, at which time Paul was beheaded at Rome, and Peter crucified, as historie relates. And the account, he says, is confirmed by the monuments still seen in the cemeteries of "that city, with their names inscribed upon them." And what follows. In another chapter of the same work he says: "that (d) Linus was the first Bishop of Rome after the martyrdom of Paul and Peter." It is needless to refer to any more of the many places of this learned Bishop of Cesarea, where he appears to have been fully persuaded, that these two Apostles accomplished their martyrdom at Rome.

Athanasius (e) supposes both Peter and Paul to have suffered martyrdom in that city.

Ephraim the Syrian, about 370. says, that (f) Peter taught at Rome.

Epiphanius, as may be remembered, says, "that (g) Matthew wrote first,

festam Stephani stultitiam, quod qui sic de episcopatus sui loco gloriatur, et se successionem Petri tenere contendit . . . multas alias petras inducat. . . . Stephanus, qui per successionem cathedram Petri habere se predicat, nullo adversus hæreticos zelo excitatur, Firmilian. ep. Cyprian. 75. p. 225.

(z) Itaque post illorum obitum, cum eos Nero interemisset, Judæorum nomen et gentem Vespasianus extinxit, fecitque omnia, quæ illi futura prædixerant. Institut. l. 4. cap. 21. p. 423.

(a) Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit. . . et convertit multos ad justitiam. . . . Quâ re ad Neronem delatâ . . . et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit. De Mort. Persec. cap. 2.

(b) Καὶ πέτρος δὲ ἐπὶ ῥώμης κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταυρεῖται πᾶυλος δὲ ἀποτμήνεται. Dem. Ev. l. 3. p. 116. C.

(c) Τάντῃ γὰρ οὗτος θύμαχος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρῶτος ἀκαταρχαίς, ἐπὶ ταῖς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπὶ ἐπὶ σφαγαῖς. Παῦλος δὲ οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ῥώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμήνῃται, καὶ πέτρος ὡσαύτως ἀνασκοποισθῆναι κατ' αὐτὸν ἰσορῶνται. κ. λ. H. E. l. 2. c. 25. p. 67. Vid. et l. 2. cap. 22. fin. p. 62. D.

(d) Τῆς δὲ ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὴν πᾶυλον καὶ πέτρον μαρτυρίαν, πρῶτος κληροῦνται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν λίνος. H. E. l. 3. cap. 2.

(e) Πέτρος δὲ ὁ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἰουδαίων κρυπτόμενος, καὶ πᾶυλος ἐν σαργάνῃ χαλασθεὶς, καὶ φυγὰν ἀκέναντες, εἰς ῥώμην δὲ ἡμᾶς μαρτυρεῖσαι, ἐκ ἀειβάλλοντο τὸν ἀποδημίαν. Apol. pro fugâ suâ, p. 331.

(f) See in this work Vol. ix, p. 211. et opp. syr. Tom. i. p. 553.

(g) See vol. viii, p. 303. from Her. 51. num. vi.

first, and Mark soon after, being a companion of Peter at Rome." In another place (*b*) he speaks of Peter and Paul, as the first Apostles and Bishops of Rome. After whom, he says, were Linus, Cletus, Clement

Jerome's opinion is well known from his article of St. Peter, in his book of Illustrious Men, where he says, "that (*i*) Peter was crucified at Rome in the fourteenth year of Nero's reign:" and from (*k*) his chapter of St. Mark, "whom he calls the disciple and interpreter of Peter, and says, that at the desire of the brethren at Rome he wrote a short Gospel, according to what he had heard from Peter." Not now to refer to any other places.

We lately saw, how (*l*) Chrysostom says, that Peter having been at Antioch, afterwards went to Rome. In another place he says, that (*m*) after Peter and Paul Ignatius also suffered martyrdom at Rome. And he thinks it a wise disposal of Providence, that so many should bear the most signal testimonie to truth in a place, which was then the chief seat of impiety and superstition.

According to Sulpicius Severus, who wrote about the year 401. Paul (*n*) and Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome in Nero's persecution.

Audentius, about 405. has several times celebrated the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul at Rome. One place was transcribed from him not long (*o*) agoe.

To him I subjoyn P. Orosius (*p*) about 416.

And Theodoret, about 423. well observes, that (*q*) though Nero put to death two of the principal Christian Lawgivers, Peter and Paul, he could not abolish their laws.

I omit Augustin, and many others, who speak to the like purpose. But I would add, for shewing how general this tradition is, that Abdias Babylonius, as he is called, in his Apostolical Historie, supposes Peter (*r*) to have been at Rome, and to have suffered martyrdom there.

Nor can any of my readers forbear to recollect the general, and almost unanimous

(*b*) Ἐν ῥώμῃ γὰρ γέγονασι πρῶτοι πῆτρος καὶ παῦλος οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, εἴτα κῖνες. κ. λ. *Her.* 27. num. vi.

(*i*) See Vol. x. p. 130.

(*k*) The same. p. 92.

(*l*) See before. p. 427.

(*m*) Οἱ δὲ τὴν ῥώμην δικύντες, ἅτε πολλῆς τότε ἀσεβείας ἕσης ἐκεῖ, πλείους ἐγγεῆζον βοηθείας. Δὲ τὸτο καὶ πῆτρος καὶ παῦλος, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους οὗτος ἐκεῖ πάντες ἰδοῦνται. *Chr. hom. in S. Ignat. Mart.* T. 2. p. 599. A.

(*n*) Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati. Quorum uni cervix gladio defecta, Petrus in crucem sublatu est. *Sul. Sev. Hist. Sacra*, l. 2. cap. 29. al. 41.

(*o*) See before. p. 431.

(*p*) Nam primus Romæ Christianos suppliciis et mortibus adfecit, ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciari imperavit. Ipsumque nomen extirpare conatus, beatissimos Christi apostolos, Petrum cruce, Paulum gladio occidit. *Oros. Hist.* l. 7. cap. 7.

(*q*) See of this work Vol. xi. p. 105. from Theod. *Serm.* 9. *De Legibus* Tom. 4. p. 611. D.

(*r*) *Apostol. Hist. de Petro.* §. xvi. *Ec. Ap. Fabr.* Tom. 2.

unanimous testimonie of ancient writers concerning St. Mark : that he was a disciple of St. Peter, that his Gospel is the substance of St. Peter's preaching, and that it was writ at Rome.

It is not needful to make many remarks upon this tradition. But it is easie to observe, that it is the general, uncontradicted, disinterested testimonie of ancient writers, in the several parts of the world, Greeks, Latins, Syrians. As our Lord's prediction concerning the death of Peter is recorded in one of the four Gospels, it is very likely, that (s) Christians would observe the accomplishment of it. Which must have been in some place. And about this place there is no difference among Christian writers of ancient times. Never any other place was named, beside Rome. Nor (t) did any other city ever glory in the martyrdom of Peter. There were in the second and third centuries disputes between the Bishop of Rome and other Bishops and churches about the time of keeping Easter, and about the baptism of heretics. Yet (u) none denied the Bishop of Rome to have what they called the chair of Peter.

It is not for our honour, nor our interest, either as Christians, or Protestants, to deny the truth of events, ascertained by early and well attested tradition. If any make an ill use of such facts, we are not accountable for it. We (x) are not, from a dread of such abuses, to overthrow the credit of all historie. The consequence of which would be fatal.

Fables and fictions have been mixed with the accounts of Peter's being

(s) Non infirmenda esse eâ de re antiquitatis testimonia, multa monent. . . . i. Convenientissimum fane fuit sciri locum, ubi Petro mors oblata est, ad illustrandum Christi de servi sui martyrio oraculum. . . . Locus autem in ignoratione jacet, si in Romana civitate Petrus cruci suffixus non fuit. *Basnag. ann. 64. n. x.*

(t) Gloria decorique maximo ecclesiis fuit, quod et doctrinâ et sanguine Apostolorum conderentur. Hinc exclamabat olim Tertullianus : *Felix ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt.* Qui sit ergo, ut nulla præter Romanam ecclesia in morte Petri exultârit et triumphârit? *Id. ib.*

(u) Cum gravissimos in adversarios inciderint olim Episcopi Romani, Cyprianos, Firmilianos, aliosque bene multos, nonne eorum aliquis eam perstrinxisset : et gloriationem, quâ Romana se efferebat ecclesia, utpote quæ nunquam præsentia Petri, sanguineque floruerit, etsi ad ravim usque utroque ornamento superbiret? *Id. ib.*

(x) Neque ulla unquam traditio fuit, quæ majore testium numero cingatur : ut de Petri in urbem adventu dubitari non possit, quin omnia historiæ fundamenta convellantur. *Basn. ann. 64. n. ix.*

Tantus hac in re omnium consensus fuit, ut sane miraculo debuerit esse, quosdam nostris seculis ortos, factum adeo manifestum negare præsumsisse. *Barrat. de Success. Ep. Rom. cap. i. num. i.*

Verum hi omnium veterum patrum testimonio refelluntur. . . . Quæ, malum, impudentia est, id quidem quod nemo veterum dixit, temere affirmare : Petrum scilicet sedem fixisse Babylone : id vero quod veteres omnes ecclesiastici scriptores disertissime prodiderunt, adventum videlicet Petri Apostoli in urbem Romam pertinaciter negare. Atqui nihil in tota historia ecclesiastica illustrius, nihil certius, atque testatius, quam adventus Petri Apostoli in urbem Romam. *Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. l. 2. c. 15.*

being at Rome. But they are not in the most early writers. They have been added since. And it is well known, that fictions have been joyned with histories of the most certain and important facts.

The two traditions, concerning Peter's being at Rome and Paul's preaching in Spain, ought not to be compared together. They are not at all alike. The later is not attested by so many, nor so early writers, as the other. And is, probably, a mere conjecture, without any foundation, but the words of Rom. xv. 28. Which are no proof at all.

This argument may be censured by some as prolix, and even needless. But as some, of our own times, as well as formerly, have denied, or disputed this point; I have thought it expedient, to let my readers see the evidences of what appears to myself, as well as to many other Protestants, very certain: that St. Peter was at Rome, and suffered martyrdom there.

C H A P. XIX.

The two Epistles of St. Peter.

- I. *Their Genuinnesse shewn from Testimonie, and internal Characters.*
- II. *The People, to whom they were sent.* III. *The Place, where.*
- IV. *The Time, when they were writ.* V. *Remarks upon 1 Pet. v. 13.*

HAVING writ the historie of the Apostle Peter, I now proceed to his epistles. Concerning which three or four things are to be considered by us: their genuinnesse, the persons to whom they were sent, the place where, and the time when they were writ.

I. The first epistle was all along received by catholic Christians, as authentic, and genuine. This we learn from (a) Eusebius. Who likewise says: "Of (b) the controverted books of the New Testament, but yet well known, and approved by many, are that called the epistle of James, and that of Jude, and the second of Peter, and the second and third of John." And in another place: "One (c) epistle of Peter, called the first, is universally received. This the Presbyters of ancient times have quoted in their writings, as undoubtedly genuine. But that called his second, we have been informed, [by tradition,] has not been received as a part of the New Testament. Nevertheless appearing to many to be useful, it has been carefully studied with the other scriptures." By which, I think, we may be assured, that a great regard was shewn to this epistle by many Christians in the time of our learned Ecclesiastical Historian.

Jerome

(a) See Vol. viii. p. 96. 97. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 113. 144. 156. 157.

(b) Vol. viii. p. 96.

(c) P. 99.

Jerome says: "Peter (*d*) wrote two epistles, called catholic: the second of which is denied by many to be his, because of the difference of the stile from the former."

And Origen before them, in his Commentaries upon the Gospel of St. Matthew, as cited by (*e*) Eusebius, says: "Peter (*f*) on whom the church is built, has left one epistle [universally] acknowledged. Let it be granted, that he also wrote a second. For it is doubted of."

What those learned writers of the third and fourth centuries say of these two epistles, we have found agreeable to the testimonie of more ancient writers, whom we have consulted. For the first epistle seems to be referred to by (*g*) Clement of Rome. It is plainly referred to by (*b*) Polycarp several times. It is also referred to by the (*i*) Martyrs at Lyons. It was received by (*k*) Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch. It was quoted (*l*) by Papias. It is quoted in the remaining writings of (*m*) Irenæus, (*n*) Clement of Alexandria, and (*o*) Tertullian. Consequently, it was all along received. But we do not perceive the second epistle to be quoted by (*p*) Papias, nor (*q*) by Irenæus, nor (*r*) Tertullian, nor (*s*) Cyprian.

However, both these epistles were generally received in the fourth, and following centuries, by all Christians, except the Syrians. For they were received by Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, the Council of Laodicea, Epiphanius, Jerome, Rufin, Augustin, and others. As may be seen in the alphabetical table, in St. Peter, at the end of the twelfth volume, to which the reader is referred.

Such are the testimonies of ancient writers concerning these two epistles. If we consult the epistles themselves, and endeavor to form a judgement by internal evidence; I suppose, it will appear very probable, that both are of the same author. And it may seem somewhat strange, that any of the ancients hesitated about it, who had the two epistles before them. For with regard to some of the most ancient writers, it may be supposed, that the second epistle had not been seen by them, it not having come to their hands together with the first.

The first epistle being allowed to be St. Peter's, we can argue in favour of the other also after this manner. It bears in the inscription the name of the same Apostle. For so it begins: *Simon Peter, a servant, and an Apostle of Jesus Christ*. And in ch. i. 14. are these words: *Knowing, that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ has shewed me*. The writer of this epistle may have had a particular revelation concerning the time of his death, not long before writing this. But it is probable, that here is a reference to our Lord's predictions concerning St. Peter's death, and the manner of it, which are recorded in John xxi. 18. 19.

From

(*d*) Vol. x. p. 130.

(*f*) See Vol. iii. p. 236.

(*b*) Vol. i. p. 215. . . . 218. See also p. 192.

(*i*) Vol. i. p. 340.

(*l*) Vol. i. p. 242. 250. 253.

(*n*) Vol. ii. p. 508.

(*p*) Vol. i. p. 250.

(*r*) Vol. ii. p. 617. . . . 622.

(*e*) H. E. l. 6. cap. 25. p. 227. A.

(*g*) See Vol. i. p. 97. and 100.

(*k*) Vol. ii. p. 434. and 447.

(*m*) Vol. i. p. 374.

(*o*) Vol. ii. p. 616.

(*q*) Vol. i. p. 374. 375. 381.

(*s*) Vol. iv. p. 829.

From ch. i. 16. 17. 18. it appears, that the writer was one of the disciples, who were with Jesus in the mount, when he was transfigured in a glorious manner. This certainly leads us to Peter, who was there, and whose name the epistle bears in the inscription.

Ch. iii. 1. *This second epistle, beloved, I now write unto you: in both which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance:* plainly referring to the former epistle, which has been always acknowledged for Peter's. These words are express. But it might have been argued with some degree of probability from ch. i. 12. . . . 15. that he had before writ to the same persons.

Once more, ch. iii. 15. 16. he calls Paul brother, and otherwise so speaks of him, and his epistles, as must needs be reckoned most suitable to an Apostle.

The writer therefore is the Apostle Peter, whose name the epistle bears in the inscription.

So that we are here led to that observation, which Wall placed at the head of his notes upon this second epistle. "It is, says (t) he, a good proof of the cautiousness of the ancient Christians in receiving any book for canonical, that they not only rejected all those pieces forged by heretics, under the names of Apostles: . . . but also, if any good book affirmed by some men, or by some churches, to have been written, and sent by some Apostle, were offered to them, they would not, till fully satisfied of the fact, receive it into their canon." He adds: "There is more hazard in denying this to be Peter's, than there is in denying some other books to be of that author, to whom they are by tradition ascribed. For they, if they be not of that Apostle, to whom they are imputed, yet may be of some other Apostle, or apostolical man. But this author is either the Apostle, or else by setting his name, and by other circumstances, he does designedly personate him. Which no man of piety and truth would do." And then he concludes: "This epistle being written by him but a little before his death, ch. i. 14. and perhaps no more than one copy sent; it might be a good while, before a number of copies, well attested, came abroad to the generality of the Christian churches."

What has been just said is sufficient to confute the opinion advanced by Grotius, that (u) this second epistle was writ by Simeon, Bishop of Jerusalem after James, the Lord's brother. Indeed that opinion cannot be admitted. It is destitute of all authority from antiquity, and is inconsistent with the whole tenour of the epistle itself, or at least with many things in it. As has been well observed by (x) Vitringa, and has been now shewn by us.

Jerome, in his article of St. Peter, in his book of Illustrious Men, as already

(t) *Critical Notes upon the N. T.* p. 358. 359.

(u) *Scriptorem autem hujus epistolæ arbitror esse Simeonem, Episcopum post Jacobi mortem Hierosolymis, ejusdemque Jacobi, cujus epistolam habemus, successorem et imitorem, &c. Grot. in 2 ep. S. Petri.*

(x) *Verum quacumque etiam specie se commendat conjectatio hæc Grotiana, hæcenus animum inducere non potui, ut eam probem. Epistola Petri posterior talis est; ut scripta censeretur nequeat ab impostore. Est enim gravis, et sancto viro dignissima. Quod si ita est, certissime Petro erit vindicanda,*
quia

already seen, says: "Peter (y) wrote two epistles called catholic: the second of which was by many denied to be his, because of it's differing in stile from the former." Of (z) this he speaks likewise in his epistle to Hedibia. Basnage (a) says, he is not able to discern such difference of stile in the two epistles. However, Dr. Sherlock, now Bishop of London, has largely treated of this point in his Dissertation concerning the authority of the second epistle of St. Peter. Who observes, p. 203. "that the first and third of the three chapters, into which the epistle is now divided, agree in stile with the first epistle. The only difference is in the second chapter, the stile of which is no more like to that of the other two, than it is to that of the first epistle. The occasion of this difference seems to be this, that in the second chapter there is a description of the false prophets and teachers, who infested the Church, and perverted the doctrines of the gospel. Some ancient Jewish writer had left behind him a description of the false prophets of his own, or perhaps earlier times. Which description is applied both by St. Peter and St. Jude to the false teachers of their own times." It is added by his Lordship, p. 204. "St. Jerome supposed, and others have followed his opinion, that St. Peter made use of different interpreters, to express his sense in his two epistles. But had that been the case, the difference of stile would have appeared in the whole, and not in one part of it only. Which is the present case. And I see no reason to think, that St. Peter did not write both his epistles himself."

That is the account, which his Lordship gives of the difference of the stile. Which all will allow to be ingenious, whether they admit it to be right, or not. For some may think, that (b) all this difference of stile arises from the subject treated of in the second chapter.

I conclude therefore, that the two epistles, generally ascribed to the Apostle Peter, are indeed his.

Mr. Ostervald, of Neufchatel, speaking of the first of these epistles, says: "It contains very weighty instructions, and is one of the finest books of the New Testament." Of the second he says: "It is a most excellent epistle, as well as the foregoing, and is writ with great strength and majesty."

Certainly,

quia præter præfationem, non temere rejiciendam, alia per hanc epistolam sparsa sunt, quæ personam Petri nobis digito quasi monstrant, ut cap. i. 18. iii. 15. *Vitring. Observat. Sacr. l. 4. cap. 9. num. xlii.*

(y) Scriptit duas epistolas, quæ catholicæ nominantur: quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur, propter stili cum priore dissonantiam. *De V. i. cap. i.*

(z) Habebat ergo Titum interpretem, sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum: cujus Evangelium Petro narrante, et illo scribente, compositum est. Denique et duæ epistolæ, quæ feruntur Petri, stilo inter se et charactere discrepant, structuræque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum interpretibus. *Ad Hedib. Qu. xi. T. 4. P. i. p. 183. al. ep. 150.*

(a) Nos stili discrimen deprehendere non possumus. Neque continet aliquid, quod Apostolo sit indignum. *Basnag. A. 63. num. iii.*

(b) Concerning this see more hereafter in the Remarks upon St. Jude's epistle. chap. xxi. near the end.

Certainly, these epistles, and the discourses of Peter recorded in the Acts, together with the effects of them, are monuments of a divine inspiration, and of the fulfilment of the promise, which Christ made to him, when he saw him, and his brother Andrew employed in their trade, and casting a net into the sea: *Follow me*, said he, *and I will make you fishers of men.* Matt. iv. 18.

To whom sent. II. Concerning the persons, to whom these epistles were sent, there have been different opinions among both ancients and moderns.

Eusebius (*c*) speaking of St. Peter's first epistle, as universally acknowledged, says: "It is inscribed by him to the Hebrews, *scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia.*" They who are desirous to know Jerome's opinion, may consider what is transcribed from him Vol. x. p. 130. . . . 133. For he does not seem to me to have any settled judgement about the persons, to whom Peter wrote. Didymus, of Alexandria, supposed, (*d*) St. Peter's first epistle to have been sent to Jews scattered abroad in several countreys. To the same purpose Oecumenius, not only in his argument of the epistle referred to by me (*e*) formerly, but also in his commentarie (*f*) upon the beginning of the epistle.

Among the moderns not a few are of the same opinion, as Beza and Grotius in their notes upon the first verse of the first epistle, and Mill (*g*) in his Prolegomena. Cave says, St. Peter's (*h*) two epistles were written chiefly to Jewish Christians. Tillemont, speaking of the first epistle, says, it (*i*) is addressed particularly to the converted Jews, in those countreys; but it speaks also to the Gentils, who had embraced the faith.

But though some of the ancients, as just seen, say, that St. Peter wrote to the believers of the circumcision, we have in the course of this work observed divers others, who say, he wrote to Gentils: as (*k*) the Author of the Calling of the Gentils, by some supposed to be Prosper of Aquitain: the (*l*) Author of the Divine Promises and Predictions: (*m*) Junilius. Cassiodorus in one place (*n*) speaks of Peter's writing to the Gentils, in another (*o*) to believing Jews. Augustin has twice said, that (*p*) Peter wrote to Gentils. In like manner another author (*q*) in a sermon joyned with his works, who may be supposed to have been his disciple. Gregorie the i. Bishop of Rome, expresseth himself, as if he thought, that

St.

(*c*) See Vol. viii. p. 103.

(*d*) See Vol. ix. p. 173.

(*e*) Vol. xi. p. 414.

(*f*) Τεῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς οὗτος ἐπιστέλλει, ὡς ὁ μακάριος ἰάκωβος· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἀορίτως πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκουμενὴν κατοικοῦσιν ἰεραδαῖς ὁποδῆποτε ὄντων. Οὗτος δὲ ἀφωπτιμένως τοῖς κλίμασι, πόντι· κ. λ. Occum. T. 2. p. 482. C. D.

(*g*) Num. 60.

(*h*) Reliquit post se epistolas duas, Judæis Christianis præcipue inscriptas. H. L. T. i. p. 5.

(*i*) Il l'adresse particulièrement aux Juifs convertis dans toutes ces provinces, quoiqu'elle parle aussi aux Gentils qui avoient embrassé la foy. S. Pierre, art. 33. Mem. T. i.

(*k*) Vol. xi. p. 136.

(*l*) P. 139.

(*m*) P. 297. 299.

(*n*) Vol. xi. p. 308.

(*o*) P. 313.

(*p*) Vol. x. p. 248.

(*q*) The same.

(r) St. Peter's epistles were sent to all Christians in general, both Jews and Gentils, in the countreys mentioned at the begining of the first epistle. Bede, in his prologue to the seven catholic epistles, largely cited by us formerly, says, that (s) St. Peter's epistles were sent to such as had been profelyted from Gentilism to Judaism, and after that were converted to the Christian Religion. He speaks again to the like purpose at the begining of his Exposition of St. Peter's first epistle. But the Greek word, rendered by us *strangers*, is not equivalent to profelytes: as was observed long ago by (s) Oecumenius upon the place, and since by (t) Basnage.

Mr. Wettstein argues from divers texts, that (u) the first epistle was sent to Gentils. Mr. Hallett in his learned Introduction to the epistle to the Hebrews, observes: "Some, says he, go upon the supposition, that St. Peter's epistles were written to Jews. But it seems to me abundantly more natural to suppose, that they were written to Gentil Christians, if we consider many passages of the epistles themselves." Where (x) he proceeds to allege many passages, and, in my opinion, very pertinently. Some of which will be also alleged by me by and by.

Dr. Sykes (y) has lately declared himself in favour of the same sentiment, and argued well for it.

Mr. Basnage supposed, that (z) St. Peter's epistles were writ to Jews and Gentils, chiefly the former.

To

(r) Vol. xi. p. 353. 354.

(s) The same. p. 388.

(t) Σημάινει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα οὐ ταυτοῖς τῷ προσελυτῷ κ. λ. Oecum. Vol. 2. p. 483. D.

(u) Fallitur egregie Beda. . . . A qua se sententia revocasset, si vocem a Petro adhibitam, ἐπίδημος, attendisset, quā religionis profelytus numquam designatur. Basn. An. 57. n. iv.

(v) Ad eos, qui ex Gentibus electi sunt, ut Christo et veritati obedirent. Cap. i. 8. 18. 21. 22. ii. 10. iv. 3. Wetsten. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 681.

(x) See his Introduction. p. 23. . . . 25.

(y) "This epistle of St. Peter, says he, was writ to the strangers scattered through severall parts of the Lesser Asia. And it is plain, that he meant by them Gentils converted in those parts of the world to Christ. He does not mean Jews, but such as were elect, according to the foreknowledge of God the Father. Such, of whose salvation the Prophets inquired, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto them, ch. i. ver. 10. such, for whom Christ was manifested in these last times. ver. 20. such as were λαός εις περιποίησιν, an acquired people, who had not obtained mercy: ch. ii. 9. 10. as sheep going astray, but now returned. ver. 25. as men, who in the time past of their life had wrought the will of the Gentils. iv. 3. These are marks sufficient to describe the people, to whom St. Peter wrote. . . . The Gentils were now begotten in Christ to a lively hope: They were become now what the Jews formerly were, a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people. &c." The Scripture doctrine of the Redemption of Man by Jesus Christ. Ch. iii. sect. 252. p. 62. 63. See likewise ch. v. num. 832. p. 306. 307.

(z) Ut nostra fert opinio, ad utroque scripta est, præcipue tamen ad Judæos, qui sub apostolatam Petri ceciderant. Ad gentes quoque epistolam scriptam fuisse, ex his explorete percipitur: Qui quondam eratis non populus, nunc estis populus Dei. 1 ep. ii. 10. Quæ Ethnicorum præcipue sunt. . . . Præterea Ethnicorum idololatria his perstringitur: Incessimus in nequariis idolorum cultibus. iv. 3. Basn. ann. 57. num. iv.

To me it seems, that St. Peter's epistles were sent to all Christians in general, Jews and Gentils, living in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia: the greatest part of whom must have been converted by Paul, and had been before involved in ignorance, and sin, as all people in general were, till the manifestation of the gospel of Christ.

That St. Peter wrote to all Christians in those countreys, is apparent from the valedictorie blessing, or wish, at the end of the epistle. 1 ep. v. 14. *Peace be with you all that are in Christ Jesus.* Lewis Cappell, who thought, that St. Peter's first epistle was writ to Jewish believers, allows, that (a) the second epistle was writ to all Christians in general, and particularly to Gentils, induced thereto by the comprehensiveness of the addresse at the begining of that epistle: *to them that have obtained like precious faith with us*. He should have concluded as much of the first epistle likewise. For they were both sent to the same people, as is evident from St. Peter's own words. 2 ep. iii. 1.

Moreover, the inscription of the first epistle seems to be as general, as that of the second. Let us observe it distinctly.

To the elect. ἐκλεκτοῖς. Says Wall upon the place: "He useth the word ἐκλεκτοὶ, choice ones, just as St. Paul does the word ἅγιοι, saints, for the word Christians. And as St. Paul directs almost all his epistles to the saints, that is, the Christians, of such a place; so St. Peter here, to the elect, or choice ones, that is, Christians, sojourning in the dispersions of Pontus, Galatia, and Bithynia."

Strangers, παρεπιδήμοις. Good men, though at home, are strangers, especially, if they meet with opposition, trouble, and affliction, as those Christians did, to whom St. Peter is here writing. For he speaks of their trials, and temptations. ch. i. ver. 6. 7. and exhorts them. ch. ii. 11. as sojourners, and strangers, ὡς παροίκαις καὶ παρεπιδήμοις, to abstain from fleshly lusts. Says Oecumenius upon ch. i. ver. 1. 2. "He calls (b) them strangers, either on account of their dispersion, or because that all who live religiously, are called strangers on this earth, as David also says: *I am a sojourner with thee, and a stranger, as all my fathers were.*" Pf. xxxix. 12.

Scattered throughout Pontus . . . or, of (c) the dispersion of Pontus, Galatia. . . . So he calls them, not because they had been driven out from their native countrey, but because he writes to the Christians of divers countreys, who also were but a few, or a small number, in every place, where they dwelled.

This

(a) Ad posteriorem autem B. Petri epistolam. . . . Nec fuit ea scripta, quemadmodum prior, solis Judæis τοῖς ἐκ διασπορᾶς, sed omnibus in universum fidelibus, tum ex Judæis, tum ex Gentibus, ad Christum conversis. Quod liquet tum ex ver. 1. cap. 1. τοῖς ἰσότημιον ἡμῶν λαχέει πῖσιν. (quod de Gentibus proprie dicitur) tum ex eo quod cap. iii. 15. 16. dicit Paulum ad eos scripisse in omnibus suis epistolis. Atqui pleræque omnes Pauli epistolæ scriptæ sunt ad Gentes ad fidem Christi conversas. Cappell. Hist. Apost. p. 44.

(b) Ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις.] Τὸ παρεπιδήμοις, ἥτοι διὰ τὴν διάσποραν εἶπεν, ἥ καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ κατὰ θεὸν ζῶντες παρεπιδήμοι λέγονται τῆς γῆς ὡς καὶ δαβὶδ φησιν. κ. λ. Occum. T. 2 p. 483.

(c) Ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾷ πόντε. . . .

This may suffice for shewing, that these two epistles were sent to all Christians in general, living in the countreys, mentioned at the beginning of the first epistle.

I shall now shew, that these Christians were for the most part of gentile stock and original.

1 Pet. i. 14. *As obedient children, not fashioning yourselves, according to the former lusts in your ignorance.* This might be very pertinently said to men, converted from Gentilism to Christianity. But no such thing is ever said by the Apostles, concerning the Jewish people, who had been favored with Divine revelation, and had the knowledge of the true God. And ver. 20. and 21. he says, that *through Christ they did now believe in God.* Therefore they were not worshippers of God, till they were acquainted with the Christian revelation. In like manner ch. ii. 9. St. Peter speaks of those to whom he writes, as *having been called out of darkness into God's marvellous light.* Moreover, they once were not God's people. ver. 10. *Which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God: which had not obtained mercie, but now have obtained mercie.* Words resembling those of St. Paul, Rom. ix. 24. 25. where he is unquestionably speaking of Gentile converts.

There are also other expressions, which plainly shew, that these persons had been Gentils, and had lived in the sins of Gentilism. ch. i. 18. *Forasmuch as ye know, that ye were redeemed from your vain conversation, received by tradition from your fathers.* And ch. iv. 3. *For the time past of our life may suffice us, to have wrought the will of the Gentils: when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries.* St. Peter does not charge himself with such things. But they to whom he writes had been guilty in those respects. And by way of condescension, and for avoiding offense, and for rendering his argument more effectual, he joyns himself with them.

Once more, when St. Peter represents the dignity of those to whom he writes, upon account of their Christian vocation, ch. ii. 9. as *a chosen generation, a peculiar people, a royal priesthood:* certainly, the expressions are most pertinent, and emphatical, if understood of such as had been brought from Gentilism to the faith of the gospel, as indeed they plainly were. For he there says, *they were to shew forth the praises of him, who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light.*

To all which might be added, what was hinted before, that the persons, to whom Peter writes, were for the most part the Apostle Paul's converts. This must be reckoned probable from the accounts, which we have in the Acts of St. Paul's travels and preaching. Whence we know, that he had been in Galatia, and the other countreys, mentioned by St. Peter at the beginning of his first epistle. Moreover he observes 2 ep. iii. 15. that *his beloved brother Paul had written unto them.* We may reasonably suppose, that he thereby intends St. Paul's epistles to the Galatians, the Ephesians, and Colossians, all in those countreys, and for the most part Gentile believers. Nor do I see reason to doubt, but that Peter had before now seen, and read St. Paul's two epistles to Timothy. And if we should add them, as here intended also, it would be

no prejudice to our argument. For those epistles likewise were designed for the use and benefit of the churches in those parts.

To me these considerations appear unanswerable. I shall therefore take notice of but one objection only, which is grounded upon ch. ii. 12. *Having your conversation honest among the Gentils: that whereas they speak against you as evil-doers, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation.*

Upon the first clause in that verse Beza says, that (d) this place alone is sufficient to shew, that this epistle was sent to Jews. But, I think not. From St. Paul may be alleged a text of the like sort. 1 Cor. x. 32. *Give no offense, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentils, [καὶ ἕλλησι,] nor to the Church of God.* It might be as well argued from that text, that the Corinthians were by descent neither Jews, nor Greeks, as from this, that the persons, to whom St. Peter wrote, were not originally Gentils. In the text of St. Paul, just alleged, by Jews, and Gentils, or Greeks, are intended such as were unbelievers. So it is likewise in the text of St. Peter, which we are considering: as is apparent from the later part of the verse, above transcribed at large. St. Peter had a right to distinguish those, to whom he writes, from the Gentil people, among whom they lived: as he had at the beginning of his epistle called them *elect*, or *choice ones*, and *strangers*, and they likewise went by the name of Christians, as we perceive from ch. iv. 16.

St. Peter's two epistles, then, were sent to all Christians in general, living in those countreys: the greatest part of whom had been converted from Gentilism, or Heathenism.

III. Our next inquire is, concerning the place, *The Place, where they were writ.* where these epistles were writ.

At the end of the first epistle St. Peter says: *The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you.* Which text, understood literally, has been thought by some to denote Babylon in Assyria, or Babylon in Egypt. By others it is interpreted figuratively, and supposed to denote Jerusalem, or Rome. So that there are four opinions concerning the place, where this epistle is dated. All which must be considered by us.

I. Pearson by Babylon supposes to be meant (e) a town, or city, of that name in Egypt. But it seems to me, that (f) little can be said for this opinion.

(d) *Inter Gentes, ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.* Vel unus hic locus tribubus illis dispersis proprie fuisse inscriptam hanc epistolam convincit. *Bez. in loc.*

(e) Explodatur figurata, admittatur literalis expositio. Non opus erit, ut in Assyriam nos conferamus, si nudo urbis nomine standum esse arbitremur. Alia enim erat urbs Babylonis nomine insignita, eaque Judææ multo vicinior, a Babyloniis post dira Prophetarum vaticinia, Ptolomæorum permisso condita et habitata. *Pearson. de Succ. Rom. Episc. Diff. i. num. vii. &c.*

(f) Duae enim vetus terrarum orbis habuit Babylones, alteram clarissimam illam Chaldæorum regiam, alteram castellum quoddam Ægypti a Babyloniis conditum. Posteriolem hic nominari, nemo crediturus fuisse videtur, nisi fama fuisset vulgata, prioris Babylonis ætate nihil superfuisset, certe nullos prorsus ei fuisse incolas. *Heumann. Nova Sylloge Dissertat. P. 2. p. 106.*

opinion. Babylon in Egypt is an obscure place. It was a frontier town, or strong castle, with a garrison, as it is described by (g) Strabo: in whose time, the reign of Tiberius, was quartered one of the three Roman Legions, appointed to keep the Egyptian people in order. In such a place, as may be supposed, there (h) were but few Jews, and not many inhabitants of any sort, beside soldiers. This opinion likewise is altogether without the authority of ancient Christians. If St. Peter had writ an epistle in Egypt, in all probability, it (i) would have been dated at Alexandria. But there is not in early antiquity any intimation, that (k) the Apostle Peter was at all at Alexandria, or in any part of Egypt. If St. Peter had been at Babylon in Egypt, and had founded a church there, it would have been a church of great renown among Christians: whereas (l) there is not for the first four centuries any notice taken of a church, or Bishop in that place.

Le Clerc, who (m) follows Pearson, says, in his notes upon 1 Pet. v. 13. "Thereby (n) is to be understood, not Babylon, which lay on the east side of the Euphrates, and where Peter never was, but a city in Egypt,

(g) Αναπλέουσιν δ' ἐν βαβυλῶν φερέριον ἐρυμνὸν . . . οὐδ' ἐν στρατόπεδον ἐνὸς τῶν τριῶν ταγματῶν τῶν φερέριων τὴν αἴγυπτον. *Strab. l. 17. p. 807. al. p. 1160.*

(h) Abundasse Judæis Ægyptiacam Babylonem, vix probabile videtur, propter et constitutum in ea civitate Romanorum præsidium, cum signis et aquilis suis, quæ Judæis odio erant, et vicinitatem Alexandriæ, in qua libentius degebant. *Basnag. Ann. 46. num. xxvii.*

(i) Si Petrus in Ægyptiaca Babylone versatus est, cui probabile fiet, non petivisse Alexandriam, civitatem totius orbis secundum Romanam nobilissimam, magnoque Judæorum numero frequentem: cum Alexandriæ in vicinia existeret Babylon, et moris esset Apostolorum, aliqua in regione vestigium ponentium, Metropoles adire, ut majus theatrum haberet evangelii prædicatio, quæ inde veluti ex fonte manabat urbibus provincialibus irrigandis. *Id. ibid.*

(k) Quod vero in Ægypto unquam versatus fuerit, ne levissima quidem antiquitatis umbra obtendi potest. *Cass. de Petro. H. L. p. 6.*

Quis vero Veterum dixit, Petrum se Alexandriam contulisse? Hocce dissimulassent tot eruditi scriptores, quos Alexandrina peperit ecclesia? *Basnag. ib.*

(l) Liqueat omnes ecclesias apostolicas magnæ existimationis fuisse Veteribus. Hinc illud Tertullianum: *Percurre ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsident.* Proinde ecclesia, quæ Memphitica Babylone fuit, apostolicis esset inferenda, et multo honore cumulata fuisset, utpote a Petro fundata. Jam vero tam obscura fuit Babylonica illa ecclesia, ut labentibus quadringentis amplius annis, in antiquitatis monumentis nullo vestigio reperiatur: nullâ fuit Episcoporum successione, nullâ Martyrum passione nobilis. Quod de ecclesiâ apostolicâ, et in Imperio Romano constitutâ, vix cogitatione fingi potest. *Basnag. ubi supra.*

(m) *Vid. ejus H. E. anno. 61. num. vii. et Annot. ad Hammondii Præmonitionem in 1 Petri epistolam.*

(n) Il faut entendre non la Babylone, qui étoit à l'orient de l'Euphrate, et où S. Pierre n'a jamais été: mais une ville d'Egypte, qui se nommoit ainsi, et qui n'étoit pas loin de lieu où est bâti le Caire. *Le Clerc. sur 1 ep. de S. Pierre. v. 13.*

gypt, so called, and lying not far from the place, where now is Cairo." But what proof is there of Peter's ever having been in Egypt, more than of his having been in Assyria?

2. Lewis Cappell conjectured, that (o) by Babylon is to be understood Jerusalem. But it is a mere conjecture, quite destitute of foundation in antiquity. And therefore, in my opinion, no more to be received, than the preceding interpretation.

3. Divers other learned men think, that by Babylon is meant Babylon in Assyria. So (p) Beza, (q) Lightfoot, (r) Basnage. Cave, who supposeth (s) the first epistle of St. Peter to have been writ at Babylon in Assyria, thinks, that (t) his second epistle was writ at Rome.

They who reject this opinion, say, that (u) the Assyrian Babylon was at that time almost deserted. On the contrarie, they who embrace it, say, there (x) were multitudes of Jews in that country. Which may be true. For there were many Jews in most countreys. But it would have been more to the purpose, to produce some evidence from antiquity, that Peter was in that country. The primitive Christians had in their hands St. Peter's first epistle. And it was universally received, as his. And it is dated at Babylon. And yet ecclesiastical historie affords no accounts, that this Apostle was in Assyria, or Chaldea. Is not this a proof, that (y) there was not any very ancient tradition, that he was in that

(o) Ego potius conjicerem Jerosolymæ fuisse scriptam, et Jerosolymam a Petro fuisse dictam figurate Babylonem: quod tum temporis Jerusalem non esset amplius urbs sancta, sed spiritualis quædam Babylon, in quâ ecclesia Dei captiva quasi tenebatur, et gravi servitute premebatur, quatenus pridem a Judæis persecutionem pati cœperat. *Capp. Hist. Ap. p. 42.*

(p) Babylonæ proprie accipio pro celebri illa Assyriæ urbe, in quâ tum esset Petrus, circumcisionis Apostolus. *Bez. in 1 Pet. v. 13.*

(q) See his Sermon upon 1 Pet. v. 13. Vol. 2. p. 1141—1147. and many other places in his works.

(r) *Basn. Ann. 46. num. xxvii.*

(s) Verum ego priorem sententiam tanquam longe verisimiliorem amplector, tum quod in Babylone Parthica magna esset Judæorum frequentia, &c. *Cav. in Petro. H. L. p. 6.*

(t) Epistola secunda Romæ, ut videtur, paullo ante mortem scripta. *Id. ibid.*

(u) An urbem illam S. Petrus adire maxime concupivit, quam Prophetarum vaticinio, et justo Dei judicio percussam esse novit? *Pearson. ubi supr. §. iv.* Paullatim igitur defecit Babylon, a Regibus primo, deinde a populo deserta. *Ib. num. v.*

(x) In Assyria, ubi Babylon, immensa fuit Judæorum multitudo, quos sub Petrinum cecidisse apostolatam, certum, exploratumque est: ut nusquam gentium provinciam administrare suam felicius potuerit. *Basnag. ann. 46. num. xxviii.*

(y) Sunt qui in dicta Petri epistola Babylonis nomine non Romam, sed Babylonem ipsam, quæ caput fuit Assyriorum, designari contendunt. Verum hi omnium veterum patrum testimonio refelluntur. Certe qui Petrum Babylone sedisse volunt, ostendant nobis oportet successionem Episcoporum, qui Babylonis ecclesiam post Petrum administrarunt.——Quæ, malum, impudentia est, id quidem quod nemo veterum dixit, temere affirmare: Petrum scilicet sedem fixisse Babylone: id vero quod veteres omnes scriptores disertissime prodiderunt, pertinaciter negare! *Vales. Annot. in Euseb. l. 2. cap. 15.*

that country? We just now observed passages of Origen, Epiphanius, Gregorie Nazianzen, Jerome, Chrysostom, relating to St. Peter's travels. But none have mentioned Babylon, as a place, where he traveled, and preached the gospel.

Says Mr. Beaufobre: "As (z) Peter was the Apostle of the Jews scattered abroad among the Gentils, St. James having stayed in Judea, he went to Babylon, where a great number of the Israelites had remained." But may I not take the liberty to ask a question, and say: Who assigned to these Apostles those several provinces, with such limitations? St. James staid in Judea. It is allowed. We are certain of it from the histoire in the Acts. Nevertheless he did not confine his regards to the Jews in the land of Israel. For he wrote an epistle, addressed to the twelve tribes scattered abroad. And if Peter also was an Apostle, chiefly, of the circumcision; it was not of those only, who were in Gentil countreys, but of those likewise, who were in Judea: where, as I apprehend, he spent the greatest part of his life, even after our Saviour's ascension.

Mr. Beaufobre says, "Peter went to Babylon, where a great number of Israelites had remained." That is, he imagined, that he did so. And it was fit for him so to do. As Basnage, in a passage (a) cited not long ago, says: "There was a multitude of Jews in Assyria, where was Babylon. Nor could he any where more successfully execute his apostolical commission." And because we imagine, that Peter might very fitly preach the gospel in Assyria, we conclude, that he went thither. But such reasonings, if calmly considered, are of no weight. It would be much better to allege some ancient testimonies, in behalf of St. Peter's Journey into Assyria, or Parthia.

Mr. Wetstein thinks, that St. Peter's first epistle was writ in the country of Babylon, in Mesopotamia. As there is somewhat new in his argument, I place below (b) a large part of it. In particular, he says, that

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Negant enim, Petrum Romæ fuisse: quod testatur antiquitas. Affirmant autem Babylone fuisse, vel in Ægypto, vel in Chaldæa. Quod nulla prodit historia. *Ess. in 1 Pet. v. 13.*

(z) Comme il étoit l'Apôtre des Juifs dispersés parmi les Payens, S. Jacques étant demeuré en Judée, il alla à Babylone, et dans les provinces voisines, ou il étoit resté un bon nombre d'Israélites. *Hist. de Manich. l. 2. ch. 3. T. i. p. 181.*

(a) See p. 452. note (x).

(b) Cur Babylon in Italia potius, aut Ægypto, quam in Mesopotamia, sit quærenda, causam non video. Veteres quidem Romam intelligunt. . . . Quod recentiores observant, Babylonem proprie dictam, quo tempore Petrus hæc scribebat, habitam non fuisse, verum est. At (præterquam quod et Stophano Byzantino et Lucano constat, etiam Seleuciam eo tempore nomine Babylonis fuisse appellatam,) possumus Babylonem interpretari non urbem, sed totam regionem. . . . Huic observationi addo aliam, quæ licet mihi nunc primum in mentem venerit, suum tamen apud me pondus habet. Nimirum ubi de pluribus vel provinciis vel urbibus loquimur, vel ubi ad plures scribimus, ordini naturæ convenientius et simplicius videtur, ut incipiamus non

ab

when a person writes to the people of several cities, or countreys, it is natural to begin with that which is nearest to him. So does Paul. Col. iv. 3. and St. John in Patmos. Rev. i. and ii. The like order, says he, is also accurately observed by St. Peter, if he wrote from Mesopotamia, not if we suppose him to have writ from Italie, or Egypt.

But such observations, though ingenious and plausible, are not demonstrative and decisive, even when they are just and right. Which cannot be said of this. For supposing St. Peter to have been in Mesopotamia, the countrey, nearest to him, would be Cappadocia, as lying more eastward, and more southward, than the two first named. Certainly Pontus and Galatia were farther off from Mesopotamia, than Cappadocia. The truth is: St. Peter begins at the north, and so goes round. And that way of beginning does as well suit Rome, as Babylon, so far as I can see.

Beside all this, there offers an argument, which appears to me decisive. If the Assyrian Babylon was not now subject to the Romans, but to (c) the Parthians: which I suppose to be allowed by all: it cannot be the place, intended by St. Peter. For the people, to whom he writes, were subject to the Romans. And at the time of writing this epistle he must have been within the territories of the same Empire. 1 ep. ii. 13. 14. *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, or rather Emperour, as formerly (d) shewn, as supreme: or unto Governours sent, (from Rome,) by him, for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.* Again, ver. 17. *Honor the King:* or rather, the Emperour. If St. Peter had not now been within the Roman territories, he would have been led to express himself in a different manner, when he enforced obedience to the Roman Emperour.

This argument appears to me very obvious. And yet I do not know, that it has ever been thought of by any before. Which makes me almost suspect the validity of it: though I cannot discern, where the defect lies.

St. Peter requires subjection to *Governours, sent by the Emperour*: undoubtedly, meaning from Rome. I suppose, that way of speaking might be properly used in any part of the Empire. But it might have a special propriety, if the writer was then at Rome. Where indeed, in all probability, Peter then was.

4. So that we are now come to the fourth opinion concerning the date of this epistle. Which is, that by Babylon St. Peter figuratively means Rome.

ab ea, quæ loquentibus vel scribentibus est remotissima, sed proxima. Hunc ordinem servavit Paulus Col. iv. 13. et Joannes ex Patmo. Apoc. i. et ii. Hunc ordinem accurate servavit etiam Petrus, si scripsit ex Mesopotamia, minime autem, si vel ex Ægypto, vel ex Italia, eum scripsisse existimemus. *Wetstein, in 2 Pet. v. 13. Tom. 2. p. 697. 698.*

(c) *Vid. Strab. l. 16. p. 1081. in al. p. 745.*

(d) *See the first Part of this Work. Book i. ch. 2. §. xi. near the end. Or p. 176. of the third edition.*

Rome. This is the opinion of (e) Grotius, and (f) Whitby, and (g) Valesius, and all the learned writers of the Roman communion in general.

These have, confessedly, in their favour, the testimonie of antiquity. Which is no small advantage.

Eusebius having given an account of St. Mark's Gospel, and of it's having been writ at the request of St. Peter's hearers at Rome, adds: "And (h) it is said, that Peter mentions this Mark in his first epistle, which, they say, he wrote at Rome: and that himself calls that city Babylon figuratively in those words: *the church that is at Babylon salutes you, as does Mark my son.*"

This interpretation some suppose Eusebius to ascribe to Papias. But (i) Spanheim denies it. And perhaps it is not certain. Whether Papias said so, or not, it was the prevailing opinion in the time of Eusebius.

Jerome in his book of Illustrious Men, in his article of St. Mark, transcribes the just cited passage of Eusebius, but expresseth himself more positively. "Peter (k) makes mention of this Mark in his first epistle, figuratively denoting Rome by the name of Babylon. *The church which is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you, as does Mark my son.*"

Bede

(e) De Babylone dissident veteres et novi interpretes. Veteres Romam interpretantur, ubi Petrum fuisse nemo verus Christianus dubitabit. Novi Babylonem in Chaldaea. Ego veteribus assentior. Nam quod Romam Babylonem vocavit, non in hoc tantum serviit, ut si deprehenderetur epistola, non posset inde sciri, quibus in locis viveret. Verum etiam. . . . Congruentias plurimas inter Babylonem et Romam vide Orosii ii. 2. 3. 4. Grot. ad 1 Pet. v. 13.

(f) See him upon 1 Pet. v. 13.

(g) Romam Petrus figurate Babylonem vocavit, vel ob magnitudinem et potentiam, vel propter impietatem. . . . Potest etiam alia ratio hujus cognominis afferri, quod scilicet ut Babylonii Judæos in servitutem redegerant, sic Romani tunc Judæos ditioni suæ subjecissent. Sunt qui in dicta Petri epistola Babylonem nomine non Romam, sed Babylonem ipsam, quæ caput fuit Assyriorum, designari contendunt. Verum hi omnium veterum patrum testimonio refelluntur. Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. H. E. l. 2. c. 15. p. 33.

(h) Τῷ δὲ Μάρκῳ μνημονεύειν τὸν πῶτερον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, ἣν καὶ συντάξαι φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ῥώμης· σημαίνειν τε ταῦτ' αὐτὸν τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον βαβυλῶνα, προσεπύοντα διὰ τέταν' Ἀσπάζεται ἡμᾶς ἢ ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνικλεκτῇ, καὶ Μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου. Euseb. H. E. l. 2. c. 15.

(i) Atqui primus omnium Eusebius narrationi de Marco hæc subjungit: *Esse, qui dicerent Romam figurate Babylonem appellari.* . . . Nec tamen Papiæ ipsi adscribi eam interpretationem, quicquid vulgo sentiant, Valesio ipso verba hæc a prioribus sejungente, supra demonstratum est. Vid. P. 3. num. xii. Spanheim. *Diff. de fidei Profet. Petri ad Rom. Part. iv. num. ii. Tom. 2. p. 375.*

(k) Meminit hujus Marci et Petrus in epistola prima, sub nomine Babylonis figuraliter Romam significans: salutet vos quæ in Babylone est, coelecta, et Marcus filius meus. *De V. I. cap. viii.*

Bede (*l*) by Babylon understood Rome, as did (*m*) Oecumenius. However, it may be here properly recollected, that (*n*) formerly we saw an author, Cosmas of Alexandria, in the sixth centurie, who hereby seems to have understood Babylon in Assyria.

This opinion concerning the place of writing this epistle is much confirmed by the general tradition of the ancients, that St. Mark's Gospel was writ at Rome, at the request of Peter's hearers, and that Mark here mentioned is the Evangelist. Nor is this contradicted by Cosmas, but confirmed by him. For he expressly says, "that (*o*) Mark, the second Evangelist, wrote his Gospel at Rome by the direction of Peter."

They (*p*) who reject this interpretation, affect to slight Papias: whereas there is no good reason for it. If he said so, certainly his testimony would be of some value. But we do not clearly perceive, that this was in Papias. However, it is said by Eusebius. It was then a common opinion. Nor did he know of a better.

Others insinuate likewise, that (*q*) the reason, why Jerome was willing to confound Rome with Babylon, was, that he was out of humour with the people of Rome. Which seems to me to be groundless. Jerome only transcribes what he had found in Eusebius. They who reject the accounts of those two learned ancients should by all means produce some evidence, that Peter was in Mesopotamia. We have good assurance, that St. Mark's Gospel was writ at Rome, and that Peter preached, and suffered martyrdom there. His two epistles therefore, probably, were writ in the same city, a short time before the period of his life.

Mill varies. In his note upon the place he is for Babylon in Egypt. But in his Prolegomena (*r*) he is for Rome, and argues well enough

(*l*) Babylonem typice Romam dicit, videlicet propter confusionem multiplicis idololatriæ. &c. *Bed. expos. 1 Pet. v. 13.*

(*m*) Βαβυλῶνα δὲ τὴν ἑωμένη διὰ τὸ περιφανὲς καλεῖ, ὃ καὶ Βαβυλῶν πολλῶν χρεόνων ἔσχηκε. *Oecum. in loc. Tom. 2. p. 526. A.*

(*n*) See *Vol. xi. p. 275. and 283.*

(*o*) See *Vol. xi. p. 267. and the first volume of this Supplement. p. 178.*

(*p*) Quod si, ut Rufinus interpretatur, teste Papias nititur, infirmo sane tibicine fultum est. Nec temere ad tropum in nominibus urbium aut regionum est recurrendum, nisi ubi propria vocis significatio locum habere non potest. *Westlein. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 697.*

(*q*) C'est une imagination de Papias, que les anciens ont adopté avec trop de facilité, et que S. Jerome auroit rejetée avec mépris, si dans la mauvaise humeur ou il étoit contre Rome, il n'eût été bien aisé de la confondre avec Babylone. *Beauf. Hist. Manich. l. 2. ch. 3. T. i. p. 181.*

(*r*) Romæ eam scriptam fuisse notant ex traditione Veterum Eusebius, Hieronymus in Catalogo, et alii permulti. Hanc enim Babylonis nomine designatam voluit Petrus, ceu communi tum temporis apud Judæos suos appellatione. Quæ quidem et in hunc usque diem apud eos obtinet. Abarbinel, alique recentiores Judæi, commentantes in prophetias de Babylone, ad Romam istas referunt: quod sicut a Babyloniis olim in servitutem redacti fuerint, ita postea jam a Romanis. &c. *Proleg. num. 59. 60.*

enough for that opinion. I suppose, that to be his final determination.

It may be best for me now to conclude this argument with a part of Whitby's note upon 1 Pet. v. 13. which is very agreeable also to the note of Estius upon the same text. "That Babylon is figuratively here put for Rome, is an opinion so early delivered by Papias, and which afterwards so generally prevailed, (as we learn from Eusebius, Jerome, and Oecumenius,) that I subscribe to the note at the end of this epistle, *ἐγγράφην ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥώμης*, it was written from Rome, stiled also Babylon by the author of the Revelations. ch. xvii. and xviii. For the Apostle, at the time of writing it, must be at Rome, figuratively, or at some city, properly, called Babylon. Now as it is uncertain, whether St. Peter ever was at Babylon in Chaldea, or in Egypt, and improbable, that he made any considerable stay there: so it is very improbable, he should do it, when near his end. At Rome, and Antioch, where he confessedly resided, church-histories are copious in giving an account of his successors in those Sees. But who can shew any thing of this nature, with reference to either of those Babylons? &c. &c."

IV. The only thing remaining to be observed by us is the time of writing these two epistles. Which I think to be the year 63. or 64. or at the latest 65. I suppose, Paul to have left Rome in the spring of the year 63. St. Peter was not then come thither. If he had been there, he would have been mentioned by St. Paul in some of his epistles, writ near the end of his imprisonment at Rome. However, not very long after St. Paul was gone, St. Peter might come thither. Here, I suppose, he preached for a while freely, and with great success. And it appears to me probable, that both these epistles were writ at Rome, not long before the Apostle's death. *Their Time.*

That he was old, and near his end, when he wrote the second epistle, is apparent from Ch. i. 14. And that the first epistle to the same Christians had not been writ long before, may be argued from the apologie, which he makes for writing this second epistle to them. ch. i. ver. 13. . . . 15. *Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth. Yea I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by way of remembrance. Knowing, that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ has shewed me. Moreover, I will endeavour, that you may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance.*

It is not unlikely, that soon after the Apostle had sent away Silvanus with the first epistle, some came from those countreys to Rome, where was a frequent and general resort from all parts, bringing him informations concerning the state of religion among them. Which induced him to write a second time for the establishment of the Christians, among whom he had labored. And he might well hope, that his last words, and dying testimonie to the doctrine, which he had received from Christ, and had taught for many years with unshaken steadfastness, would be of great weight with them.

V. I have now gone through the four inquiries, proposed at the beginning of this article. I shall here add *Remarks upon*
1 Pet. v. 13.
only

only a few remarks upon 1 Pet. v. 13. *The (s) church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you. And so does Mark, my son.*

The word *church* is not in the original, but is inserted in the translation. The same word is supplied in (t) Oecumenius, and (u) in the Latin, and other ancient versions, with the approbation of (x) Grotius, and many others. But Mill (y) in his notes upon this text, where he understands the word Babylon literally, of a city of that name in Egypt, argues, that thereby is intended St. Peter's wife, or some honourable Christian woman, of the city of Babylon, where he then was. Which conjecture is countenanced by (z) Wall.

Dr. Heumand proceeds farther. First, he says, that (a) by *Mark my son*, we are to understand Peter's own son, which he had by his wife. And (b) then by *elected together with you*, is to be understood, an excellent Jewish woman of Babylon in Assyria, whom, with many others, Peter had there converted to the Christian faith, and afterwards married: his first wife, mentioned Luke iv. 38. by whom he had Mark, being dead.

But

(s) Ασπάζεται ἡμᾶς ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή, καὶ μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου.

(t) Ασπάζεται ἡμᾶς ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι ἐκκλησία συνεκλεκτή.

(u) Εκκλησία præfigunt Lin. [in margine, manu recentiori:] Oecumen. Vulg. Syr. Arab. Æthiop. ex interpretamento. Mill. in loc.

(x) Ad vocem συνεκλεκτή, et Syrus, et Arabs, et Latinus, addunt nomen ecclesiæ, recte. Nam et ad ecclesiam scribit, et hæc, et illa, pariter Deo electa, id est, a mundo segregata. Grot. in loc.

(y) Nempe pro indubitato fumitur, ecclesiam Babyloniorum hic intelligi. Atqui vero, si de ecclesia hic sermo, quum nulla ejus mentio facta sit in præcedentibus, aperte dixisset Petrus ἐκκλησία ἐν βαβυλῶνι. . . . Mihi quidem vehemens suspicio est, per τὴν ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτήν, intelligi hic Petri uxorem, fidei simul susceptæ, vitæ, laborum, sociam: quæ Babylone Ægyptiacâ tunc, cum hæc scriberentur, egerit. . . . Si dicas, illud ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι denotare potius feminam aliquam, quæ fixam sedem habuerit in Babylone, nihil equidem repugno. Estο ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι sive uxor Petri, sive etiam opulenta quædam ac illustri loco nata femina apud Babylonios, quæ Apostolum hospitio exceperit: certe nihil hoc loco de ecclesia Babyloniorum. Mill. in loc.

(z) "The word *church* is not in the Greek, but put in by the translators, as understood in the Greek. . . . Dr. Mill thinks it to mean Peter's wife, who being now at Babylon with her husband, did salute those Christians, to whom the epistle was written. And then the reading of the words will be: *She who is your fellow-Christian at Babylon saluteth you.*" Wall. p. 357.

(a) Similem errarunt errorem, qui quem *filium suum* hic loci nominavit Petrus, eum non naturalem ejus fuisse filium, sed spirituales arbitrati sunt. . . . Maneat nunc, Petrum de filio sibi ex conjuge nato loqui: quem facile ex hoc ipso loco cognoscimus fuisse socium paternorum itinerum, et simul συνεργὸν ἐν χριστῷ. Heum. ubi supr. p. 110.

(b) Relinquitur igitur, ut statuamus, loqui Apostolum de uxore sua, Babylone nata, ac tum, cum ibi versaretur Petrus, una cum aliis utriusque sexus Judæis in ecclesiam Christi traducta. Hoc enim sibi volunt hæc verba: ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή. . . . Quis nunc non videat, Petrum hanc νεόφυτον, singulari haud dubie pietate et prudentia conspicuam, duxisse in matrimonium, comitemque postea habuisse sacrorum itinerum? Ex quo sequitur, priorem uxorem, cujus Lucæ iv. 38. mentio, e quâ susceperat Marcum, fuisse extinctam, Heum. ibid. p. 112. 113.

But it appears to me very unlikely, that St. Peter should send salutations to the Christians of several countreys from a woman, not named by him. Beza says well, that (c) St. Peter omits the noun, *church*, as is often done with regard to words of common use. What was the sense of Christians in former times, appears from Oecumenius, and the versions taken notice of above. The same sense appears in (d) the Complexions of Cassiodorus, and (e) the Exposition of Bede.

With regard to St. Mark, Oecumenius says, "that (f) Peter calls him *his son* according to the spirit, not according to the flesh. Him he permitted to write the Gospel. But some, as he adds, have presumed to call Mark son of Peter according to the flesh, arguing from Luke's historie, in the Acts of the Apostles: where Peter, having been delivered out of prison by an angel, is said to have *come to the house of Marie, the mother of John, whose surname was Mark*, as (g) if he had then gone to his own house, and his lawful wife."

That is a wrong deduction from the words of Acts xii. 12. But we hence perceive, that those people supposed Mark, the Evangelist, to have been the same as John, surnamed Mark.

And I would also farther observe here, by the way, "that (h) Oecumenius computes Silvanus, by whom St. Peter sent this epistle, and who is mentioned ch. v. 12. to be the same, who is several times mentioned by St. Paul in his epistles, particularly 1 Thess. i. 1. 2 Thess. ii. 1." Who likewise, very probably, is the same as Silas, often mentioned in the Acts.

Oecumenius there calls *Silvanus a most faithful man, zealous for the progresse of the gospel*. Indeed all must be sensible, that he was an excellent man, who from generous principles attended the Apostles of Christ in the journeys undertaken by them, in the service of the gospel. His deputation from the Apostles, and Elders, and church of Jerusalem, with their letter to the Christians at Antioch, is very honourable to him. Acts xv. 27. 32. His stay there, and Paul's choosing him for his companion in his travels, when he and Barnabas separated, farther assure us of his just sentiments concerning the freedom of the Gentils from the yoke of the law, and of his zeal for promoting true religion.

(c) Ecclesiæ nomen omittit, ut in vocabulis communi usu tritis fieri solet. *Bez.*

(d) Salutationes quoque ecclesiæ, quam de Babylonia, id est, de seculi istius, confusione, dicit electam, et Marci filii sui pia institutione transmittens. *Cassiod. in loc.*

(e) *Expos. in 1 Petr. cap. v.*

(f) Μάρκον δὲ εἶναι κατὰ πνεῦμα καλεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔκκατὰ σάρκα. *Oecum. T. 2. p. 526. A.*

(g) . . . ὡς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆ ὁκίαν ἐπανελθόντα, καὶ τὴν νομίμην σύζυγον. *Ib. B.*

(h) Πιστὸς ἐπεβαλλόντως ὁ σιλουανὸς ὄψτος, καὶ περὶ τὸ κήρυγμα ἐνθὺμως ἀγωνίζομενος, εἰς γὰρ καὶ παῖδος αὐτοῦ μνημ. νέει, καὶ συνεγρόν αὐτὸν μετὰ τιμὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς παραλαμβάνει. Παῦλος λέγων καὶ σιλουανὸς καὶ τιμόθεος. *Oecum. ib. p. 525. D.*

C H A P. XX.

The three Epistles of St. John.

- I. *Their Genuinnesse shewn from Testimonie, and internal Characters.* II. *The Time of writing the first of these Epistles.* III. *The People, to whom it was sent.* IV. *Observations upon the second Epistle.* V. *upon the third.* VI. *The Time, when they were writ.*

Their Genuinnesse.

I. I HAVE already writ the historie of St. John, one of Christ's twelve Apostles, and an Evangelist. I have also observed what is needfull concerning the Gospel, writ by him. We are now to consider his Epistles.

The regard shewn to them by the ancients, may be soon perceived by recollecting briefly what has been largely alleged by us from them in the several volumes of this work.

St. John's first epistle is referred to by Polycarp. Vol. i. p. 118. is quoted by Papias. 242. 250. 253. and is referred to by the Martyrs of Lyons. 340. His first and second epistles are quoted by Irenæus. 375. They were also received by Clement of Alexandria. ii. 473. 509. 511. 512. And says Origen: "John, beside the Gospel, and Revelation, has left us an epistle of a few lines. Grant also a second and a third. For all do not allow these to be genuine." Vol. iii. 236. Dionysius, of Alexandria, receives John's first epistle, which he calls his Catholic Epistle, ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολικὴ. He likewise mentions the other two, as ascribed to him. Vol. iv. 672. . . . 674. The first epistle was received by Cyprian, and, probably, the other two likewise. p. 832. . . . 836. The second epistle is quoted by Alexander, Bp. of Alexandria. Vol. vii. 250. Eusebius says: "Beside his Gospel, his first epistle is universally acknowledged by those of the present time, and by the ancients: but the other two are contradicted:" that is, doubted of by some. Vol. viii. 95. See also p. 96. 97. and 157. 158. All the three epistles were received by Athanasius. p. 227. by Cyril, of Jerusalem. p. 270. by the Council of Laodicea. p. 292. by Epiphanius. p. 304. 310. All three were received by Jerome. Vol. x. 77. but the two last were doubted of by some in his time. p. 99. 100. All three were received by Rufin. p. 187. by the third Council of Carthage. p. 194. by Augustin. p. 211. 248. and by all those authors, who received the same canon of the New Testament, that we do. They are in the Alexandrian manuscript. Vol. xi. p. 240. All three are also in the catalogues of Gregorie Nazianzen. ix. 133. and of Amphilochius. p. 148. But this last observes, that some received one of them only. And indeed, it is acknowledged, that but one epistle of St. John is received by the Syrian churches. Vol. ix. 191. . . 196. 217. Nor were any more received by Chrysostom. Vol. x. 313. 337. . . 339. Venerable Bede, near the begining of the eighth centurie, in his Exposition of the second epistle, says: "Some (a) have thought this, and the following

(a) Quidam putant, hanc et sequentem epistolam non esse Joannis Apostoli, sed

“lowing epistle not to have been writ by John the Apostle, but by another, a Presbyter of the same name, whose sepulchre is still shewn at Ephesus; whom also Papias mentions in his writings. But now it is the general consent of the Church, that John the Apostle wrote also these two epistles: forasmuch as there is a great agreement of doctrine and stile between these and his first epistle, and there is also a like zeal against heretics.” They who are desirous to see more quotations of ancient writers, may consult the Table of principal matters, in the twelfth Volume, in *St. John, Catholic Epistles, and Authors, who had the same canon of the N. T. with that, which is now generally received*. Which article may be found under *Canon of the scriptures of the N. T.*

All the three epistles are now generally received as St. John's in these parts of the world. And with good reason, as seems to me. Said Origen: “He has also left an epistle of a very few lines. Grant also a second, and a third.” That is very right. One epistle was received by all, as certainly genuine. And it is not worth the while to contend about the other two, when they are so very short, and resemble the first in sentiment, phrase, and manner of writing, as is well observed by (*b*) Mill. And of the second epistle, which consists of only thirteen of our verses, eight may be found in the first, either in sense, or expression. The title of Elder at the beginning of these two epistles, affords no just exception. It (*c*) is a very honourable character, well becoming John as Apostle, and now in years, residing in Asia, as superintendent of all the churches in that country. And St. Peter speaks of himself in the same character, in his epistle universally acknowledged. ch. v. 1.

Dr. Heumann supposeth, that (*d*) here is a reference to St. John's great

sed cujusdam presbyteri Joannis, cujus sepulchrum usque hodie monstratur in Epheso. Cujus etiam Papias, auditor Apostolorum, et in Hierapoli Episcopus, in opusculis suis sæpe meminit. Sed nunc generalis Ecclesiæ consensus habet, quod has quoque epistolas Joannes Apostolus scripserit, quia revera multam verborum et fidei similitudinem cum prima ejus epistola ostendunt, et simili zelo detestantur hæreticos. *Bed. Exp. in 2. ep. Joan.*

(*b*) Epistolas autem istas habere auctorem Joannem . . . ex eo plane constat, quod in istis omnibus eadem passim sint νοήματα, idem genus et character dictionis. Secundæ, certe ὀλιγοσχῆς, (neque enim continet ultra tredecim versus ex hodiernis nostris,) octo quidem versiculorum cum sensus, tum ipsæ ἑήσεις, exstant in epistola prima. . . . Epistola autem tertia, ejusdem omnino coloris ac characteris cum secunda, per omnia sapit Joannem Apostolum. *Mill. Proleg. num. 153.*

(*c*) Quod aliqui Joanni cuidam alteri, Presbytero vulgo dicto, adscriptas volunt has duas epistolas, ii neutiquam vident, quam fortiter contra illos militet illud ὁ πρεσβύτερος κατ' ἐξοχήν: quique privato homini, vel etiam Episcopo, haudquaquam conveniat. . . . Imo vero Apostolo nostro peculiariter adaptatum et accommodatum erat: utpote qui jam nonagenarius fuerit, omnibusque provinciæ Asiæ ecclesiis præsiderit. *Mill. Ibid. num. 153. 154. Vid. et Lampe Prolegom. in Joan. l. i. cap. 7. num. viii.*

(*d*) Deinde articulo ὁ docet Joannes, nomen hoc sibi cum nemine commune esse,

great age, at the time of his writing these two epistles. And he thinks, that St. John was then as well known by that title, as by his name. *The Elder* therefore is as much, as if he had said: The aged Apostle. And he refers to Wolfius, and others, who had before said the same, or what is to the like purpose

The want of a name at the beginning is no objection. It is rather an argument, that they are his: that being agreeable to St. John, who prefixes not his name, to that epistle, which is unquestionably his.

And say Beaufobre and Lenfant in their preface to the second and third epistles: "It is certain, that the writer of the third epistle speaks with an authority, which the Bishop of a particular church could not pretend to, and could not suit John the elder, even supposing him to have been Bishop of the church of Ephesus, as the pretended Apostolical Constitutions say he was appointed by John the Apostle. For if Diotrephes was Bishop of one of the churches of Asia, as is reckoned, the Bishop of Ephesus had no right to say to him, as the writer of this epistle does ver. 10. *If I come, I will remember his deeds which he does.* That language, and the visits made to the churches, denote a man, who had a more general jurisdiction, than that of a Bishop, and can only suit St. John the Apostle."

II. That may suffice for shewing the genuinenesse of the three epistles. Let us now make some remarks upon each of them, beginning with the first. Concerning which there are two inquiries, that may be proper: the time when, and the persons to whom it was writ.

Grotius thought this (e) epistle to have been writ in Patmos, before the destruction of Jerusalem. Hammond and Whitby likewise were of opinion, that it was writ, before that great calamity befell the Jewish nation. Dr. Benson (f) is inclined to place it in the year of our Lord 68 of Nero 14. that is, after the Jewish war was broke out, and not long before the destruction of Jerusalem. Mill (g), and Le Clerc (h) who follows him, place this epistle in the year 91. or 92. Basnage (i) speaks of this epistle at the year 98. and Baronius (k) at the year 99. Beaufobre and Lenfant in their preface to this epistle express themselves after this manner: "Although we cannot say any thing certain concerning the time, when St. John wrote this epistle: we may be satisfied, that it was near the end of
"the

esse, adeoque viso τῷ περιούτιον titulo statim scriptorem harum literarum agnovisse. . . . Nihil proinde restat, quam ut statuamus, a Joanne isto titulo indicari ætatem suam provectissimam, morisque tum fuisse, eum appellitari honoris ac reverentiæ causâ *Senem*, sive *Seniorem*, vel etiam *Senem Apostolum*. . . . Græca proinde hæc, Ὁ Περιούτιος Γαίω, melius reddi Latine non possunt, quam hoc modo: Grandævus Apostolus salutem dicit Caio. . . . *Heuman. Comm. in Joan. Ep. iii. ap. Nov. Syllog. Diff. p. i. P. 279. 280.*

(e) Puto autem scriptam, ut alibi dixi, ex Patmo hanc epistolam, non multo ante excidium Hierosolymitanum. *Grot. Pr. in 1 ep. Joan.*

(f) *Preface to St. John's first epistle. §. iv.*

(g) *Proleg. num. 148. . . 150.*

(h) *H. E. an. 91. num. i.*

(i) *Ann. 98. num. iv.*

(k) *Ann. 99. num. vii. . . .*

"the first centurie, when the Apostle was far advanced in age." Du Pin (*l*) says, it is not known, when it was writ, but most probably, near the end of the Apostle's life. Mr. Whiston (*m*) thought, this, and the other two epistles of St. John, to have been written not long after each other, about the year of Christ, 82. or 83. Mr. Lampe (*n*) supposeth this first Epistle to have been writ after the Jewish war, before St. John's exile in Patmos, and, probably, some good while before it. Consequently, he and Mr. Whiston do not differ greatly about the time of this epistle.

I must likewise say, though the exact time is not known, I am of opinion, it was not writ, till after the Jewish war was over. My reason is, that the arguments alleged, for proving it to have been writ sooner, are not satisfactorie. And in examining them, perhaps, some things may occur, affording hints of a later date.

One argument is taken from ch. ii. 18. *it is the last time*, or hour: meaning, as (*o*) some interpreters think, the last hour of the Jewish state and constitution. Nevertheless, there (*p*) are learned men, who do not assent to that interpretation. Grotius himself owns, that (*q*) the phrase is sometimes used concerning the world, or mankind in general, as well as the Jews. And Mr. Lampe, who supposeth the phrase to relate to the divine judgement upon the Jewish People, says, it (*r*) might be used not only at the time when it was inflicting, but also after it was accomplished. Which he supposes to be meant by those expressions. ch. ii. 8. *the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth*: [though (*s*) Wolfius thinks
no

(*l*) *Diff. Prelim. l. 2. ch. 2. §. xi.*

(*m*) *Commentarie upon St. John's three Catholic Epistles. p. 14.*

(*n*) *Acquiescimus igitur hactenus in judicio clarissimi Ensi de Canone N. T. p. 270. Scriptæ tamen creduntur Joannis epistolæ ante exilium in Patmum insulam. Neque est ratio, ob quam non statueremus, eas diu ante illud tempus fuisse conscriptas. Lampe Prol. cap. 7. num. iv. not. (b).*

(*o*) *Ultima hora*: id est, ultimum tempus, ubi ad Judæos sermo est, significat tempus, proximum excidio urbis, ac templi, et reipublicæ Judæorum. *Grot. annot. in 1 ep. Jo. ii. 18.*

(*p*) *Vid. Wolf. Prolegom. in 1 ep. Joann. p. 243. 244. Conf. eund. ad 1 ep. cap. ii. ver. 18.*

(*q*) *Nomen horæ extremæ modo totum humanum genus respicit, modo populum Judaicum, ex quo erant Apostoli, et non pauci Christianorum. Grot. in loca quædam N. T. de Antichristo: speciatim in 1 ep. Jo. cap. ii. Opp. Tom. 3.*

(*r*) Alii maturius, aut brevi ante, aut saltem circa excidium Hierosolymitanum scriptum esse existimant, qui nobis maxime ad verisimilitudinem accedere videntur. Probabile enim est, per *ἰσχυρὸν ὥραν* intelligi tempus judicii divini in Judæos. cap. ii. 18. ejusque consummationem spectare verba cap. ii. 8. *Lampe Prol. l. 1. c. 7. n. iv. p. 106.*

(*s*) — sed non video, quomodo imminens illud judicium argumentum esse possit, quo Apostolus ad inculcandum et urgendum amorem mutuum uti voluerit. Tenebræ omnino inferunt pristinam et Judæorum et Gentilium conditionem, per quam non solum erroribus, sed et vitiis ita erant immersæ, ut *ὁσὶ οὐδὲς* appellari potuerint. *Wolf. Cura in 1 Jo. ii. 8.*

no such thing there intended.] And therefore, he says, he (t) does not acquiesce in the reasons alleged by Grotius and Hammond, to prove, that this epistle was writ before that event.

Let me add here also a part of Wall's note upon ch. ii. 18. which to me appears not amiss. "The saying of St. John, *it is the last time*, is spoken as a great many such sayings of St. Paul, and the other Apostles; had been, according to the general charge, given by Christ to the Apostles, and to all other Christians, to live in a continual expectation of the judgement. They that interpret it otherwise, of the destruction of Jerusalem, as Grotius, and Hammond, are forced to suppose this epistle to have been written just before that destruction, about the year 69. . . . Nor are St. John's words here like those of any one, that was foretelling that event: but rather of one that was speaking of the present state of the Christian religion."

Again, it is argued, that (u) the Apostle might refer to the calamities of the Jewish People in those words ch. ii. 17. *The word passeth away, and the lust thereof*. But those are only general expressions, representing the uncertainty of all earthly things. And therefore afford not any argument, that the Apostle had therein a regard to affairs in Judea. For, if he had, his expressions would have been more distinct, and particular.

Thirdly, an argument is also brought from ch. ii. 13. *I write unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning*. Whereby St. John has been supposed by some to intend some aged Christians, who had seen Jesus Christ upon earth. Which is more likely to have been the case of some in the year 68. about thirty-five years after Christ's ascension, than many years afterwards. To which I answer, that (x) by *him that is from the beginning*, probably, is intended God the Father, not Jesus Christ. It is equivalent to what is afterwards said of others, in the same verse. *I write unto you, little children, because ye have known the Father*. But it would not sound so well, to say: *I have written unto you, fathers, because ye have known the Father*. See also ver. 14.

Fourthly, it is (y) argued to the like purpose from ch. ii. 7. *I write no new commandment to you, but an old commandment, which ye had from the beginning*. But thereby may be meant no more than the commandment, which

(t) Grotius et Hammondus ante excidium Hierosolymitanum scriptam esse suspicantur. Quod tamen loca adducta non evincunt. Licet enim excidium illud in actum datum esset, dici tamen etiamnum poterat, quod hora illa ultima venerit. *Id. ib. not. (b)*.

(u) Unde etiam per mundum transeuntem cum suis cupiditatibus ad idem excidium Reipublicæ Judaicæ respicere Evangelista potuit. *Lampe ib. p. 106*.

(x) *Nōstis Deum, qui Senex Dierum*. Dan. vii. 9. 13. 22. Dat cuique ordini quæ ipsi conveniunt. A prima ætate novistis Deum, hujus mundi opificem. Is autem is est, qui Christum misit, eumque pro se audiri voluit. *Grot. ad ver. 13*.

(y) Accedit, quod ad fratres scribat, qui præceptum a principio audierant. cap. ii. 7. per quod intelligi debet principium prædicationis evangelicæ. A quo igitur non nimum removeri debent illi, quos Apostolus alloquitur. *Lampe ubi supra. p. 106*.

which ye had from the begining of your being Christians: or from the time, when you were first converted to the Christian Religion, whenever it was. And, as (z) Wolfius observes, none of those to whom St. John wrote, in any part of his life, were very far distant in point of time, from the first preaching of the gospel.

Since therefore there are no expressions in the epistle, declaring the time of it, or clearly referring to the calamities attending the downfall of the Jewish State; it appears to me probable, that it was not writ till a good while after that event, about the year of Christ 80. or later.

III. We are next to consider, to whom this epistle was sent. *To whom it was sent.*

And here I observe: As the writer does not at the beginning prefix his name, nor any where else mention it in the epistle: so neither does he describe, or characterize the persons to whom he writes by the name of their city, or countrey, or any such thing.

The first expression of addresse is that in ch. ii. 1. *My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not.* And the epistle concludes with these words: *Little children, keep yourselves from idols.* And he several times calls the Christians, to whom he writes, *little children*, as ch. ii. 12. 18. iii. 7. 18. iv. 4. v. 21. Our Lord spoke to the disciples in a like manner. John xiii. 33. and xxi. 5. It is a tender and affectionate appellation, denoting paternal authority, love, and concern. As an Apostle it might be used by St. John in any part of life. Nevertheless it seems to imply, together with apostolical authority, advanced age.

Some have thought, that this epistle was writ to Parthians, or Jewish believers in that countrey. We have seen several ancient Latin authors, who speak of it, as inscribed to Parthians. So (a) Augustin, (b) Cassiodorius, and (c) Bede. I have already spoken of this, and have referred to divers learned moderns (d) whose opinions deserve to be taken notice of. I shall now add Mr. Whiston's thoughts relating to this point, taken from his Commentarie upon St. John's Epistles, published in 1719. "None of these three epistles of St. John, says he p. 5. 6. were written to the Parthians, as some later Latin writers have supposed: but rather to the Christians or churches of Asia, near Ephesus." "This he argues from the perfect silence of all true antiquity, as to St. John's ever preaching in Parthia: and from the account, which we have in Eusebius from Origen, that Parthia was St. Thomas's province, and Asia St. John's; as also from the account in the Recognitions ix. 29. that "Thomas

(z) Quod ad alteram rationem attinet, nullus eorum, qui Joannis ætate ad Christi cognitionem adducti sunt, ab originibus evangelii nimium removebitur, sive illi ante, sive post excidium Hierosolymitanum eo pervenerint. Omnes enim sub originibus ejus eam adepti censeri debent, quippe quibus Joannes, ut *αὐτόπτης* earum, testis et præco, adfuerit. *Wolf. ubi supr.* p. 244.

(a) *Vol. x. p. 248.*

(b) *Vol. xi. p. 308.*

(c) *The same. p. 388.*

(d) *See Vol. x. p. 249.*

"Thomas really preached the gospel in Parthia, without a syllable of St. John thereto relating. All which, says he, makes it plain, that this pretended direction, of any of St. John's epistles to the Parthians, stands upon no good authority at all. And it is not improbable, that the occasion of this error was barely a false reading in some ancient manuscript, where $\pi\epsilon\delta\varsigma \pi\alpha\rho\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ was read for $\pi\epsilon\delta\varsigma \pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\varsigma$: *to the Parthians*, for *to the Virgins*. Which latter inscription might easily be applied to the first epistle. For as it is chiefly addressed to young Christians, yet uncorrupted, both as to fleshly and spiritual fornication; such as in St. John's Revelations are called $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\varsigma$, *virgins*: so was the second epistle anciently affirmed by some to be written, *to the Virgins*: as we learn from Clement of Alexandria, in Cassiodorus:" that is; from Clement's Adumbrations upon the Catholic Epistles, translated by order (e) of Cassiodorus. For there (f) the second epistle of St. John is said to be writ to virgins.

And before, at p. 4. of the same Commentarie, Mr. Whiston observes: "St. John says nothing in his first epistle, by which we can directly gather, to whom it was sent: though it seems most probably to belong to his own Asiatic churches."

As I have quoted Clement, I must not omit the observation of Lenfant and Beaufobre: "Clement (g) says, that the second epistle of St. John was directed to virgins, undoubtedly intended by the means of this Lady. But there is nothing in the epistle, which suits virgins, more than other Christians."

Mr. Lampe says: "This (h) first epistle is writ to believers, as is abundantly manifest from the whole scope of the epistle. We also, says he, easily admit, that Jewish believers are especially regarded. Nevertheless we think, that St. John directed it to all believers of his time in general: forasmuch as there appears not in it any expression of limitation."

Du Pin says: "Though (i) there is no inscription, it appears from the beginning of the second chapter, that it is addressed to many Christians. And there is no proof, that it is sent to Jews, rather than to Gentils."

On the other hand Dr. Benson (m) thinks, "that the Apostle wrote this epistle to the Jewish Christians in Judea and Galilee."

But the former opinion appears to me more probable. For 1. It is always called a catholic epistle. So it was called by Dionysius of Alexandria,

(c) See in this work, ch. 22.

(f) Secunda Joannis epistola, quæ ad virgines scripta est; simplicissima est. Scripta vero est ad quandam Babyloniam Electam nomine. *Adumbr. in ep. 2 Joan.*

(g) As before. p. 584.

(h) Ad fideles eum scripsisse, abunde patet ex scopo epistolæ, cap. i. 4. totoque ejus argumento. Facile etiam admittimus, speciatim fideles ex Hebræis innui. Universis tamen credentibus sui temporis Joannem hanc epistolam destinasse putamus, quia nulla restrictionis occurrit mentio. *Lamp. ibid. num. iii. 105.*

(i) *Disserta. sur la Bible: l. 2. ch. 2. §. xi.*

(m) See his preface to St. John's first epistle. sect. iv.

andria, as before seen, as well as by later writers. 2. It really appears to be so. For there are not in it any expressions of limitation. 3. There could be very little occasion for that admonition to believers in Judea, in the year 68. after the war was broke out, which is in ch. ii. 15. *Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world.* That admonition is rather suited to people, who were supposed to be in easie circumstances, and are in danger of being ensnared by the allurements of prosperity. 4. Nor has the concluding exhortation of the epistle, *keep yourselves from idols*, any special suitableness to believers in Judea: but is much more likely to be directed to Christians living in other parts of the world.

Oecumenius in his comment upon the last verse of this epistle says, it (n) was writ to the whole Church in general. And in the proëm to his Commentarie upon the second epistle he (o) calls the first a catholic epistle. And he says, “that (p) epistle is not writ to a certain person, nor to the churches of one or more places, as the blessed Peter’s to the Jews in their dispersion, nor as James’s before him, to the twelve tribes of the Jewish People. But he writes to all the faithful in general, whether assembled together, or not. For which reason there is no inscription to that epistle; as there is to the other two.”

To me therefore it seems, that this epistle was designed for the churches in Asia under St. John’s inspection, and for all other Christians, into whose hands it should come. Or in other words, it was designed for all Christians in general, especially those under the Apostle’s inspection, and nearest to him: without excepting the believers in Judea, or in any other countrey whatever.

Nor am I aware of any thing in the epistle, that should lead us to think, Jewish believers in particular to be intended, except what is in ch. ii. 2. where by *our* some have understood Jewish Christians, and by *the whole world* Gentils. But the coherence does not require that interpretation. In the preceding verse is first mentioned that general address, *my little children*, which occurs several times afterwards. He there says: “*These things write I unto you, that ye sin not.*” Having delivered that earnest exhortation, for avoiding all offensive harshness, he soon afterwards joyns himself with those, to whom he writes, adding: *And if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only,* “that is, mine, and yours, to whom I am now writing, who already believe in Jesus, and have done so for a good while: *but also for the sins of the whole world:* that is, of all men, of every nation and people, rank and condition, in every part and age of the world, who shall believe and repent.” Here is nothing to limit

(n) . . . φαμέν ἐν, ὡς ἐπειδὴ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅλη ταῦτα ἔγραψεν. κ. λ. Oecum. T. 2. p. 602. B.

(o) Ib. p. 605. B.

(p) . . . Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ὡρισμένον ἔγραψε πρόσωπον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκκλησίαν τότε τῶν, ὥσπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ μακάριος πέτρος ἀφωρισμένως πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ ἐπιστημαινόμενος ἰσχυροὺς γράφειν· καὶ πρὸς τέτατον θεῖον ἀγκυρῶς ταῖς διδασκαλίαις. . . . ἀλλὰ πᾶσι πιστοῖς κοινὸν ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον ἐκκλησιάζει καὶ μὴ ἐκκλησιάζει, τὸν τῆς προγορεύσεως παρέλιπε λόγον. Id. p. 606. B. 607. A.

limit what the Apostle says to Jewish Christians. And that this Apostle does frequently joyn himself with those, to whom he writes, with a like view to that above mentioned, must be evident to all, who read this epistle with attention. See ch. i. 6. . . . 10. ii. 3. iii. 14. 18. . . . 22.

However for the sake of such as are really inquisitive, I shall here subjoin the note of Occumenius upon those words: *not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.* "This (q) he said, either because he wrote to Jews, and intended to shew, that the benefit of repentance was not restrained to them, but extended to Gentils also: or else, that the promise was not made to the men of that time only, but likewise to all in future times."

IV. St. John's second epistle is thus inscribed: *The Observations upon the second Epistle. Elder to the elect Lady, and her children.* Which has been differently understood by ancients and moderns: whose opinions may be seen in (r) Wolfius, and in Dr. Benson's preface to the second and third epistles of St. John, and briefly in Beza, whom (s) I transcribe below.

Some have hereby understood the Christian Church in general. So (t) Jerome. But that, as Beza well observes in the place just transcribed, is a way of speaking, of which no like instance can be found. And it is inconsistent with what is said in the conclusion of the epistle, where the writer speaks of coming to see her, and sends her the salutations of the children of her elect sister.

Cassiodorus here (u) understood a particular church.

Mr.

(q) Τῆτο δὲ εἶπεν, ἥτοι ὅτι πρὸς ἑδάνας ἔγραφε, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μόνοις ἐκείνοις περιεχέσθῃ τὰ τῆς μετανόιας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ἐξαπλώσῃ τάνυτην· ἥ ὅτι μὴ τοῖς κατ' ἐκείνην καιρὸν ἡ ἐπαγγελία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα πᾶσι. *Occum. in 1. ep. Joann. p. 565.*

(r) *Wolf. Prolegom. in ep. Joann. ii. p. 320 . . . 326.*

(s) *Electæ Dominae.* Nonnulli *Electæ* nomen proprium esse volunt. Quod non probo. Dicendum enim esset κυρία ἐκλεκτή, *Domina Electæ.* Alii hoc nomine volunt Ecclesiam Christianam in genere significari. Quibus repugnat primum, quod hoc dicendi genus sit prorsus inusitatum. Deinde, quod in extremis duobus versibus diserte pollicetur, se ad eam et filios ipsius venturum, additque filiorum sororis salutem, quam et ipsam *electam* vocat. Puto igitur inscriptam esse epistolam præstanti alicui feminæ, quarum nonnullæ ecclesias suis opibus passim sustentabant: et *electam* illam vocari, id est, *eximiam*, addita *Dominæ* appellatione . . . sicut Lucas Theophilum, et Paulus Festum κατέτισον, id est, *potentissimum*, vel *præstantissimum*, compellant. Neque enim ab ejusmodi honestis titulis Christiana Religio abhorret, quatenus quidem justum ac fas est. Perinde est igitur, acsi scriptum esset: *Eximix ac præstanti dignitate Dominæ.* Atenim cur nomen proprium non addidit? Nempe satis inter se noti ac familiares erant. Quamobrem etiam ne nomen quidem suum exprimendum putavit. *Bez. in Joann. ep. secund.*

(t) Legimus in Carminum libro. . . . *Una est columba mea. . . .* Ad quam scribit idem Joannes epistolam: *Senior electæ dominæ, et filiis ejus* *Ad Ageruch. ep. 91. al. 11. T. 4. p. 745.*

(u) Joannes senior, quoniam ætate proventus, *electæ dominæ* scribit ecclesiæ, filiisque ejus, quos sacro fonte genuerat. *Cassiod. in ep. Jo. ii.*

Mr. Whiston (*x*) says: "St. John's second epistle was not writ to a particular Lady, but to a particular church: and, not improbably, to the church of Philadelphia." Which last I take to be said without any good foundation.

Oecumenius, in his comment upon the last verse of this epistle, says: "Hence (*y*) some argue that the epistle was sent not to a woman, but to a church. About which, he says, he does not choose to dispute." But in his introduction, or comment upon the beginning of the epistle, he says, "St. (*z*) John did not scruple to write to a faithful woman: forasmuch as in *Christ Jesus there is neither male, nor female*." And before he speaks (*a*) of this epistle being writ to a particular woman.

In the Adumbrations of Clement of Alexandria, as we now have them in Latin, this (*b*) epistle is said to be writ to a Babylonian woman, or virgin, named Electa.

And of late many learned men, whose (*c*) arguments I place below, choose to read this inscription thus: *To the Lady Electa*, or *Ecclesia*. But in my opinion the conclusion affords an objection. For it is not very likely, that two sisters should both have one and the same name. So it may be sometimes: but very seldom, as I imagine. This was a difficulty with (*d*) Wolfius, and (*e*) Tillemont.

Dr.

(*x*) *As before p. 12.*

(*y*) Διὰ δὲ τῆ προσθήκαι, ἀσπάζεται διὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς σε τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς, βόλονται τινες βεβαιῶν, ὡς ἔπρὸς γυναῖκα ἢ ἐπιστολῇ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ἧς ἔδεν τῷ βελομένῳ διερχεῖσθαι. *Oec. T. 2. p. 612.*

(*z*) Πρὸς δὲ γυναῖκα γράφων πρὶν εἶναι ὑπεσείλατο, ὅτι ἐν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρρεν ἀδὲ ἄρρεν οἶδε. *Ib. p. 606. C.*

(*a*) . . . καθότι καὶ πρεσβύτερον αὐτὸν ἐν ταύταις γράφει καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκα, καὶ ἴτερον γάρον, ἓνα καὶ αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα μίαν. *Id. p. 605. B.*

(*b*) Secunda Joannis epistola, quæ ad virginem scripta est, simplicissima est. Scripta vero est ad quandam Babyloniam Electam nomine. Significat autem electionem ecclesiæ sanctæ. *Clem. A. ad Potter. p. 1011.*

(*c*) Epistola secunda scripta est ad quandam Babyloniam, Electam nomine, ut legas in Adumbrationibus ad hanc epistolam, quæ feruntur sub nomine Clementis Alexandrini. Nomen enim proprium feminæ esse Electam, recte observarunt viri doctissimi, perinde ut ἐκλεκτος viri nomen est apud Herodianum. Eandem Joannes κυρία vocat, quemadmodum Latini feminas honestas vocabant dominas, sive domnas. Et Nazianzenus ep. iv. Κυρία τῇ μητρί. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 5. Tom. 3. p. 343.*

Εκλεκτὴ quoque litera majuscula scribitur apud Wechelium, et in editione R. Stephani, quam secutus est Millius, quamvis ipse eo nomine Christianam feminam indicari existimet. *Wolf. in 2 ep. Jo. p. 323.*

Electus cubicularius fuit Imp. Commodi genere Ægyptius. &c. *Wetsten. ad Joan. ep. 2. p. 729.*

(*d*) Electam proprii nominis vocabulo vix habuerim, per comma 13. ubi matronæ hujus soror itidem ἐκλεκτὴ appellatur. Quod ut illius ætatis moribus non respondet, ita soror illa ἐκλεκτὴ, tanquam Christiana commode vocari poterat. *Wolf. ib. p. 325.*

(*e*) Et on trouve de la difficulté à croire qu' ἐκλεκτὴ en soit un [nom propre] parceque S. Jean. ver. 13. le donne aussi à la soeur de cette dame, n'étant pas ordinaire que deux soeurs aient le même nom: et parcequ'il auroit dû être devant κυρία plutôt qu'après. *S. Jean. l'Evangeliste. note xiv. Mem. T. i.*

Dr. Heumann supposeth, that (f) this woman's name was Kuria, or Kyria, and renders the inscription after this manner: *To the elect Kyria*. Which opinion is embraced by (g) Dr. Benson. But (h) Wolfius is not quite satisfied with it.

Tillemont has observed, that (i) in the Synopsis of Athanasius *κυρία* seems to be taken for a proper name. But that is not clear. The expression is ambiguous, and may be as well rendered: *the (k) Elder writes to a Lady, and her Children*, as to Kyria, and her children. So (l) likewise thought Wolfius.

Before I proceed, I must detain the reader, whilst I observe, that the article of the Synopsis, quoted by Tillemont, is exactly the same with the Hypothesis, or Argument, prefixed to St. John's second epistle in (m) the second tome of Oecumenius. However, I do not suppose it to be really Oecumenius's. I allow it to be a part of the Synopsis, generally thought to have been composed by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria in the fifth centurie, as (p) formerly shewn.

Oecumenius himself seems to me to have supposed, this epistle to have been sent (q) to a Christian woman, whose name is not known. However in one place, in his prologue, he has these expressions: "He (r) calls her *elect*, either from her name, or on account of the excellence of her virtue."

Finally, then, others understand this inscription agreeably to our own translation: *The Elder to the Elect Lady, and her children*. This (s) has hitherto been the common opinion, and is favoured by (t) Beza, (u) Mill, (x) Wall, (y) Wolfius, (z) Le Clerc, and others. And Tillemont in

(f) *Heuman. Poec. T. 2. p. 421. . . . 427. et T. 3. p. 14. Ec.*

(g) *See his Preface to the second and third epistles of St. John. sect. iv.*

(h) Posterius hoc argumentum me etiam adducit, ut nec Cyriæ nomen proprium heic agnoscam. Ita enim Apostolus scripturus erat: *Κυρία τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ*, quemadmodum ver. 1. epistolæ tertię: *Γαίω τῷ ἀγαπητῷ*. Simili scribendi ratione utitur Paulus. Rom. xvi. 5. *Ἀσπάζεσθε ἐκάνειτον τὸν ἀγάπητον μν.* Vid. etiam ib. ver. 8. et 12. et 13. *Wolf. ib. p. 325.*

(i) Neanmoins Saint Athanase met *γαίω* *κυρία*, καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς. par ou il paroist avoir pris le mot de *κυρία* pour un nom propre. *Mem. Ec. T. i. S. Jean l'Evangeliste. note xiv.*

(k) *Ταύτην ὡς παρθεύουσαν γαίω κυρία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς. Athen. Synops. S. S. T. 2. p. 190. ed. Bened.*

(l) Mihi quidem id ex phrasi ista non admodum liquet. *Wolf. ib. p. 323.*

(m) *Occum. T. 2. p. 603.*

(p) *See ch. lxxv. num. x. Vol. 8. p. 240. . . . 242.*

(q) *Δύο δὲ τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ ταύτῃ ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ. κ. λ. Oecum. Tom. 2. p. 606. D.*

(r) *Ἐκλεκτὴν δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀνόματος, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν φιλοτιμίας καλεῖ. Id. p. 606. B.*

(s) Alii utramque vocem pro appellativa habent, matronæque nomen simili silentio tectum censent, quo suum Joannes ipse textit. Hæc communior fere est sententia. *Wolf. ib. p. 324.*

(t) *See before note (s) p. 468.* (u) *Prolegom. num. 151.*

(x) *Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 378.* (y) *Ubi supra. p. 306.*

(z) Quoique ce mot puisse être un nom propre . . . il est assez vraisemblable, que c'est ici un nom appellatif, qui signifie, que c'estoit une Dame Chrétienne, à qui S. Jean écrivoit, et qui étoit connue à ceux qui lui devoient rendre cette lettre, &c. *Le Clerc, Remarques sur la 2. ep. de S. Jean.*

in the place before referred to says: "The second epistle of St. John is inscribed to *ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ*. St. Jerome translates the word *κυρία*, by *Dominæ, Lady*. And it is difficult to translate otherwise in the fifth verse, where St. John repeats the same word.

It is not easy for me to decide in such a variety of opinions, each one of which is supported by great patrons. The arguments for a proper name, either of *Eclecta*, or *Kyria*, are plausible, and specious. But it is an objection of some moment, that this notion was little, if at all known to the ancients. If it had, they would not have supposed, that St. John here writes to the church of Christ, in general, or to some Christian church in particular. The Latin Adumbrations of Clement of Alexandria, as they are called, are not very material. The passage of the Synopsis, quoted by Tillemont, is ambiguous. Oecumenius has just mentioned the opinion, that *Eclecta* might be the name of the person to whom St. John wrote. But he does not seem to adhere to it, as has been observed by (a) Estius. Nor is there any notice taken of this interpretation by Jerome, or Cassiodorus, or Bede, authors in which it would be very likely to be found, if it had been known in ancient times. And why it should not have been known, if there is any foundation for it, would not be easily shewn. That Jerome did not take *κυρία* to be a proper name, appears not only from the Latin version of this epistle, but likewise from his book of the Interpretation of Hebrew names: where, as formerly (b) observed, there are no proper names collected out of the second epistle of St. John, though there are out of his other two epistles, and indeed from all the seven Catholic Epistles, excepting only this one of St. John's second epistle.

V. The third epistle of St. John is thus inscribed: *The Elder to the beloved Gaius*. There (c) seem to be two of this name mentioned in the Acts, and St. Paul's epistles. In the disturbance at Ephesus, it is said: *Having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre*. Acts xix. 29. And among the same Apostle's fellow-travellers,

Upon the Third.

(a) *Eclecta*. Non liquet, an hoc sit nomen proprium mulieris, ad quam scribitur epistola, an commune. Id quod potius existimandum videtur: quoniam in fine epistolæ etiam foror ejus vocatur *eclecta*. Non solent autem in eadem familia duæ proles esse cognomines. Poffe sumi tanquam commune, Oecumenius sua expositione ostendit, et recte. . . . Videtur fuisse mulier nobilis sive genere, sive opibus. . . . Alioqui poterat vocare filiam. . . . Sed moris est apud bene moratas gentes, infirmiore sexum titulis et aliis decentibus modis honorare. *Ess. in Joann. ep. ii. ver. 1.*

(b) See Vol. x. p. 78.

(c) Gaius quidam inter comites ejus nominatur in tumultu Ephesino. Act. xix. 29. qui Derbæus videtur dici Act. xx. 4. Habebat etiam Corinthi hospitem Gaium. Rom. xvi. 23. quem ipse baptizaverat. 1 Cor. i. 14. An hi sint iidem inter se aut cum Gaio Joannis, quis discipiet? Beda, Pseudo-Dexter, Lyranus, alique, affirmant. . . . Id quoque novum procreare dubium potest, quod Gaius Paulinus Corinthi sedem ac domicilium habuerit, noster vero proculdubio in Asia habitaverit, brevi ab Apostolo visitandus, de cujus extra Asiam post excessum Neronis itineribus tota antiquitas silet. *Lampe Proleg. in Joan. l. 1. cap. 7. num. xii.*

travellers, who accompanied him in his journey toward Jerusalem, is mentioned Gaius of Derbe. xx. 4. There is another Gaius, who appears to have been an inhabitant of Corinth. 1 Cor. i. 14. Rom xvi. 23. I see no reason to think, that Gaius, or Caius, to whom St. John writes, was one of them. He seems to have been an eminent Christian, who lived in some city of Asia, not far from Ephesus, where St. John chiefly resided, after his leaving Judea. For at ver. 14. the Apostle speaks of *shortly coming to him*. Which he could not well do, if Caius lived at Corinth, or any other remote place. Grotius thought him to be a good Christian, who (*d*) lived in one of the churches, or cities mentioned in the Revelation.

Mr. Whiston (*e*) supposes Caius to have been Bishop of Pergamos. Mill (*f*) was inclined to be of the same opinion. But this is said only upon the ground of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, which in this case are of no authority at all.

Dr. Heumann (*g*) in his Commentarie upon this epistle of St. John has some curious and uncommon observations. He (*g*) does not choose to trouble himself with inquiring, who Caius was: the knowledge of which, he thinks, would be of no great use. It is sufficient, that we know him to have been a good Christian. Nevertheless he appears to slight the opinion, just mentioned, that (*h*) he was Bishop of Pergamos. And he argues likewise, that (*i*) he is different from those of the same name, mentioned in the Acts, or St. Paul's epistles. And indeed it cannot be thought strange, that in the times of the Apostles, there were several Christians of this name: which seems to have been as common a name among the Greeks and Romans, as any name whatever.

Dr. Heumann says, that (*k*) Diotrephes, mentioned by St. John ver. 9. and said, to *love to have the pre-eminence*, was not a Heathen Magistrate, nor a heretic, nor a Bishop, but a Deacon in the church, to which he belonged. Upon which I observe.

It was easy to shew, that Diotrephes was not an Heathen Magistrate.

Dr. Heumann seems likewise to have proved, that (*l*) Diotrephes was not an heretic. For, as he argues, if Diotrephes had been a corrupter of the

(*d*) Vixit hic Caius in aliqua ecclesiarum, quarum mentio in Apocalypsi. Grot. in 3 ep. Joan. ver. 1.

(*e*) Commentarie upon St. John's Epistles. p. 14. 15. 16.

(*f*) Alteram vero illam ad Gaium, ecclesiæ Pergamenæ Episcopum, ab ipso Joanne (si quid Apostolicarum Constitutionum auctori credimus,) ordinatum. Mill. Prol. num. 152.

(*g*) Commentarius in Joan. Ap. epistolam tertiam. Ap. Nov. Syllog. Dissertation. P. i. p. 276. . . . 328.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 277.

(*i*) Millius, Constitutionibus Apostolicis credulus, Caium hunc ecclesiæ Pergamenæ Episcopum scribit in Prolegomenis suis ad N. T. Eandem amplexum esse sententiam Guil. Whistonum in suo in hanc epistolam commentario, quis mirabitur? Ib. p. 277. in notis.

(*j*) P. 277. 278.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 306. 307.

(*l*) Nunc ille Diotrephes quis fuerit, investigandum venit. Erasmus *novæ hæresis auctorem* vocat in Paraphrasi. Ac ita jam olim sensit Beda. . . . Verum recte Buddeus hanc sententiam respuit. Quod si enim corruptor doctrinæ apostolicæ

the true Christian doctrine, it would have been the duty of the Apostle, to caution Christians against familiar converse with him: in like manner as he does in the tenth and eleventh verses of his second epistle. Moreover, in that case, the Apostle would have signified his errors, and would have directed men to beware of the leaven of Diotrephes. But this he has not done. He only reproves his pride, want of hospitality, and a perverse contempt, not of the Apostle's doctrine, but of his direction for receiving strangers. He also quotes (*m*) Calovius, as speaking to the like purpose.

And the late Mr. Mosheim, who, as I suppose, had not seen Dr. Heumann's Dissertations, and gives a very different account of this epistle, in several respects, allows, that (*n*) Diotrephes was not a heretic. So likewise argued Lampe (*o*) before either of them.

But I cannot say, that Dr. Heumann has proved, Diotrephes not to have been a Bishop. For I think, that every thing said of him in this epistle implies his being President, or chief director of things in the church, to which Caius belonged. However, we will consider his arguments.

In the first place he says, the (*p*) principal reason, why learned men have thought Diotrephes to be a Bishop, is because they have understood those words at ver. 10. *and casteth them out of the church*, of excommunication. But those words, he says, are capable of another sense. They seem rather to mean, that by ill treatment he forced those strangers to leave the church, to which they had applied for relief, and to go elsewhere.

But

apostolicæ fuisset Diotrephes, Apostoli fuisset avocare Christianos a familiari cum ipso consuetudine: id quod fecit hæreticis in secundæ suæ epistolæ versu decimo et undecimo. Fuisset item Apostoli, notare ipsius errores, et, ut a fermento Diotrephitis caveatur, præcipere. Jam yero id non facit, sed superbiam duntaxat ejus notat, et inhospitalitatem, et protervam non doctrinæ Joannis, sed præcepti ejus de liberalitate in pios exules exercenda, contentionem. *Ib. p. 302. 303.*

(*m*) Etiam Calovius ad h. l. hac de causa negat, Diotraphen fuisse hæreticum. *Si hæreticus fuisset*, inquit, *gravius sine dubio acturus adversus eum, et Caium, aliosque, de seductione ipsius cavenda moniturus fuisset Joannes.* Quod argumentum accepit a Cornelio a Lapide, cujus pene omnes sunt annotationes, quas ad hanc Joannis epistolam exhibet Calovius. *Heuman. ib. p. 303. note (z).*

(*n*) Nullam igitur Diotrephes religionis dogmatibus injuriam inferebat, sed iniquus tantum erat, et ultra modum rigidus dignitatis suæ custos. *Mosheim. de Reb. Christianor. p. 176. 177.*

(*o*) De causa rixæ et contentionis inter Diotraphen et Joannem in diversâ abeunt interpretes. Bartholomæus Petri: *Credibile est*, inquit, *fuisse quempiam ex illis Judeis titulo tenus Christianis, qui Christi fidem ita suscipiendam putabant, ut simul servaretur lex ceremonialis Moysi . . .* Sed optime observat Calovius, si Joannes id innuisset, quod tum sine dubio acturus adversus eundem, et Caium aliosque de seductione ipsius cavenda moniturus esset. Nullius sane dogmatis, sed factorum tantum perverforum Diotrephes inculatur. *Lampe. Prol. l. 1. cap. 7. §. xiv.*

(*p*) Alii igitur Diotraphen fuisse illius ecclesiæ episcopum crediderunt, hoc potissimum usi argumento, quod excommunicasse scibatur pios exules. Verum infra docebimus, *ejicere ex ecclesia*, hic non esse excommunicare, atque adeo affingi Diotraphi excommunicationem judicio præcipiti. *Ib. p. 303.*

But granting this interpretation to be right; Diotrephes might nevertheless be Bishop. For that ill treatment might be owing to an abuse of his episcopal power and authority.

Again, says Dr. Heumann, the (q) fault of Diotrephes lay in seeking pre-eminence. Which shews, he was not Bishop. For then, he would have had pre-eminence. Nor does a man seek what he has already.

But I cannot perceive that observation to be very material. For a Bishop may shew improper love of power and pre-eminence by arbitrarie proceedings in the society over which he presides, and by an arrogant behaviour toward neighboring Bishops or Superintendents, his equals, and perhaps, in some respects his superiors.

Finally not to take notice of any other arguments of this kind, Dr. Heumann thinks, that (r) Diotrephes was Deacon, and had the charge of the stock or treasure of the church, to which he belonged, and therefore he was not Bishop.

But neither do I see the force of this argument. For Diotrephes might have the disposal of the church-stock, and yet be Bishop. For in ancient times it was a part of the Bishop's office and care, to see, that the revenues of the church were managed, and disposed to the best advantage. This appears from (s) Justin Martyr, and (t) Cyprian. They who desire

(q) *Ac vel verbum φιλοπρωτεύων demonstrat nobis, eum haud fuisse Episcopum. Episcopus enim est ὁ πρωτεύων in ecclesia. Atqui quod quis jam habet, non expetit. Ib. p. 303. 304.*

(r) Jam cum clarissime cognoscamus, nec hæreticum, nec episcopum, nec presbyterum, nec ethnicum scilicet reipublicæ rectorem, fuisse Diotrephen, via satis aperta est ad personam ejus inveniendam. Statim enim mentem nostram hæc subit quæstio: An forte fuit illius ecclesiæ diaconus, hoc est, bonorum ecclesiasticorum administrator? Hoc enim officium certis hominibus jam initio Christianæ Ecclesiæ demandatum fuisse, ex Act. vi. notum est. Ac sane facilis nunc et perspicuus nobis videtur totus hic locus noster. Præerat scilicet ærario ecclesiastico Diotrephes. Erat ejus pauperibus inde erogare pecunias. Advenas autem fratres ideo non sublevabat, quod vix ecclesiæ illius pauperibus alendis satis videretur suppetere. Id causatus alio discedere, aliorum auxilium implorare jubebat: imo dum nihil ipsis suppeditabat, cogebat hoc ipso eos ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ex illa ecclesia, excedere, atque ita erat ἐξάλλων αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Erant, qui exulibus his ex ærario dari aliquid volebant. Verum non audiebat hos providus scilicet œconomus, sed suam sequi sententiam cupiebat ceteros Christianos omnes. Atque ita erat φιλοπρωτεύων (sive ut Petrus loquitur, κατακυριεύων) αὐτῶν. Quid? Tam prudens et justus sibi videbatur œconomus, ut ne Joannis quidem Apostoli præcepto morem gereret, ratus scilicet, eum, si hic esset, ærarii-que rationes haberet cognitatas, aliter sensurum. Bonum doctorem esse Joannem, non negabat: bonum eum esse œconomum, prudentemque in politicis rebus consiliatorem, id vero negabat. Imo eo temeritatis provehebat, ut ludicra maledicta effutiret in virum sanctissimum, et fortasse senem appellaret, cetera quidem summe venerabilem, sed hoc certe in genere delirum. Ib. p. 306. 307.

(s) *Οἱ ἐυπρόεστες δὲ καὶ βεβλόμενοι, κατὰ περιστάσεων ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὃ ἐτίθεται δίδωσι καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προϊστάτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπικερὶ ὀφθαλοῖς τε καὶ χήραις. . . καὶ τοῖς παρεπίδημοις ὕπτι ξένοις. κ. λ. Απολ. 2. p. 99. A. Pær. 1636.*

(t) . . . et stipendia ejus Episcopo dispensante perciperent. Cyp. ep. 41. al. 38.

fire to see more proofs, may consult (u) Bingham. Since then we allow, Diotrophes to have had a right to concern himself in the disposal of the church-stock, it need not affect Dr. Heumann's main argument, whether he was Bishop, or Deacon.

To me, then, it seems, that Diotrophes was Bishop in this church, and that Caius was a man in a private station, of good substance, and a liberal disposition. St. John says, ver. 9. *I wrote unto the church*: or rather (x) I would have writ unto the church, and at the same time to Diotrophes: *But Diotrophes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence, receiveth us not.* For that reason St. John sent this letter to Caius.

Let us now consider what was the case, to which St. John refers in this epistle, and what was the fault of Diotrophes. Concerning this there have been various sentiments of learned men. Grotius supposed (y) these strangers here spoken of to be believing Jews, whom Diotrophes, a Gentil, would not receive, because they were Jews, or because they were for joining the rites of the law with Christianity. To the like purpose (z) Le Clerc, and (a) Beausobre. This opinion is much disliked by (b) Dr. Heumann. Mr. Mosheim (c) likewise argues against it, as an opinion, quite destitute of foundation in antiquity.

Others think, that Diotrophes was a Jew, and zealous for the law, and that he would not receive these strangers, converts from among the Gentils, because they did not take upon them the observation of the rites and ceremonies of the law of Moses. This opinion is mentioned by (d) Lampe. But he argues well against it.

And

(u) *Antiquities of the Christian Church. B. i. ch. iv. sect. 6.*

(x) *Scriptissem forsitan ecclesiæ. Vulgat. Vid. et Cleric. H. E. A. D. 92. num. ii. Vid. et Grot. in loc.*

(y) *Is vero ex illo erat hominum genere, qui Judæos, quanquam Christum professos, si legis ritus observabant, (quod in Judæa Christiani faciebant ad hæc usque tempora, ut Sulpicius nos docet) ad suos cætus non admittebant. Grot. in ep. 3. ver. 9.*

(z) *Nolebat autem Christianos circumcisos ab incircumcisis, seu Gentilibus, in ecclesiam admitti. Cleric. ib.*

(a) *Son nom est Grec. Ce qui fait juger, qu'il étoit Payen d'origine, et c'est peut-être pour cela qu'il ne vouloit pas qu'on reçut Chrétiens d'entre les Juifs, fort méprisés par les Gentils. Pref. sur ii. et. iii. ep. de S. Jean. p. 585. Voyez aussi la remarque sur. P. ep. iii. ver. 9.*

(b) *Heuman. ubi supr. p. 303. not. (a).*

(c) *Eam (causam) viri docti quærent in conditione eorum, quos beneficiis et amore ecclesiæ excludebat. Diotrephen nempe suspicantur origine fuisse Ethnicum, illos vero quod recipere nolebat Judæos. Ex quo efficiunt, infitum Ethnicorum animis contentum Judæorum tantum apud eum potuisse, ut sanctissimum amoris præceptum violaret. In hac conjectura, ut verum fatear, nihil est, quo moveri queat aliquis consideratus et rerum Christianarum non imperitus. Nam, ut omittam, omnibus eam præsidii destitutam esse, si nomen Diotrephis excipias, quod Græcum est. . . ut taceam, nusquam aliquid memoriæ proditum exstare, unde pateat, tam immani Judæorum odio et despicientiâ Christianos ex Græcis flagrasse, ut in fratribus eos habere nollent, et omni amoris fructu spoliarent. &c. Mosheim. de Reb. Christian. ante Const. M. p. 175.*

(d) *See before, p. 473. note (o).*

And indeed both these opinions were confuted before, when we shewed, that Diotrephes was not an heretic, or that there is no reason to think him so.

It has been of late a common opinion among learned men, that (e) St. John here speaks of some, particularly Jews, who had gone out into the world, to propagate the Christian Religion. Who had acted upon a generous and disinterested principle, refusing to take any thing from those, among whom they labored, and whom they had converted to the Christian faith. And they think, that St. John commends Caius for encouraging such teachers, and blames Diotrephes for not receiving and helping them. But that opinion appears to me without foundation. For I see nothing that should lead us to think preachers here spoken of, but only strangers in want.

Ver. 5. *Beloved*, says St. John to Caius, *thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren, and to strangers*: “that is, to the members of the church to which he belonged, and to strangers, who came to the city, where he dwelt: whom he had received civilly, and courteously, and relieved generously, if they were in want.”

Ver. 6. *Which have borne witness of thy charity before the church*. “Some such persons, or some members of that church, had been at the place where St. John resided. And before the church they declared his good temper and liberality.” *Whom if thou bring forward on their journey, after a godly sort, thou shalt do well*. “And it will be very commendable in you, if after this any other such persons should come to your city, you shall act in a like manner to them also, receiving them kindly, and forwarding them in their way. This will be very becoming your Christian profession.”

Ver. 7. *Because that for his name's sake they went forth taking nothing of the Gentils*.

We learn from Bede, that (f) there were in ancient times two interpretations of these words. “For the name of Christ they went forth to preach the Gospel. Or, for the faith of Christ, and the profession of his name they had left their native country, or had been expelled from it.” This (g) is the sense, for which Dr. Heumann contends, and therefore often calls these strangers *exils*.

He

(e) Tertiam epistolam scripsit Gaio cuidam. . . . Hominis liberalitatem laudat, qui præcones quosdam evangelicos, e Judæa gente, qui a Gentilibus nihil accipere voluerant, opibus suis adjuvisset. *Cleric. ubi supr.*

Diotrephen duplici nomine S. Joannes objurgat: primum ideo, quod imperium sibi arrogaret in ecclesia . . . deinde propterea quod durum se ac inhumanum fratribus bene de religione Christiana promeritis exhiberet. Egressi erant quidam ex cœtu, cujus membrum Diotrephes erat, ad propagandum inter vicinas gentes religionem Christianam. &c. *Mosheim. ib. p. 175.*

(f) Duabus autem ex causis pro nomine Domini sunt profecti, aut ad prædicandum videlicet nomen ejus proprie sponte venientes, aut propter nominis sancti fidem et confessionem a civibus seu contribulibus suis patriâ expulsi. *Bede. in 3. Joan. Ep.*

(g) Nam exules illi Christiani e patria sua cum egressi sunt, nihil quicquam suorum bonorum acceperunt ab hostibus suis Ethnicis, sed coacti sunt abire sine ullo vitæ subsidio. *Heumann. ubi supr. p. 327.*

He supposeth these strangers to have been Gentil converts, who had forsaken their native country, or had been driven out of it, destitute of all things.

However this place may be understood partly otherwise: "That we, who are Christians, ought to help these strangers in their difficulty, especially because they have not sought for relief among unbelieving Gentils: though some even of them might have been disposed to give them assistance."

Grotius (*b*) explains the place in that manner. The same sense is likewise in Estius. Whose (*i*) note upon this text I shall now transcribe at large, it being well suited to illustrate this epistle.

Ver. 8. *We therefore ought to receive such, that we might be fellow-helpers to the truth.* "It should be an allowed maxim, that we are to shew kindness to such: otherwise we do not act the part of Christians, who ought to encourage those who have a zeal for truth."

Ver. 9. *I wrote to the church. Or I should have writ to the church, and therein to Diotrephes. But Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not.* "I know, he would not pay a regard to my directions."

Ver. 10. *Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his deeds, which he does.* That is "I (*k*) will remind him of his actions, and reprove, and admonish him, in order to his amendment, of which I do not despair," *prating against us with malicious words.* He proceeded so far as to speak of the Apostle in a petulant manner. Perhaps, he said, that though St. John did well in giving out general rules for the practice of piety; yet he had no right to intermeddle in particular cases, concerning which every one should

(*b*) Μηδὲν λαμβάνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἑθνῶν. . . . In manuscripto ἀπὸ τῶν ἑθνικῶν. . . Potuerant in ista calamitate adjuvari misericordiā τῶν ἕξω, extraneorum. Sed maluerunt omnia Christianis debere. Grot. ad ver. 7. Nos ergo. Nos Christiani ubique locorum ὀφείλομεν ἀπολαμβάνειν. . . . Manuscriptus, ὑπολαμβάνειν τοιούτους: id vero est, opitulari. Id. ad ver. 8.

(*i*) Quod ait Apostolus, *istos profectos pro nomine Jesu Christi*, potest bifariam exponi, ait Beda, videlicet, aut ut prædicaturi evangelium ejus sponte sint profecti ad Gentiles convertendos, aut ut propter fidem et confessionem nominis Christi per Contribules suos patriā fuerint expulsi. Similiter, quod sequitur, *nihil accipientes a gentibus*, ambiguum est, an de gentibus ad fidem Christi jam conversis accipiendum sit, an de nondum conversis. Et uterque sensus sua nititur probabilitate. Illo modo sensus est, quod hi quamvis annuntiassent, et deinceps forent annuntiaturi gentibus evangelium seu fidem Christi, essentque jam complures gentilium eorum prædicatione conversi, nihil tamen ab iis exigere, vel accipere voluerint necessariæ sustentationis, hac scilicet de causa, ne quod offendiculum darent evangelio Christi. . . . De gentibus autem non conversis si sermo sit, tunc significatur, quod isti peregrini, quamvis egerent, quæcumque tantum ex causā, nihil tamen ab hujusmodi gentilibus accipere, nedum petere, voluerint: ne ii scandalizarentur, et longius a Christiana religione averterentur. Dixissent enim: Ecce nulla est charitas inter Christianos. . . . Utraque expositio bene probabilis est. Nec satis liquet, utra sit præferenda. *Est. in 3. Joan. ver. 7.*

(*k*) Certe nihil aliud sibi vult Apostolus, quam se more suo mollissimum placidissimumque in modum admonitum esse Diotrephen peccati sui, recitæque cum revocaturum in viam. *Heuman. ibid. p. 309.*

should judge for himself. *And not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the church.* "Nor is that all. For he not only refuses to receive and entertain these brethren, but he also discourages those who would relieve and entertain them. And thus he obligeth these strangers to leave your church, and go elsewhere."

By these last words most interpreters understand, St. John to say, that Diotrephes excommunicated, or cast out of the church, *the brethren*, members of it, who were for receiving these strangers. But Dr. Heumann says, that (l) by the persons whom Diotrephes cast out of the church, must be understood these strangers, not the members of the church. For, as plainly appears, Caius was not excommunicated, though he had done what was opposed by Diotrephes. Nor need it be supposed, that all the strangers here spoken of were obliged to leave that place, or society. Diotrephes, it is true, discouraged their reception, and some might remove elsewhere. Others of them, however, might continue their abode there, encouraged by Caius, and some other pious members of this church, who did not submit to the reasons, or the orders of Diotrephes.

In this interpretation it is supposed, that *casting out of the church* refers not to the persons last mentioned, who would receive these strangers, but to *the strangers* whom Diotrephes would not have to be received. And Beausobre says, the (m) place may be so understood. Dr. Heumann blames him for not saying, that (n) it ought to be so understood.

There

(l) Universi videlicet, qui hanc tractarunt epistolam, sibi persuaserunt; describi his verbis illud pænæ ecclesiasticæ genus, quod excommunicatio vocari solet. Facile quidem poterat hic error agnosci. Nam primo, Caium, id, quod fieri volebat Diotrephes, facientem, ab ipso non fuisse excommunicatum, in propatulo est. . . . Sed age, rem totam intueamur propius. Initio igitur considerandum, quosnam ecclesiâ ejecerit Diotrephes. Ab omnibus, si Beausobrium excipimus, hoc refertur ad propinquius, τὰς βελομένους, hoc est, eos, qui volebant exules hospitio excipere. Cum vero jam graves attulimus causas, cur non credi possit hos excommunicatione ejecisse ecclesiâ, sequitur, ut statuamus, hæc verba, ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐβάλλει, pertinere ad remotius, ad fratres exules. His scilicet, dum nec ipse ex ærario aliquid impertiebat, et aliis, quoque, ut nihil iplis darent, suadebat ac persuadebat, hoc ipso migrare eos cogebat alio, atque ita *e sua expellebat ecclesiâ*. Non erat igitur nostro loco necesse excommunicationem tribuere Diotrephi. Sed satis evidens est, id eum effecisse, quod omissam priorum exulum receptionem necessario consequeretur, ut videlicet exirent ecclesiâ, aliamque peterent, opum pariter et misericordiæ abundantiorē. . . . Apparet hinc etiam facile, cum volentes exulum misereri πάλαιν hic dicitur Diotrephes, non credi eum debere id vetuisse pro imperio, sed allatis duntaxat causis, cur fieri id non oportebat, multos ab hoc pietatis officio revocasse. . . . Atque hoc ipsum nos admonet, verbo, ἐβάλλειν, non necessario significari, omnes illos exules revera abire coactos, sed id etiam recte usurpari de conatu Diotrephis id efficiendi. *Heuman. ibid.* p. 310. . . . 313.

(m) *Les chasse de Peglise.* Cela se peut rapporter ou aux freres, ou à ceux qui les recoivent, ou aux uns et aux autres. *Sur. ver. 10.*

(n) Hic enim in Gallica sua N. T. versione animadvertit, hæc verba etiam ad remotius referri posse, hoc est, ad fratres exules. Debebat vero indulgere meditationi, nec id relinquere dubium et incertum. *Heum. ib.* p. 311. note (p).

There have been various conjectures of learned men concerning the reasons of Diotrephes's conduct, which I do not choose to take notice of now. Dr. Heumann supposeth, that Diotrephes had the disposal of the revenues of the church. There came to the place strangers, who needed relief. But Diotrephes opposed the distribution of any of the common stock, and also discouraged such, as were willing to assist them with their own. For all which, as may be supposed, he assigned some reasons. This appears to me to have been the whole of the affair.

But whether these strangers were Jews, or Gentils, I cannot say. There might be some of both. Grotius (*o*) and Lampe (*p*) think, they were Jews, who had been driven out of Palestine, or had been reduced to want by the general and grievous calamity of that country, and had come into Asia with hopes of relief, and for the sake of a settlement. Heumann, as before seen, says they were Gentils. For certain they were Christians. And St. John, I think, says, that we ought to receive such, whether they be of Jewish or Gentil stock, *that we may be fellow-helpers to the truth*: "that we also may serve the interests of truth, for the sake of which these persons have suffered the loss of all things."

Ver. 11. *Beloved, follow not that which is evil, but that which is good.* Here the Apostle exhorts Caius to persist in his good conduct, and to be upon his guard, not to be influenced by any bad examples.

In the 12. verse he recommends to him Demetrius, by whom, as may be supposed, this letter was carried.

In the 13. and 14. verses he sends salutations, and speaks again of coming to the place where Caius dwelled, and of *speaking with him face to face*. Which I suppose he did.

And I please myself with the supposition that his journey was not in vain. I imagine, that Diotrephes submitted, and acquiesced in the advices and admonitions of the Apostle. Of this I have no certain assurance. However I may add: that neither does any one else know the contrarie.

VI. Concerning the time of writing these two epistles nothing can be said with certainty. Mill (*q*) placeth them about the same time with the first, in 91. or 92. Whiston (*r*) likewise supposeth, that they were all three writ about the year 82. or 83. I imagine that St. John was somewhat advanced in age, and that he had resided a good while in Asia, before he wrote any of these epistles. Consequently, I am disposed to think, that these two were not writ sooner than the first. And as it was before (*s*) argued, that the first epistle was writ about the year 80. these two may be reckoned to have been writ between the years 80 and 90.

When they were writ.

(*o*) Ὑπὲρ τῶ ἀνόμωτος αὐτῶ ἐξῆλθον· id est, a Judæa, ejecti sunt per Judæos incredulos ob Christum. *Grot. ad ver. 7.*

(*p*) Unde collegimus, peregrinos hos, quorum causam Joannes tam impense egit, fuisse Judæos ex Palæstina cum eo profugos, qui pro se aliisque per totalem regionis illius devastationem ad summam egestatem redactis, opem ecclesiarum Asiæ florentium implorabant. *Lamp. Proleg. l. 1. c. 7. num. xvi.*

(*q*) *Proleg. num. 151.* (*r*) *As before. p. 463.* (*s*) *See above. p. 465.*

C H A P. XXI.

St. JUDE, and his Epistle.

I. *His Historie.* II. *Testimonies to the Genuinnesse of the Epistle.* III. *To whom it was sent.* IV. *The Time, when it was writ.*

His Historie.

I. **T**HE writer describes himself in this manner at the beginning of the epistle ch. i. ver. i. *Jude (a) the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James.* Those two characters lead us to think, that he was one of those called the Lord's brethren, and that he was an Apostle. Our Lord's brethren, as enumerated in Matt. xiii. 55. are *James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas.* In Mark vi. 3. *James, and Joses, and Judas, and Simon.* And in the catalogues of the Apostles are these, Matt. x. 3 *James the son of Alphaeus, and Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus.* Simon the Canaanite. Mark. iii. 18. *James the son of Alphaeus, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Canaanite.* Luke vi. 15. 16. *James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James.* Acts. i. 13. *James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James.*

Thus he appears to have been sometimes called Judas, at other times Thaddeus, or Lebbeus. As I do not inquire into the meaning and origin of these names, I refer to (b) others. I only observe, that it was no uncommon thing among the Jews, for a man to have different names, as Simon, sometimes called Simeon, at other times Peter, or Cephas. And Thomas was also called Dydimus.

Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ. He does not thereby deny himself to be an Apostle. St. Paul does not always take upon himself that character, at the beginning of his epistles. It is wanting in his two epistles to the Thessalonians, in the epistles to the Philippians, and to Philemon. The epistle to the Philippians begins in this manner. *Paul and Timothee, servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus, which are at Philippi.*

It follows. *And brother of James:* meaning James, sometimes called the Lord's brother, and son of Alphaeus, one of the twelve Apostles. And he does fitly so stile himself, as that James was the eldest brother, and was of note among the Apostles, after our Saviour's ascension, and in great repute among the Jewish believers. As appears from Acts xii. 17. xv. xxi. 18. . . . 25. and Gal. i. 19. ii. 9.

We have no account of Jude's vocation to the apostleship. Nor is there any thing said of him particularly in the Gospels, except what is related in John xiv. 21. 22. 23. in the account, which that Evangelist has given of our Lord's most excellent and affectionate discourses with
the

(a) *Ἰέδας, ἰσοῦ χριστοῦ δούλος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἰακώβου.*

(b) See Lightfoot's *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon St. Matthew.* Vol. 2. p. 176. *Witsii Comm. in ep. Jude. num. ii.* *Cave's Life of St. Jude, in English.* *Dr. Benson's Preface to this Epistle. Sect. i.*

the disciples a short time before his last sufferings. *He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me. And he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father. And I will love him, and will manifest myself to him. Judas saith unto him, not Iscariot: Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself to us, and not unto the world! Jesus answered, and said unto him: If a man love me, he will keep my words. And my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.*

This disciple still had the common prejudice concerning the kingdom of the Messiah. And he asks our Saviour with surprize, how he could speak of manifesting himself to a few only, when he was about to set up an universal monarchie in great power and splendour? Our Lord tells him, (what he might have known before,) that this kingdom, as Messiah, was spiritual, a kingdom of truth and righteousness: and that the blessings and privileges of it were peculiar to good men, who obeyed the precepts of true religion, which had been taught by him. Such would be accepted, and approved by himself, and by his heavenly Father, in whose name he had spoken. This they would all know, when he should come again among them, after his resurrection, and when the gift of the Spirit should be bestowed upon them, and others his followers.

As there is little said of Jude in the historie of our Saviour before his resurrection, so St. Luke in the Acts has inserted nothing particularly concerning him after it. However it is unquestionable, that he partook of the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost at the Pentecost next after our Lord's ascension: and that he joyned with the other Apostles in bearing an open testimonie to our Lord's resurrection at Jerusalem: and that he had a share with them in the reproaches and other sufferings, which they endured upon that account.

It may be also reasonably supposed, that for a while he preached the gospel in several parts of the land of Israel, and wrought miracles in the name of Christ. But what they were, we cannot say, because they are not recorded by St. Luke, nor any other credible historian near the time.

As his life seems to have been prolonged, it may be also reckoned very likely, that he afterwards left Judea, and went abroad, preaching the gospel to Jews and Gentils in other countreys. But we have no account of his travels, that can be relied on. Some have said, that he preached in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia: and that he suffered martyrdom in this last mentioned country. But of these things there remains not any credible historie.

Indeed it may be questioned, whether St. Jude was a martyr. It was formerly observed by (c) us, that Heracleon, a learned Valentinian, as cited by Clement of Alexandria, reckons (d) among Apostles, who had not died by martyrdom, Matthew, Philip, Thomas, and Levi. And it was then said, that by Levi, Heracleon, probably, meant Lebbeus, that

is,

(c) See p. 33. not. (B)

(d) Οὐ γὰρ πάντες οἱ σωζόμενοι ὁμολόγησαν τὴν διὰ τῆς Φωνῆς ὁμολογίαν, καὶ ἐξῆλθον· ἐξ ὧν ματθαῖος, φίλιππος, θωμᾶς, λευὶς καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. *Heracleon. ap. Clem. A. Str. l. 4. p. 502.*

is, Judas. Which is allowed by (e) Dodwell, and some other learned writers, to whom he then referred. Nor does Jerome, in his article of St. Jude, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, say any thing of his having died a Martyr.

Jerome, in his commentarie upon the tenth chapter of St. Matthew, where is the catalogue of the Apostles, says, "that (f) the Apostle Thaddeus, called by the Evangelist Luke, *Jude the brother of James*, was sent to Edessa to Agbarus King of Osroëne." But Eusebius, in his account of that affair, says, "that (g) Thomas, one of the twelve, sent to Edessa Thaddeus, one of Christ's seventy disciples, to preach the gospel in those countreys." And in the preceding (b) chapter, where he speaks of Christ's seventy disciples, he reckons Thaddeus, who went to Edessa, one of them. Whence it came to pass, that Jerome called him an Apostle, and reckoned him one of the twelve, is (i) not easie to say. But I imagine, that what he says in his Commentarie upon St. Matthew, is an in-accuracie; owing to his writing in haste. This conjecture receives confirmation hence, that in the article of St. Jude, in the catalogue above mentioned, he says nothing of that journey.

Before I proceed any farther, I must take notice of (k) a Dissertation of the learned Theodore Haseus: in which he argues, that Judas, called Lebbeus, and Thaddeus, is the same as Levi, of whose call St. Mark ch. ii. 13. . . 17. and St. Luke ch. v. 27. . . 32. give an account.

He supposeth, that St. Matthew ch. ix. 9. . . 13. gives an account of his own call to be an Apostle, and that St. Mark and St. Luke give an account of the call of another Publican, named Levi, or Lebbeus, or Judas.

Upon which I observe.

1. That is a very forced interpretation. The whole historie, and all the circumstances of it, shew, that one and the same person is spoken of by all the three Evangelists. And the coherence renders it indubitable. The same things precede and follow in those several Evangelists: as may be perceived by any one, who compares them.

2. So far as we can find, it has been the opinion of the most ancient and learned Christian writers, that Matthew and Levi are two names of one and the same man. So thought (l) Eusebius. So likewise (m) Jerome

(e) *Diff. Iren. i. num. xxiv.*

(f) Thaddæum Apostolum, ecclesiastica tradit historia missum Edeffan ad Agbarum regem Osroënæ, qui ab Evangelista Luca, Judas Jacobi dicitur. *In Matt. T. 4. p. 35. in.*

(g) *H. E. l. i. cap. 13. p. 32.*

(b) *Cap. 12. p. 31. A.*

(i) *Vid. Vales. Annot. in. loc. p. 21.*

(k) Theodori Hasei de Levi a Christo ad Apostolatam vocato, ad loca Marci ii. 14. seqq. Luc. v. 17. seqq. Disquisitio. Quæ eum non, ut vulgo putatur, Matthæum, sed Judam Thaddæum esse ostenditur. *Ap. Biblioth. Brem. Cl. v. Fascic. iii. num. vi. p. 475. Sc. Bremæ. 1721.*

(l) *Vid. Dem. Ev. l. 3. cap. v. p. 119. Sc. cited in this work, Vol. viii. p. 83. Sc.*

(m) Primus omnium Matthæus est Publicanus cognomto Levi, qui Evangelium

rome in several places of his works. Which shews, it was his settled opinion, and that he never hesitated about it. The (n) compiler of the Apostolical Constitution says the same expressly. Victor of Antioch in his Commentarie upon St. Mark says, that (o) Mark and Luke, when they give an account of his call at the Receipt of custom, designedly use a name by which he was not so well known, as that of Matthew. Jerome speaks to the like purpose in a passage, already †† transcribed. It is very likely, that Victor had seen that observation in more ancient writers: and possibly in Origen, in (p) whose preface to his Commentarie upon the epistle to the Romans, as we now have it in Latin only, is somewhat equivalent. However, he plainly says, that Matthew and Levi are only two names of one and the same man.

3. Hafæus argues, that (q) Levi is never said in the Gospels to have been also called Matthew, nor is Matthew said to be otherwise called Levi.

To which I answer, there was no necessity, that we should be told this. It is allowed, that Thaddeus, and Lebbeus, and Judas, are names of one and the same Apostle. And (r) it was also so understood by ancient

vangelium in Judæa Hebræo sermone edidit. Hieron. Prol. in Matt. T. 4. in. citat. supra Vol. x. p. 83. Ed. Lard.

Ceteri Evangelistæ propter verecundiam et honorem Matthæi noluerant eum nomine appellare vulgato, sed dixerunt Levi. Duplici quippe vocabulo fuit. Id. in Matt. cap. x. Tom. 4. P. i. p. 30.

Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex Publicano Apostolus. De V. I. cap. 3.

(n) Περὶ δὲ ἀναγωγῶν ἐγὼ ματθαῖος, ὁ καὶ λευῖς, ὁ ποτὲ τελώνης, διατάσσομαι. Const. Ap. l. 8. c. 22.

(o) Est autem Levi hic idem omnino cum Evangelista Matthæo. Et quidem Marcus et Lucas nomen, quod illi familiare erat, primæva appellatione obnubunt, &c. Victor in S. Marc. ap. Bib. PP. Lugd. T. 4. p. 375. B. Citat. vol. xi. hujus operis p. 32.

†† See note (m).

(p) Prima nobis quæstio de nomine ipsius Pauli videtur exurgere, cur is qui Saulus dictus est in Actibus Apostolorum, nunc Paulus dicatur. . . Invenimus igitur in scripturis aliquantos binis, alios etiam ternis usos esse nominibus. . . Sed nec Evangelia quidem hunc renuunt morem. Nam et Matthæus ipse refert de se, quod cum transiret Jesus, invenit quendam sedentem ad telonium nomine Matthæum. Lucas vero de eodem dicit: quia cum transiret Jesus, quendam vidit publicanum nomine Levi. &c. Origen. in ep. ad Rom. Tom. 2. p. 458. Basil.

(q) Nam observabam, Matthæum nunquam dici Levin, vel Levin vicissim appellari Matthæum, &c. Haf. uli supra. p. 477.

(r) Thaddæum Apostolum—qui ab Evangelista Luca Judas Jacobi dicitur: et alibi appellatur Lebbeus, quod interpretatur corculus. Credendumque est eum fuisse trinomium: sicut Simon, Petrus, et filii Zebedæi, Boanerges, ex firmitate et magnitudine fidei nominati sunt. Hieron. in Matt. x. T. 4. p. 35. in.

Ἦν γὰρ ἕτερος ἰεδδας, ὁ λεββαῖος, ὁ καὶ ἐπικληθεὶς θαδδαῖος, ὁ ἰακώβου φησὶν εἶναι ὁ λεββαῖος, λέγων ἰεδδας ἰακώβου. Chrys. in Matt. hom. 32. al. 33. Tom. 7. p. 369.

Vid. et Hesychii Quæstiones. Diff. xiv. ap. Coteler. Monum. Gr. Tom. 3. p. 11.

cient Christians. Some of whom I have quoted below. Nevertheless St. Luke has never told us, that Judas was surnamed Thaddeus, or Leb-beus. Nor has St. Matthew, or St. Mark said, that Thaddeus, or Leb-beus, was also called Judas.

These observations, as seems to me, are sufficient to confirm the common opinion. However I will add a thought or two, of less moment.

4. St. Matthew, in the catalogue of the Apostles, placeth himself in this manner. ch. x. 3. *and Matthew the Publican*: καὶ ματθαῖος ὁ τελῶτης. May it not be hence argued with probability, that he was the only Publican among the Apostles, and that there was no other?

5. If we were to form a conjecture concerning the employment, that was followed by Jude, before he was an Apostle, it (*s*) would be that of an husbandman. In the Apostolical Constitutions the Apostles are made to say: Some (*t*) of us are fishermen, others tentmakers, others husbandmen." Undoubtedly several of the Apostles were fishermen. But by the later part of the sentence no more may be meant, than that there was among them one tentmaker, even Paul, and one husbandman, intending, perhaps, St. Jude. For Hegesippus, as quoted by Eusebius, writes, "that (*t*) when Domitian made inquiries after the posterity of David, some grandsons of Jude, called the Lord's brother, were brought before him. Being asked concerning their possessions, and substance, they assured him, that they had only so many acres of land, out of the improvement of which they both paid him tribute, and maintained themselves with their own hard labour. The truth of what they said was confirmed by the callousness of their hands. Being asked concerning Christ, and his kingdom, of what kind it was, and when it would appear; they answered, that it was not worldly and earthly, but heavenly and angelical: that it would be manifested at the end of the world: when coming in great glorie he would judge the living and the dead, and render to every man according to his works. The men being mean, and their principles harmless, they were dismissed."

Hence some may argue, that St. Jude himself had been an husbandman. And from this account, if it may be relied upon, we learn, that this Apostle was married, and had children.

That may suffice for the historie of St. Jude.

*The Genuinnesse
of his Epistle.*

II. In the next place I am to observe the evidences of the genuinnesse, and canonical authority of the epistle ascribed to him.

Somewhat relating to this point has been already said in the xv. chapter concerning the Catholic Epistles in general. To which chapter therefore the reader is referred, though I may here transcribe some things from it, for shewing the authority of this epistle in particular. .

It should be remembered, that Eusebius having enumerated the books of Scripture, universally received from the beginning, and among them
the

(*s*) *Vid. Cav. H. I. in S. Juda.*

(*t*) ἐτι δὲ περιῆσαν οἱ ἀπὸ γένους τῷ κυρίῳ ἰωάν. ἰ. ἰδὲα, τῷ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένῳ αὐτῷ ἀδελφῇ, ὅς ἐκδηλοτέρεισαν, ὡς ἐκ γένους ἔντας δαδίδ. *Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 20.*

the first epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John, he adds: “ And (u) among the contradicted, but yet well known to the most, (or approved by many,) are that called the epistle of James, and that of Jude, and the second of Peter, and the second, and third of John.” So that in his time this epistle was well known, and received by many, though not by all.

This epistle is no where expressly cited by Irenæus, who wrote about the year of Christ 178. Whether he has at all referred to it, was considered formerly. And the reader is referred to what was then (x) said.

Clement of Alexandria flourished about the year 194. Eusebius giving an account of his work, says, “ that (y) in his Institutions Clement had given explications of all the canonical scriptures, not omitting those which are contradicted. I mean the epistle of Jude, and the other catholic epistles.”

That work, entitled Institutions, is lost. But we have in Latin a small treatise or fragment, called *Adumbrations*, supposed to be translated from the Institutions. Here are notes upon the epistle of Jude: in which is an observation concerning the modestie of the writer: “ that (z) Jude, who wrote a catholic epistle, did not stile himself at the beginning of it, brother of the Lord, though he was related to him, but *Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James.*”

Which observation serves to shew, whom Clement took to be the writer of this epistle. He supposed him to be one of them, who are called the Lord’s brethren. Matt. xiii. 55. Mark vi. 3. and an Apostle. See Luke vi. 16. In that *Adumbration* follow brief remarks upon almost every verse of the epistle, except the last, or 25. verse.

It might be observed likewise, that in that place Clement declares his opinion concerning those called the Lord’s brethren, that they were children of Joseph.

This epistle is also quoted expressly by Clement in two of his works, which remain entire, the *Pedagogue* or *Instructor*, and the *Stromata* or *Miscellanies*.

In the *Pedagogue* he speaks to this purpose: *I will (a) that ye should know*, says Jude, *that God having once saved the people out of Egypt, afterwards destroyed them that believed not. And the angels, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he (b) has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgement of the great day. And afterwards,*

(u) See before p. 364.

(x) See Vol. i. p. 377. 378. and 381. num. viii. Lardner’s Edit.

(y) . . . μὴ δὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγόμενας παρελθὼν τὴν ἰδοὺ λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καὶ θολικὰς ἐπιστολάς. H. E. l. 6. cap. 14. in.

(z) Judas, qui catholicam scripsit epistolam, frater filiorum Joseph, exstans valde religiosus, quum sciret propinquitatem Domini, non tamen dixit, se ipsum fratrem ejus esse. Sed quid dixit? *Jacobus servus Jesu Christi* utpote Domini, *frater autem Jacobi.* *Adumbrat. in epist. Jude. p. 1007. ed. Oxon.*

(a) *Ped. l. 3. p. 239.*

(b) . . . δισμοῖς αἰδέσις ἐπὶ ζόφου ἀγεῖων [αἱ ἀγίων.] ἀγγέλων τετήρηκεν.

wards, he emphatically describes the characters of those who are judged. *Woe unto them, for they have walked in the way of Cain, and ran greedily in the error of Balaam for reward, and perished in the gainsaying of Core. . . .* Jude ver. 5. 6. and 11.

In his *Stromata* Clement writes to this purpose: “Of (c) these, and the like heretics, I think, Jude spoke prophetically in his epistle: *Like-wise also these dreamers*, and what follows to, *And their mouth speaketh great swelling words:*” that is, from ver. 8. to ver. 16. And that manner of quoting shews, that the epistle was in the hands of many people, or of all Christians in general, to be consulted by them.

I have been thus prolix in rehearsing these passages of Clement. For they appear to me a sufficient proof of the antiquity, and genuineness of this epistle: or that it was writ by Jude, one of Christ’s twelve Apostles. However I would also refer those of my readers, who are willing to look back, to Clement’s testimonie to this, and the other catholic epistles, as formerly observed in (d) his chapter.

In Tertullian, about the year 200. is but one quotation of this epistle. But it is very express. “Hence (e) it is, says he, that Enoch is quoted by the Apostle Jude.” Intending the 14. verse of the epistle, and making no doubt, that the writer was an Apostle.

In Origen, about the year 230. are divers plain quotations of St. Jude’s epistle.

In his Commentaries upon St. Matthew, which we still have in Greek, having taken notice of the words of Matth. xiii. 55. 56. . . . beside other remarks, he says, “that (f) James is the same, whom Paul mentions in the epistle to the Galatians, as having been seen by him.” Gal. i. 19. He also observes a passage, said to be in the Antiquities of Josephus, relating to the same James. Then he adds: “And (g) Jude wrote an epistle, of few lines indeed, but full of the powerful words of the heavenly grace, who at the beginning says: *Jude the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James.*” These passages are of use to shew us, whom Origen took to be the writer of this epistle.

Again, in the same Commentaries. “And (h) in the epistle of Jude: *To them that are beloved [or sanctified] in God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called.*”

Once more, in the same Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew’s Gospel,

(c) *Επὶ τέτων, ὅμαι, καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αἰρέσεων προφητικῶς ἰέδαν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἐνεργῶν. Ομοίως μέντοι καὶ ἔτοι ἐνοσημαζόμενοι· ὁ γὰρ ὕπαρ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐπιστάλλων· ὡς, καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτῶν καλεῖ ὑπέρογκα.* Strom. l. 3. p. 431. A. B.

(d) See ch. xxii. Vol. ii. p. 510—515. Lardner’s Edit.

(e) *Eo accidit, quod Enoch apud Judam Apostolum testimonium perhibet. De Cultu Fem. l. 1. cap. 3. p. 172. A.*

(f) *Ἰακώβος δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος, ὃν λέγει παῖδος εἶδέν ἐν τῇ πρὸς γαλάτας ἐπιστολῇ, ἑπὶ πᾶσι κ. λ. Comment. in Matt. p. 223. C. Heut. p. 463. B. T. 3. Bened.*

(g) *Καὶ ἰέδας ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν, ἐλγόντων μὲν, πεπληρωμένῃ δὲ τῶν τῆς ἐρα- νίας χάριτος ἐρῶμένων λόγων, ἕως ἐν τῷ προσωμῶ ἐξηκεν· ἰέδας ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ δαῖλος, ἀδελφεὺς δὲ ἰακώβου. Ibid. p. 223. D. al. p. 463. D.*

(h) *Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰέδα ἐπιστολῇ τοῖς ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἡγαπημένοις καὶ ἰησοῦ χριστῷ τεινεμένοις κ. λ. π. Ibid. p. 332. A. al. 607. C.*

Gospel, having quoted 1 Pet. i. 12. he says: "But (i) if any one receives also the epistle of Jude, let him consider what will follow from what is there said: *And the angels, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgement of the great day.*"

This epistle is also quoted in those works of Origen, which we now have only in a Latin translation. But forbearing to take farther notice of them here, I refer to the account formerly given at large of Origen's testimony to the Scriptures, in (k) the third volume of this work.

Upon the whole we perceive, that there were some in his time, who doubted of, or denied the authority of this epistle. But himself, as seems to me, admitted the genuineness and authority of it. For he quotes it expressly, without hesitation, as writ by Jude, one of the Lord's brethren, and brother of James, consequently Apostle. And he says, that it was full of the powerfull words of the heavenly grace.

I have not observed any notice taken of this epistle (l) in the writings of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, about the year 248. and afterwards.

It is quoted by the Anonymous Author against the Novatian Heretic, who wrote about the year 255. But he does not name St. Jude. His words are: "As (m) it is written: *Behold he cometh with ten thousands of his angels, to execute judgement upon all, and what follows,*" that is, the 14. and 15. verses of the epistle.

Eusebius flourished about the year 315. I have already transcribed from him a (n) passage concerning the catholic epistles, and among them concerning St. Jude's, which ought to be recollected here. There is another taken from him, at (o) the beginning of this article. And I shall here put down again a third passage transcribed above in the chapter of (p) the epistle of St. James. Where having given an account of the martyrdom of St. James, he says: "Thus (q) far concerning James, who is said to be the writer of the first of the epistles, called catholic. But it ought to be observed, that it is spurious: [that is contradicted:] Forasmuch as there are not many of the ancients, who have made mention of it: as neither of that called Jude's, which likewise is one of the epistles called catholic. However we know, that (r) these also are

(i) Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰδέα περὶ αὐτοῦ τις ἐπιστολὴν, δεῖται τί ἐπείαι τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τὸ. Ἀγγέλους τε μὴ τηρέσαντας. &c. *Ib.* p. 488. *E. al.* p. 814. *C.*

(k) *Ch.* xxxviii. *Vol.* iii. p. 269. . . 272. *Lardner's Edit.*

(l) *See ch.* xlv. *Vol.* iv. p. 836. *The same.*

(m) Sicut scriptum est: Ecce venit cum multis millibus nunciorum suorum, facere judicium de omnibus. &c. *Ap. Cyprian. in App.* p. 20. *Vid. et hujus operis Vol.* iv. p. 874. *Ed. Lard.*

(n) *See p.* i. 363.

(o) *P.* 484. 485.

(p) *P.* 394.

(q) *H. E.* l. 2. c. 23. p. 66. *C.*

(r) Ομοῦ δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείσταις δειδημοσιευμένας ἐκκλησίαις *Ibid.*

are commonly used [or publicly read] in most churches together with the rest."

That passage needs no comment. This epistle was generally received in the time of Eusebius, though not by all.

Lucifer of Cagliari in Sardinia, about 354. has quoted (s) almost the whole of this epistle. He quotes it expressly, as (t) writ by the excellent Apostle Jude, brother of the Apostle James.

I need not particularly mention more authors. For after the time of Eusebius, seven catholic epistles were generally received by all Christians, Greeks and Latins. St. Jude's epistle therefore, as well as the rest, was received by Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Didymus of Alexandria, Jerome, Rufin, the third Council of Carthage, Augustin, Isidore of Pelusium, Cyril of Alexandria, and others, whose names may be seen in the alphabetical Table in the twelfth volume, under the article of *Seven Catholic Epistles*. But (u) it was not received by the Syrians.

And it may not be amiss to observe here, that we have found this epistle oftener quoted by writers, who lived before the time of Eusebius, than the epistle of St. James.

Of the authors above named there are two, of whom I would take some farther notice.

Epiphanius, about 368. in his *Heretie of the Gnostics*, expressly "cites * the catholic epistle of the Apostle Jude, brother of James, and of the Lord, writ by inspiration." This epistle is received by Jerome, as writ by the Apostle Jude, as may be recollected by those, who have read his chapter in the tenth volume of this work. Where (x), in his letter to Paulinus, he says: "The Apostles James, Peter, John, Jude, wrote seven epistles, of few words, but full of sense."

And in the chapter of St. Jude, in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, he says: "Jude (y) brother of James, left a short epistle, which is one of the seven called catholic. But (z) because of a quotation from a book of Enoch, which is apocryphal, it is rejected by many. However at length it has obtained authority, and is reckoned among the sacred scriptures."

There is some inaccuracy in Jerome's manner of expression. For a book to be at the same time *rejected by the most*, or *many*, and to be *reckoned among the sacred scriptures*, are inconsistent. But it might have been properly said: "that whereas it had been rejected by many, because of a quotation

(s) See Vol. ix. p. 42. 43. Lardner.

(t) Cum exhortetur Judas, gloriosus Apostolus, frater Jacobi Apostoli, &c. *Ap. Bib. PP. T. 4. p. 227. C. . . E.*

(u) See Vol. ix. p. 217. and 221. Vol. xi. p. 272. 274. Lardner.

* Ως καὶ περὶ τούτων οἶμαι ἐκινήθη τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ ἰεῖδα, λέγων ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γραφείῃ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ. Ἰεῖδα δὲ εἶναι αἴτιος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἰακώβου καὶ κυρίου λεγόμενος. *H. 26. n. xi. p. 92. D.*

(x) Vol. x. p. 77. Lardner.

(y) P. 133.

(z) Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus est, in eâ assumitur testimonium, a plerisque rejicitur. Tamen auctoritatem vetustate jam et usu meruit, et inter sanctas scripturas computatur. *D, V. I. cap. iv.*

quotation from an apocryphal book ; it had at length obtained authority, and was reckoned among the sacred scriptures."

Many learned men (*a*) have carefully considered this difficulty. But as the ancients overcame it, and at length admitted the authority of this epistle, perhaps it might have been passed over, as a thing of no great consequence. Indeed, if there is a credible testimonie to any book, or epistle, that it was writ by an Apostle, such a passage need not cause much hesitation. Origen has an observation in one of his Latin tracts. "St. Paul (*b*) says : *As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses*. This is not found in the public scriptures, but in a secret book, entitled *Jannes and Jambres*. For which reason some have been so daring, as to argue against that epistle of Timothie, though in vain." For certain such an objection could be of little weight against so well attested a writing, as St. Paul's second epistle to Timothie. Nor ought it to weigh much in this case.

I might conclude here. But for the sake of some, shall add the two following observations.

1. It is not certain, that St. Jude cites any book. He only says, that (*c*) *Enoch prophesied, saying, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints*. Which (*d*) might be words of a prophecie, preserved by tradition, and inserted occasionally in divers writings. Nor is there good evidence, that in St. Jude's time there was extant any book entitled *Enoch*, or *Enoch's Prophecies*, though there was such a book in the hands of Christians in the second and third centuries. Moreover St. Jude might ascribe to Enoch what it is reasonable to believe was the import of his prophecie.

I transcribe here an observation, which I have met with : "Saint Jude
in

(*a*) *Beausobre and Lenfant in their preface to the epistle of St. Jude. Dr. Benson in his preface to this epistle, sect. i. and many others.*

(*b*) Item quod ait, *sicut Jannes et Mambres resistunt Mosi*, non invenitur in publicis scripturis, sed in libro secreto, qui superscribitur Jannes et Mambres. Unde ausi sunt quidam epistolam ad Timotheum repellere, quasi habentem in se textum alicujus secreti. Sed non potuerunt. In *Matth. Tract. 35. p. 193. Tom. 2. Basil.*

(*c*) Verum quicquid et vetustis patribus et recentioribus quibusdam videatur, non potest ullo mihi pacto probari, Judam Apostolum ex libro scripto temporibus ejus existente, tritaque prophetia suum illud vaticinium deprompsisse. Nam primo id Judas non testatur. Qui simpliciter habet : *ἡγορευσε*. Prophetiam scriptis ab eo consignatam esse non dicit. *J. H. Heidegger. Hist. Patr. Exercita. x. de Prophetia Enoch. §. v. Tom. i. p. 271.*

At neque dicit Judas Henochum ita scripsisse : neque in libro, qui Henochi dicitur, prophetiæ hujus vel vola vel vestigium reperitur. Imo credibile est, Judæ ætate supposititium hunc librum ne quidem in rerum natura fuisse, sed a putido et portentoso nescio quo Cabbalista Græcanico, vel ab hæretico, et sciolo aliquo Christum professio, sub Henochi nomine prociusum esse. *Witsius in ep. Jud. num. xli. p. 502.*

(*d*) Alii denique verisimilius arbitrantur, habuisse Judam ex nota et confessa eo tempore traditione : quam veram esse Spiritu magistro cognovit, dignamque judicavit, quam sua hac epistola consecraret æternitati. Cui sententiæ ego quoque hæcenus acquiesco. *Wits, ubi supr. num. xli. p. 503.*

in his (e) epistle, from the circumstances of the men, and the manners of the people, to whom Henoch preached, gathered what might be the sum of Henoch's preaching, in this sort. *Behold, the Lord cometh. How? As at the giving of the law, with thousands of his angels, to give judgement against all men, and to rebuke all the ungodly among them of all their wicked deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all their cruel speakings, which wicked sinners have spoken against him.* Upon which words the Greeks, not knowing the course of the Hebrews in their feigned speeches, imagined, that Henoch left a book of his preaching behind him."

Grotius (f) has somewhat to the like purpose.

And J. H. Heidegger (g) approved of this manner of interpretation. He supposes, St. Jude to refer to the words of Moses. Gen. v. 22. and 24. *And Enoch walked with God.* Cocceius, also, as cited (h) by Witfius, argued not very differently, though Witfius did not fully approve of it.

I shall add a thought or two confirming that method of interpretation. St. Peter 2 ep. ii. 5. calls *Noah, a preacher of righteousness*: referring, I suppose, to the historie in Genesis, though it is not expressly said there. And at ver. 7. 8. he says of Lot, that *he was vexed with the filthy conver-*

(e) *The General Review of the Holy Scriptures. p. 39. by Thomas Hayne. London. 1640. Folio.*

(f) Solebant Rabbini et angelis, et magnis hominibus, tribuere ea verba, quæ verisimiliter dicere potuerunt. Tale illud quod de Enocho habebimus, et illud quod Hebr. xii. 21. et Actor. vii. 26. &c. *Grot. ad S. Jud. ver. 9.*

Solebant, ut modo dixi, Rabbini et angelis, et viris magnis tribuere ea dicta, quæ dixisse poterant. *Id. ad ver. 14.*

Quod tunc Enoch aut dixit, aut dicere potuit, imminente diluvio, idem Judas ad ingentem illam interuersionem, quæ Judæis contumacibus imminabat, referre commode potuit. *Id. ib. ad ver. 15.*

(g) Distinguendum accurate est inter fundamentum prophetiæ, et ejus formulam. Fundamentum quod attinet, est illud totum ἑγγεφρον. . . . Alterum est, quod scriptum reperitur, *Enochum cum Deo ambulasse.* Ex eo Judæ proclive fuit conficere Enochum non pro se tantum quæsiuissse Deum, sed etiam alios proposito terrore ultimi judicii ab impietate et injustitia deterruissse: neque potuisse cum Deo ambulare, vel pii viri officio defungi, nisi judicium Domini venturi cum myriadibus angelorum hominibus suæ ætatis annuntiaret. Cum igitur non potuerit non loqui de judicio Domini superventuro impiis, et ii, de quibus S. Judas loquitur, sint ultimi temporis, conficit, Enochum diu ante diluvium de iis prophetaisse. . . . Porro quod formulam attinet prophetiæ, cujus fundamentum ita in Scripturis ostendimus, illam ex iis verbis contexit Judas, in quorum virtute eam latere per σύνεσις πνευματικῆν intelligentiam spirituales, probe scivit. *Heid. ubi supra. num. x. p. 277.*

(h) Celeberrimus Cocceius conjectat Judam ex historia Mosaica collegisse. Nam, inquit, *prophetaisse Henochum, satis constat ex sacris literis. Ambulavit enim cum Deo.* Ergo cum Deo fecit, descensoribus se opposuit, verbis sine dubio in Spiritu Sancto dictis, et opere. . . . Porro Judas talia Henochum prophetaisse testatur, quæ optime et pathetice ei attribuantur in προσποφεία. Quæ quidem non male mihi animadversa videntur. Attamen non validum satis firmamentum continere, cui Judæ allegatio commode inædificetur. Nam Judas formulam prophetiæ Henochi adscribit, quæ ex Mose disci non potest. *Witf. ib. num. xli. p. 502. et 55. 3*

conversation of the wicked: and that dwelling among them, in seeing and hearing, he vexed his righteous soul from day to day, with their unlawful deeds. These things are not expressly said in the book of Genesis. Nevertheless I make no question, but the Apostle refers to what is there said, and deduceth these things thence, and not from an apocryphal, or any other writing whatever.

There is no necessity therefore to suppose, that St. Jude quoted a book called *Enoch*, or *Enoch's Prophecies*.

2. Allowing St. Jude to quote such a book, he gives it no authority. It was no canonical book of the Jews. That is certain. Consequently, if there was such a book among them, it was apocryphal. But though it was so, there might be in it some right things. These St. Jude might take, without approving the whole of it. To this purpose (i) Jerome has argued largely, and very well, in his Commentarie upon the epistle to Titus, upon occasion of St. Paul's quotation of Epimenides. Tit. i. 12. And Cave says, "It (k) is no more strange, that St. Jude should quote an apocryphal book, than that St. Paul should put down Jannes and Jambres for the two Magicians of Pharaoh that opposed Moses. Which he must either derive from tradition, or fetch from some uncanonical author of those times, there being no mention of their names in Moses his relation of that matter."

As I have said so much about this text, I am induced to take notice of some other like things in this epistle.

Says St. Jude ver. 8. and 9. *Likewise also these filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities. Yet Michael, the archangel, when contending with the devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, dared not [chose †† not] to bring against him a railing accusation, but said: The Lord rebuke thee.*

Origen, in the third centurie, supposed, that (l) St. Jude might refer to a book, called the Assumption, or Ascension of Moses, though it was not a book of authority. But indeed, there is no good reason to think, that there was any such book extant in the time of St. Jude. It is more probable, that it was forged afterwards. Some therefore have imagined, that St. Jude took this passage from some more valuable Hebrew author, of whom however we have no knowledge.

But

(i) Qui autem totum librum debere sequi eum qui libri parte usus sit, videntur mihi et apocryphum Enochi, de quo Apostolus Judas id epistola sua testimonium posuit, inter Ecclesiæ scripturas recipere, et multa alia, quæ Apostolus Paulus de reconditis est loquutus. Possumus enim hoc argumento dicere: Quia apud Athenienses ignotum Deum colere se dixit, quem illi in arâ ennotaverant, debere Paulum et cetera, quæ in arâ scripta fuerant, sequi, et ea quæ Athenienses faciebant facere, quia cum Atheniensibus in culturâ ignoti Dei ex parte consenserat. *Hieron. in Tit. T. 4. p. 421.*

(k) *Life of St. Jude, in English. p. 205.*

†† Michael autem ex ἐρώμῃ, non *sustinuit*, non induxit animum, impingere illi notum maledicti, id est, ultionem maledicendo fumere. Non quod timuerit diabolum, sed quod ex decore omnia agere voluerit. *Wiss. Comm. in Ep. Jude ver. 9. p. 480.*

(l) See Dr. Lardner's edition of this work vol. iii. p. 271. a citation from Origen's books of Principles.

But to me it is apparent, that St. Jude refers to the vision in Zach. iii. 1. . . 3. *And he shewed me Joshua the High-Priest, standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right-hand to resist him. And the Lord, [that is, the angel of the Lord, before-mentioned] said unto Satan: The Lord rebuke thee.* And what follows. The text of St. Jude is parallel with 2 Pet. ii. 11. *Whereas Angels, which are greater in power, bring not railing accusation before the Lord.* Here also is a plain reference to the vision in Zacharie. The thing itself, and that circumstance, *before the Lord*, answering to the expression in Zacharie, *standing before the Lord, or before the angel of the Lord*, put it, as seems to me, beyond question.

Campegius Vitringa (*m*) has some curious observations upon this text of St. Jude. Instead of *the body of Moses*, he would read *the body of Joshua*. That is ingenious. Nevertheless the common reading may be right, and may be explained very agreeably to the passage of Zacharie. For, according to an interpretation of that vision, formerly (*n*) taken from Ephraim the Syrian, Joshua, the High-Priest, there denotes the Jewish People. Whom St. Jude might call *the body of Moses*, as Christians are called *the body of Christ* by St. Paul. 1 Cor. xii. 20. 25. 27. Eph. i. 23. and iv. 12. 16. Col. i. 18. The same interpretation was proposed some while ago, and well supported in a Dissertation of a learned writer, who was not acquainted with Ephraim ††.

Once more. St. Jude says ver. 6. *And the angels, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgement of the great day.* To which there is a parallel place in 2 Pet. ii. 4. The learned writer, above quoted, observes, that (*o*) neither here have these Apostles a reference to any Jewish apocryphal book: but to some text of Sacred Scripture, or of the Old Testament. But he then deferred shewing the place. Nor do I know, that

(*m*) Probabile nobis videtur, Judam scripssisse περί τῆς ἰστοῦ σώματος, et hodiernam lectionem esse a manu imperitioris bibliographi, qui cum nihil in Scripturis memorabile legisset de corpore Josue, sed contra ex Historia Sacra intellexisset, quid circa corpus Mosis singulare accedisset, nec interea de loco Zachariæ cogitaret, Josue nomen in illud Mosis commutavit. Sed quam certum est, Judam his verbis respexisse locum illum Zachariæ, tam quoque certum est, non scripssisse, Michaëlem disputasse cum Diabolo de corpore Mosis. . . . Imo ex eadem ratione liquidissime patet, Judam, quæ hic habet de corpore Mosis, non desumpsisse ex apocrypho aliquo Judaici ingenii, in quo hanc fabulam offendisset. Respexit Judas, ut jam dixi, ad locum Zachariæ, et inde recte evexit, *Satana*, potentissimi angeli, ab ipso principe angelorum Michaële in judicio in ipsum proferendo magnam habitam esse rationem: ac proin multo minus *potestates* et *glorias*, hoc est, potentissimos principes, licet malos, nobisque adversos, a nobis esse vilipendendos. Campeg. Vitring. Observ. Sacr. l. 4. cap. ix. n. 35. p. 1003. 1004.

(*n*) See Vol. ix. p. 206. Lardner.

†† See Bib. Raisonnée. Tom. 31. P. 2. art. i. p. 243. . . . 269.

(*o*) Quid Petrus et Judas per alterum illud exemplum angelorum, qui peccaverunt, principio et domicilio suo derelicto, intenderint, et ad quam partem Historiæ Sacræ respexerint, (ad Historiam enim Sacram respexisse certum est,) aunc prætermitto, alia fortean occasione commodiore indicandum. Id. ib. num. 35.

that these texts ever came in his way afterwards. I wish they had. For I also am much inclined to believe, that in all these places the Apostles referred to passages of the Old Testament.

This may assist us in forming a judgement concerning the opinion (p) of the Bishop of London, that St. Jude in his epistle, and St. Peter in the second chapter of his second epistle, copied, or imitated some Hebrew writer, who had left behind him a description of the false prophets of his own, or former times. Which indeed is ingenious, and plausible. Nevertheless I think, such conjectures ought not to be presently received as certain. St. Peter, and St. Jude, and all the Christians in general of their time, had before them the scriptures of the Old Testament. Many of the cases referred to by these Apostles are evidently found there, such as Cain, Korah, Balaam, the people of Sodom. And why should not the other instances be taken thence likewise? If they are, I presume, the argument would be more forcible with all, than otherwise it would have been. Nor does the resemblance of stile in St. Peter and Jude afford a conclusive argument, that they both borrowed from some one Jewish author. The similitude of the subject might produce a resemblance of stile. The design of St. Peter and St. Jude was to condemn some loose and erroneous Christians, and to caution others against them. When speaking of the same sort of persons, their stile, and figures of speech, would have a great agreement. And certainly I think, that the Apostles needed not any other assistance in confuting and exposing corrupt Christians, than their own inspiration, and an acquaintance with the ancient Scriptures of the Jewish Church.

III. We are now to consider, to whom this epistle was sent. *To whom sent.*

Witius says, it (q) was writ to all Christians every where, but especially to Christians converted from Judaism: forasmuch as St. Jude refers to Jewish writings and traditions. Moreover he wrote to the same Christians, to whom Peter wrote, who were such as had been Jews. To the like purpose (r) Estius.

Hammond (s) says, the epistle was writ to the Jews scattered abroad, who

(p) See His Dissertation concerning the Authority of the second Epistle of St. Peter. And here in this Volume, p. 445.

(q) Epistola hæc Christianis quidem universum, et potissimum Hebræis scripta est. . . . Ii quibus scripta est epistola, illis designantur epithetis, quæ sine Gentium distinctione Christianis omnibus competunt: quamvis credibile sit, potissimum eos spectari, qui ex Israelitis in Christo crediderant. Iis enim sæpiusculæ argumentis utitur, quæ ex Judæorum libris, vel etiam traditionibus, desumpta sunt. Videnturque prorsus iidem esse cum illis, quos Petrus posteriore sua epistola compellat. *Wits. Comment. in ep. Jud. §. viii. p. 460.*

(r) Porro verisimile est, ad eosdem scriptam esse, ad quos scripsit B. Petrus, id est, ad eos præcipue, qui ex circumcisione crediderant. . . . Id ipsum indicant illa verba versus 5. *Commonere autem vos volo, scientes semel omnia.* Nam id aptissime Judæis dicitur, a prima ætate imbutis cognitione historię sacræ. *Est. Argum. in Ep. Jud.*

(s) Videtur autem, sicut epistolæ Jacobi et Petri, scripta fuisse ad Judæos dispersionis, Christianum Religionem amplexos, ut confirmarentur contra prayas

who believed the Christian Religion, to secure them against the errors of the Gnostics.

Dr. Benson (*t*) thinks, that St. Jude wrote to Jewish Christians, as his brother James had done, and most probably, to the Jews of the Western dispersion.

Let us now observe the inscription of the epistle in the writer's own words. *Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James, to them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called.* ver. 1. And ver. 3. *Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation: it was needfull for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that ye should earnestly contend for the faith, which was once delivered unto the saints.*

These expressions, as seems to me, lead us to think, that the epistle was designed for the use of all in general, who had embraced the Christian Religion. And if St. Jude writes to the same people, to whom St. Peter wrote, that is a farther argument for this supposition. For, that St. Peter wrote to all Christians in general, in the countreys named at the beginning of his first epistle, was shewn (*u*) formerly.

IV. We now come to the last point, the time of writing this epistle. Here I shall observe the opinions of several.

Dr. Benson's opinion is, "that (*x*) this epistle was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem, a few weeks, or months, after the second epistle of St. Peter: forasmuch as the state of things, as represented in both these epistles, is very much the same."

Mill's conjecture is, that (*y*) this epistle was writ about the year of Christ 95. But, as he says, there are no clear evidences of the exact time, when it was writ.

Dodwell (*z*) whom Cave (*a*) follows, argues, that this epistle was writ soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, in the year 71. or 72. But the reasonings of those learned men are far from being conclusive.

Lenfant and Beaufobre were of opinion, that (*b*) this epistle may be placed with great probability between the year 70. and the year 75.

Witsius thinks, it (*c*) was writ, in this Apostle's old age, and in the last age

pravas doctrinas Gnosticorum, qui tunc temporis exorti sunt. Hammond. Admonit. in ep. Jude. Ex versione Clerici.

(*t*) *Preface to this ep. sect. ii. p. 446. See also his paraphrase of ver. 1.*

(*u*) *See before. p. 447.*

(*x*) *Preface to the epistle of St. Jude. sect. iii. p. 448.*

(*y*) *Fortasse quidem circa annum vulgaris æræ xc. Verum de ipso præciso tempore nihil habemus explorati. Proleg. num. 147.*

(*z*) *Diff. Iren. i. num. xiv.*

(*a*) *H. L. in S. Juda.*

(*b*) *On ne se trompera pas en plaçant cette épître entre les années 70. et 75. de l'ère Chrétienne. Pref. sur l'épître de S. Jude.*

(*c*) *Tempus scriptæ hujus epistolæ, uti ad postremam Apostolorum ætatem referendum est, quod colligitur ex ver. 17. ita ad extremam quoque Judæ senectutem pertinet. &c. Wits. in Jud. num. ix.*

age of the Apostles of Christ, and when few, or perhaps none of them, were living, beside St. John.

To the like purpose (*d*) Estius.

Oecumenius in his note upon ver. 17. 18. of this epistle. *Remember the words, which were spoken before of the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ: that they told you, there should be mockers in the last time.* . . . “Meaning (*e*) says he, by Peter in his second epistle, and by Paul in almost all “his epistles. Hence it is evident, that he wrote late, after the decease “of the Apostles.”

If St. Jude referred here to St. Peter’s second epistle, it must be allowed, that he had seen it, and wrote after St. Peter. Which indeed is the opinion of many. So Oecumenius appears to have thought. So also says (*f*) Estius. Dr. Benton expresseth himself after this manner: “that (*g*) it seems highly probable, that St. Jude had seen and read the second epistle of St. Peter. For there are found in St. Jude several similar passages, not only to those in the second chapter of the second of St. Peter, but also in the other parts of that epistle.”

Nevertheless I must still say, this appears to me doubtfull. For it seems very unlikely that St. Jude should write so similar an epistle, if he had seen St. Peter’s. In that case St. Jude would not have thought it needful for him to write at all. If he had formed a design of writing, and had met with an epistle of one of the Apostles, very suitable to his own thoughts and intentions, I think, he would have forbore to write.

Indeed the great agreement in subject and design between these two epistles affords a strong argument, that they were writ about the same time. As therefore I have placed the second epistle of St. Peter in the year 64. I am induced to place this epistle of St. Jude in the same year, or soon after, in 65. or 66. For there was exactly the same state of things in the Christian Church, or in some part of it, when both these epistles were writ.

I do not insist upon the expression, *in the last time*, which is in ver. 18. Some would understand thereby the last period of the Jewish state and constitution, immediatly preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. But I cannot interpret the phrase, *the last time*, in Jude, or *last days* in St. Peter iii. 3. in so limited a sense. I think, that thereby must be meant the days of the Messiah, or the late ages of the world.

However,

(*d*) Ceterum Apostolis fuit posterior, non omnibus, sed plerisque jam ante vitam defunctis: ut Petro, et Paulo, et Jacobo. Nam Joannes adhuc supererat. *Est. ad Jud. ver. 17.*

(*e*) . . . ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν ὑπὸ πέτρῳ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, ὑπὸ παύλῳ ἐν πάσῃ σχεδὸν ἐπιστολῇ. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ δῆλον, ὅτι ἔσχατον μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν τὰς ἀποστόλους, ἔγραφε ταῦτα. *Oecum. T. 2. p. 633. D.*

(*f*) Convenit argumentum hujus epistolæ cum iis, quæ B. Petrus scribit in secunda epistola, præsertim capite 2. et initio tertii. Nam quæ hic scribuntur, adeo cum illis similia sunt, et hujus author S. Judas eam non solum legisse videatur, verum etiam, partim contrahendo, partim extendendo, partim iisdem vocibus et sententiis utendo, imitatus fuisset. *Est. argum. Vid. eund. ad ver. epistolæ 17.*

(*g*) Preface to St. Jude. sect. i i.

However, undoubtedly, that exhortation, ver. 17. and 18. *But, beloved, remember ye the words, which were spoken before by the Apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ: that they told you, there should be mockers in the last time: do imply, as Witius, and Estius, observe, that it was then the last age of the Apostles: when several of them had left the world, and few of them were still surviving. Which well suits the date, before mentioned, the year 64. or 65. or 66.*

When St. Jude adviseth the Christians to recollect, *and be mindfull of the words of the Apostles of Christ*, he may intend their preaching, which these Christians had heard, or the writings of Apostles, which they had read, and had in their hands. Such discourses of St. Paul may be seen recorded in Acts xx. 29. 30. And he writes to the like purpose 1 Tim. iv. 1. . . 5. and 2 Tim. iii. and iv. They who suppose, that St. Jude had seen and read the second epistle of St. Peter, must think, that he refers also to 2 Pet. ch. iii. 1. . . 5.

There are some other expressions in this epistle, which may deserve to be here taken notice of by us. ver. 3. *It was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that you should earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints.* and ver. 5. *I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this.* These expressions seem to imply, that now some considerable time had passed, since the whole scheme of the Christian Doctrine had been published to the world, and since the persons, to whom the Apostle is writing, were first instructed in it.

Upon the whole, as before said, this epistle might be writ in the year of Christ 64. or 65. or 66.

C H A P. XXII.

The REVELATION of St. JOHN.

- I. *It's Genuinnesse shewn from Testimonie.* II. *from internal characters.*
III. *It's Time.*

It's Genuinnesse shewn from Testimonie.

I. **W**E are now come to the last book of the New Testament, the Revelation: about which there have been different sentiments among Christians, many receiving it as the writing of John, the Apostle and Evangelist, others ascribing it to John a Presbyter, others to Cerinthus, and some rejecting it, without knowing to whom it should be ascribed.

I shall therefore here rehearse the testimonie of ancient Christians, as it ariseth in several ages.

It is probable, that Hermas had read the book of the Revelation, and imitated it. He has many things resembling it. Vol. i. p. 135. . . 141. It is referred to by the Martyrs at Lyons. p. 341. There is reason to think,

think, it was received by *Papias*. p. 238. 239. 251. . . . 253. *Justin Martyr*, about the year 140. was acquainted with this book, and received it, as writ by the Apostle *John*. For in his Dialogue with *Trypho* he expressly says: "And a man from among us, by name *John*, one of "the Apostles of Christ, in the revelation made to him, has prophesied "that the believers in our Christ shall live a thousand years in *Jerusalem*, and after that shall be the general, and, in a word, the eternal "resurrection and judgement of all together." p. 278. 279. To this very passage we suppose *Eusebius* to refer in his Ecclesiastical Historie, when giving an account of *Justin's* works, he observes to this purpose: "He also mentions the Revelation of *John*, expressly calling it the Apostle's." See the same volume p. 278. note (a). Among the works of *Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis*, one of the seven churches of *Asia*, about the year 177. *Eusebius* mentions one, entitled, "Of the Revelation of *John*." p. 328. 329. It is very probable, that *Melito* ascribed this book to the Apostle of that name, and esteemed it a book of canonical authority. *Irenæus*, Bishop of *Lyons* in *Gaul*, about 178. who in his younger days was acquainted with *Polycarp*, often quotes this book, "as the Revelation of *John*, the disciple of the Lord." p. 378. And in one place he says: "It was seen not long ago, but almost in our age, at the end of the reign of *Domitian*." p. 379. And see p. 348.

Theophilus was Bishop of *Antioch* about 181. *Eusebius* speaking of a work of his against the heresie of *Hermogenes*, says, "he therein made use of testimonies, or quoted passages, from *John's* Apocalypse." Vol. ii. p. 427. The book of the Revelation is several times quoted by *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who flourished about 194. and once in this manner: "Such an one, though here on earth he is not honored with the first seat, shall sit upon the four and twenty thrones judging the people, as *John* says in the Revelation." p. 515. *Tertullian*, about the year 200. often quotes the Revelation, and supposeth it to have been writ by St. *John*, the same, who wrote the first epistle of *John*, universally received. p. 621. Again: "The Apostle *John* in the Apocalypse describes a sharp two edged sword coming out of the mouth of God." p. 622. He also says: "We have churches, that are disciples of *John*. For though *Marcion* rejects the Revelation, the succession of Bishops, traced to the original, will assure us, that *John* is the author." p. 622. By *John*, undoubtedly, meaning the Apostle.

From *Eusebius* we learn, that *Apollonius*, who wrote against the *Montanists* about the year 211. quoted the Revelation. Vol. iii. p. 16. By *Caius*, about the year 212. it was ascribed to *Cerinthus*, p. 32. . . 35. It was received by *Hippolytus*, about the year 220. p. 110. . . 112. and by *Origen* about 230. p. 236. 241. It is often quoted by him. He seems not to have had any doubt about it's genuinenesse. In his Commentarie upon St. *John's* Gospel he speaks of it in this manner: "Therefore *John*, the son of *Zebedee*, says in the Revelation." p. 272. See also p. 273. 274. and 409.

Dionysius, Bishop of *Alexandria*, about the year 247. or somewhat later, wrote a book against the Millenarians, in which he allows the Revelation

velation to be writ by *John*, a holy and divinely inspired man. But he says, he cannot easily grant him to be the Apostle, the son of *Zebedee*, whose is the Gospel according to *John*, and the Catholic Epistle." Vol. iv. p. 672. He rather thinks it may be the work of *John*, an Elder, who also lived at *Ephesus*, in *Asia*, as well as the Apostle. p. 676. See likewise p. 727. 728. 733. Moreover, it appears from a conference, which *Dionysius* had with some Millenarians, that the Revelation was about the year 240. and before, received by *Nepos*, an *Egyptian* Bishop, and by many others in that countrey. p. 584. 667. . . 669. and that it was in great reputation. p. 727. It was received by *Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, about 248. and by the church of *Rome* in his time. p. 836. . . 838. and by divers Latin authors, whose historie is writ in the fourth volume of this work. As may be seen in the alphabetical Table of principal Matters, in the article of the Revelation.

The Revelation was received by *Novatus*, and his followers. Vol. v. p. 100. 103. and by divers other authors, whose historie is writ in that volume.

It is also probable, that it was received by the *Manicheans*. Vol. vi. p. 338.

It was received by *Lactantius*. Vol. vii. 191. 192. and by the *Donatists*. p. 244. by the later *Arnobius*, about 460. p. 56. and by the *Arians*, p. 280.

In the time of *Eusebius*, in the former part of the fourth centurie, it was not received by all. And therefore it is reckoned by him among contradicted books. Vol. viii. 96. Nevertheless it was generally received. p. 111. and 159. *Eusebius* himself seems to have hesitated about it. For he says, "It is likely, that the revelation was seen by *John* the Elder, if not by *John* the Apostle." p. 160. 161. It may be reckoned probable, that the critical argument of *Dionysius*, of *Alexandria*, was of great weight with him, and others of that time. See p. 159. . . 165. The Revelation was received by *Athanasius*. p. 227. 233. and by *Epiphanius*. p. 304. 310. But we also learn from him, that it was not received by all in his time. p. 311. 312. It is not in the catalogue of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, about 348. and seems, not to have been received by him. p. 270. 274. It is also wanting in the catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, about 363. p. 292. Nevertheless I do not think, it can be thence concluded, that this book was rejected by the Bishops of that Council. Their design seems to have been to mention by name those books only, which should be publicly read. And they might be of opinion, that upon account of it's obscurity, it should not be publicly read, though it was of sacred authority. And some may be of opinion, that this observation should likewise be applied to *Cyril's* catalogue just taken notice of.

The Revelation is not in *Gregorie Nazianzen's* catalogue. Vol. ix. 133. Nevertheless it seems to have been received by him. p. 134. . . 136. It is in the catalogue of *Amphilochius*. But he says, it was not received by all. p. 148. It is also omitted in *Ebedjesu's* catalogue of the books of Scripture, received by the *Syrians*. p. 218. Nor is it in the ancient *Syriac* version. p. 222.

It was received by *Jerome*. Vol. x. p. 77. 80. 100. 109. But he says,
it

it was rejected by the Greek Christians. p. 123. It was received by *Rufin*. p. 187. by the third Council of *Carthage* in 397. p. 194. and by *Augustin*. p. 211. 257. But it was not received by all in his time. p. 252. It is never quoted by *Chrysostom*, and, probably, was not received by him. p. 340.

It is in the catalogue of *Dionysius*, called the *Areopagite*, about 490. Vol. xi. p. 219. 220. It is in the *Alexandrian* Manuscript. p. 240. . . . 244. It was received by *Sulpicius Severus*, about 401. p. 11. 12. and by *J. Damascen*. p. 393. and by *Oecumenius*. p. 415. 416. and by many other authors, whose historie is writ in the eleventh volume. *Andrew*, Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, at the end of the fifth centurie. p. 227. and *Arethas*, Bishop of the same place in the sixth centurie, wrote commentaries upon it. p. 288. But it was not received by *Severian*, Bishop of *Gabala*. p. 5. 6. nor, as it seems, by *Theodoret*. p. 89. . . 91.

Upon the whole it appears, that this book has been generally received in all ages : though some have doubted of it, or rejected it, particularly, the *Syrians*, and some other Christians in the East. However, for more particulars, see *St. John*, and *the Revelation*, in the alphabetical Table, which is in the xii. volume of this work.

It may not be improper for me here to remind my readers of the sentiments of divers learned moderns, concerning this book, which were put together in Vol. iv. p. 721. 733. 734. after having largely represented the criticisms of *Caius*, and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, in the third centurie upon the stile of this book, and of the other writings ascribed to *St. John*. Where also is proposed this observation. p. 733. "It may be questioned, whether their exceptions, founded in the difference of stile, and such like things, or any other criticisms whatever, can be sufficient to create a doubt concerning the author of this book : which was owned for a writing of *John*, the Apostle and Evangelist, before the times of *Dionysius* and *Caius*, and, so far as we know, before the most early of those, who disputed it's genuinenesse.

II. Having thus represented the external evidence of the genuinenesse of the book of the Revelation, or of it's being writ by *St. John*, I should proceed to consider the internal evidence. But I need not enlarge here, because the objections taken from the stile, and some other particulars, were stated, and considered, in the fourth volume, in the article of *Dionysius*, above named, Bishop of *Alexandria*. from internal Characters.

I now intend therefore only to take notice of a few things, of principal note, which learned men insist upon, as arguments, that the Revelation has the same author with the Gospel, and Epistles, that go under the name of the Apostle and Evangelist *John*.

I Ch. i. ver. 1. *The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things, which must shortly come to pass. And he sent, and signified it by his angel, unto his servant John.*

Hence it is argued, that (a) *John* styles himself the servant of Christ, in a sense

(a) . . . sed esse se inter notabiles Christi Jesu ministros, quos ad Ecclesiam suam docendam, regendam, et curandam adhibebat. . . . Hoc sensu Moses, David,

a sense not common to all believers, but peculiar to those, who are especially employed by him. So *Paul*, and other Apostles, call themselves *servants of God, and of Christ*. Particularly Rom. i. 1. *Paul a servant of Jesus Christ*. James i. 1. *James a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ*. 2 Pet. i. 1. *Simon Peter, a servant, and an Apostle of Jesus Christ*. Jude v. 1. *Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ*. So *Moses* is called *the servant of God*. Numb. xii. 7. and Hebr. iii. 2. And in like manner divers of the Prophets. And in this very book. ch. x. 7. is the expression: *as he has declared unto his servants the Prophets*.

This observation may be of some weight for shewing, that the writer is an Apostle. But it is not decisive. And in the same verse, whence this argument is taken, the phrase is used in it's general sense. *Which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants*.

2. Ver. 2. *Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimonie of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw*.

Some suppose, the writer herein to refer to the written Gospel of St. *John*, and to say, that he had already *bore testimonie concerning the word of God, and Jesus Christ*. But, as (b) formerly observed, these words may be understood of this very book, the Revelation, and the things contained in it. The writer says here very properly, at the beginning, and by way of preface, that he had performed his office in this book, having therein faithfully recorded the word of God, which he had received from Jesus Christ.

For certain, if these words did clearly refer to a written Gospel; they would be decisive. But (c) they are allowed to be ambiguous, and other senses have been given of them. By some they have been understood to contain a declaration, that the writer had already bore witness to Jesus Christ before magistrates. Moreover, I think, that if St. *John* had intended to manifest himself in this introduction, he would have more plainly characterised himself in several parts of this book, than he has done.

This observation therefore appears to me to be of small moment for determining, who the writer is.

3. Farther, it is argued, in favour of the genuinenesse of this book, "that there are in it many instances of conformity, both of sentiment and

David, Jesaias, et Prophetæ omnes sub œconomia vetere, et Paulus, et alii Apostoli sub œconomia nova vocantur servi Dei. *Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. 1.*

(b) See Vol. iv. p. 703. Edit. Lard.

(c) Ver. 2. *Qui testatus est sermonem Dei, et testimonium J. C. et quæ vilit.*] Duplici modo hæc accipi possunt, vel Joannem confessionem veritatis solennem coram tribunali Præfecti Asiæ Romani edidisse, ob quam ipse missus fuerit in exilium: vel ipsum Evangelio a se edito solenne de Christo, ejusque dictis et gestis edidisse testimonium. Priore sensu vox μαρτυρεῖν scriptoribus Græcis posterioris temporis receptissima est, et manifeste etiam sumitur a Paulo. 1 Tim. vi. 13. . . . Veni igitur ultro in illam sententiam, quæ hæc Joannis verba refert ad Evangelium non prædicatum tantum a Joanne solenniter, sed et scriptis confirmatum. . . . Quæ si sanè sit hujus loci interpretatio, certò simul testabitur de illius auctore, Joanne Apostolo, ac proinde de libri hujus divinitate, et summa auctoritate. *Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. ver. 2.*

and expression, between the Revelation and the uncontested writings of St. *John*."

Divers such coincidences, or instances of agreement, were taken notice of formerly, and remarks were made upon them. Vol. iv. p. 709. . . 718. That which is at p. 716. appears to me, as striking, as any. I shall therefore enlarge upon it here. Our Saviour says to his disciples. John xvi. 33. *Be of good cheer. I have overcome the world.* Christian firmness under trials is several times represented by *overcoming*, or *overcoming the world*, or *overcoming the wicked one*, in St. *John's* first epistle. ch. ii. 13. 14. iv. 4. v. 4. 5. And it is language peculiar to St. *John*, being in no other books of the New Testament. And our Lord says Rev. iii. 21. *To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.* Compare ch. ii. 7. 11. 17. 26. iii. 5. 12. 21. and xxi. 7.

III. Concerning the time of writing this book, I need not now say much, having before shewn, in (d) the historie of St. *John*, that it is the general testimonie of ancient authors, that St. *John* was banished into (e) *Patmos*, in the time of *Domitian*, in the later part of his reign, and restored by his successor *Nerva*. But the book could not be published, till after St. *John's* release, and return to *Ephesus*, in *Asia*.

As *Domitian* died in 96. and his persecution did not commence, till near the end of his reign, the Revelation seems to be fitly dated in the year 95. or 96.

Mill (f) placeth the Revelation in the year of Christ 96. and the last year of the Emperour *Domitian*. At first, he supposed, that the Revelation was writ in *Patmos*. But afterwards (g) he altered his mind, and thought, it was not writ untill after his return to *Ephesus* from *Patmos*. He builds upon the words of Rev. i. 9. If so, I apprehend, it might not be published before the year 97. or, at the soonest, near the end of the year 96.

Basnage

(d) See p. 134. . . . 143.

(e) Eodem ordine septem istæ Asiæ civitates enumerantur, quo ex Patmo insulâ adiri debebant. *Wetstein. in Apoc. i. 11. Tom. 2. p. 750.*

(f) Paucis post conscriptas has epistolas annis, exorta est Christianorum persecutio sub Domitiano. . . . In insulâ vero Patmo, in quam relegatus erat Joannes, Domitiani ultimo, seu anno æræ vulgaris xvi. . . . facta est ipsi Revelatio: quam universam postea expresso Christi mandato scriptis consignavit. Scriptamque Domini ejusdem jussu misit ad septem ecclesias Asiæ. Unde manifestum est, visionem non modo Joanni factam fuisse, sed etiam ab eo literis traditam in insula Patmo. . . . Scriptam fuisse ex prædictis constat anno vulgaris æræ xvi, seu Domitiani xvi. et quidem ad finem ejusdem imperii, inquit Irenæus, seu tempore æstivo æræ vulg. xvi. *Proleg. num. 157.*

(g) Subjiciemus hic verba Millii, quæ in emendandis posuerat: *Hic sententiam, inquit, mutavimus. Constat enim ex ipsis Joannis verbis Apoc. i. 9. eum post reditum ad Ephesum hunc librum scripsisse. Kuster. in notis num. 157. Proleg. p. 19.*

Basnage (b) placeth the Revelation in the year of Christ 96.

Le Clerc (i) likewise, who readily admits the genuinenesse of this book, speaks of it at the same year.

Mr. *Lowman* * supposes, St. *John* to have had his visions in the isle of *Patmos* in the year 95.

But Mr. *Wetstein* (k) favors the opinion of those, who have argued, that the Revelation was writ before the Jewish war. He moreover says, that (l) if the Revelation was writ before that war, it is likely, that the events of that time should be foretold in it. To which I answer, that (m) though some interpreters have applied some things in this book to those times, I cannot say, whether they have done it rightly, or not, because I do not understand the Revelation. But to me it seems, that though this book was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, there was no necessity, that it should be foretold here : because our blessed Lord had in his own preaching at divers times spoke very plainly, and intelligibly, concerning the calamities coming upon the Jewish People in general, and the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, in particular. And his plain predictions, and symbolical prefigurations of those events, were recorded by no less than three historians and Evangelists, before the war in *Judea* broke out.

Grotius,

(b) *Vid. ann. 96. num. xii.*

(i) At nemo de auctoritate ejus dubitârat ante Caium, Romanum Presbyterum, qui circa finem ii. seculi vixit. Cum Cataphryges eo libro abuterentur . . . fœtum hunc esse Apostoli negare, atque a Cérintho, præscripto ejus nomine, editum dicere maluit. At Justinus, et Irenæus, eo antiquiores, et qui cum Joannis discipulis versati erant, Apostolo hoc opus tribuerunt. Similiter, cum medio seculo iii. Nepos in Ægypto Episcopus, Chiliastarum deliria eodem libro tueretur, Dionysius Alexandrinus eadem de causa Joanni eum abjudicavit. Sed aliter senserant, quicumque Apocalypseos antea mentionem fecerant, excepto Caio, quos sequuti etiam posteri omnes ad unum. . . . Multo fide dignior Irenæus, qui passim hunc librum, quasi Johannis apostoli, ad testimonium vocat, et disertè. lib. v. c. 30. *Neque enim ante multum tempus visa est, sed ferme nostra ætate, sub finem imperii Domitiani.* Quæ ejus verba Græca habet Eusebius, l. 5. c. 8. *J. Cleric. H. E. An. 96. num. v.*

* See the Scheme and Order of the Prophecies in the Book of the Revelation, which is prefixed to his Paraphrase.

(k) Nos quidem, omnibus expensis, cum iis facimus, qui statuunt, Apocalypsin ante bellum Judaicum fuisse scriptum. *Weist. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 746. m.*

(l) Quæstio est non levis momenti, cum vera Apocalypseos interpretatio maximam partem inde pendeat. Si enim scripta est ante bellum Judaicum, et bella civilia in Italia; nullo modo probabile est, tantam rerum conversionem omnino præteriri atque negligi potuisse. Sin autem post illos motus composita scripta est, probabilior erit eorum sententia, qui eventus in Apocalypsi prædictos in seculorum sequentium historia quærendos existimant. *Id. ib.*

(m) Lightfootus in genere censet, Apocalypsin hanc editam esse ante novissimum Hierosolymorum excidium. Et certe si Joannes hanc Revelationem vere a Christo Jesu accepisset sub Claudio, magna cum specie negari non posset doctissimis his viris, quædam *sgillorum visa* ad fata judaismi non adeo incommode applicari posse. Sed obstant graves rationes, quæ nos in hanc sententiam

Grotius, who, as (*n*) formerly seen, placeth this book in the reign of *Claudius*, was of opinion, that (*o*) the visions of this book were seen at several times, and afterwards joyned together in one book: in like manner, as the visions and prophecies of some of the Prophets of the Old Testament.

Concerning this opinion it is not proper for me to dispute: though there appears not any foundation for it in the book itself, as (*p*) *Vitringa* has observed. But that the book of the Revelation, in it's present form, sent as an epistle to the seven churches of *Asia*, ch. i. ver. 4. was not composed, and published before the reign of *Domitian*, appears to me very probable from the general, and almost universally concurring testimonie of the ancients, and from some things in the book itself.

Now therefore I shall transcribe (*q*) a part of *Lenfant's* and *Beaufobre's* preface to the Revelation, at the same time referring to *Vitringa* (*r*) in the margin, who has many like thoughts.

Having

tentiam ire vetant. *Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. ver. 2. p. 7. Vid. et in cap. vi. ver. 1. 2. p. 101. . . . 105.*

(*n*) See p. 135.

(*o*) *Et mitte septem ecclesiis.* Nempe hujus visi descriptionem. Neque ad cetera hujus libri pertinet. Diversa visa diversis temporibus Joanni obtigere, ut et Prophetis aliis. *Grot. ad Apoc. cap. i. 11.*

Post absolutum Visum, monita salutaria continens, ad septem episcopos et ecclesias. . . . Sequuntur Visa alia, quæ diversis temporibus Apostolo obtigere, et postea in unum volumen redacta sunt: quod et in prophetiis aliis evenit, sæpe etiam non annotato temporis discrimine, sed dato intelligi ex iis quæ loco quoque continentur. Pertinent autem hæc Visa ad res Judæorum usque ad finem capitis undecimi: deinde ad res Romanorum, usque ad finem capitis vicesimi: deinde ad statum florentissimum Ecclesiæ Christianæ ad finem usque. &c. *Ejusdem Annot. ad cap. iv. init. Vid. et ejus Commentatio ad loca quæd. N. T. &c. citat. in hoc volumine. p. 135.*

(*p*) Et vero *Grotius* et *Hammondus* ipsi causam suam produnt, ubi posteriorem Apocalypseos partem sub *Vespasiano* Ephefi scriptam concedunt. Quis enim illos docuit, Visa Joannis in Apocalypsi hoc modo distinguere, et diversa illis et tam longe distita assignare tam tempora quam loca? Nullum indicium, nulla significatio illius rei in ipsa Apocalypsi exilat. Contra dicitur Joannes, quæ vidit, vidisse in insula *Patmo*. *Vitr. ib. p. 11. 12.*

(*q*) *Preface sur l'Apoc. de S. Jean. p. 613. 614.*

(*r*) Primo dubium non est, quin si testimoniis Veterum res consicienda sit: communis antiquæ Ecclesiæ traditio, firmata auctoritate *Irenæi*, hic multum præponderet testimonio *Epiphani*. *Irenæus* enim temporibus Joannis Apostoli propior fuit, tanquam qui eodem adhuc seculo cum Joanne vixerit, et traditionem nobis retulit suo ætate communem, et omnibus notissimam.

Sed quod plus etiam momenti causæ nostræ addit: Non nititur nostra hæc sententia de tempore scriptæ Apocalypsis sola traditione Veterum. Potest illa ex ipso hoc libro, etiam absque ulla traditione veteris Ecclesiæ demonstrari. Quare secundo observari velim, ex ipsa Apocalypsi evidentissimas adduci posse probationes, ex quibus evincatur, hunc librum non utique sub *Claudio*, sed omnino post *Claudii* et *Neronis* tempora, quin imo sub *Domitiano* demum in lucem editum esse. . . . Quo tempore scripta est Apocalypsis, ecclesiæ jam per *Asiam* inferiorem in celeberrimis locis non tantum erant fundatæ et constabilitæ, sed jamdudum fundatæ et stabilitæ fuisse supponuntur.

Redar-

Having quoted *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and divers other ancients, placing *St. John's* banishment in *Patmos*, in the later part of the reign of *Domitian*, and saying, that he there saw the revelation, they say: "To these uncontestable witnesses it is needless to add a long list of others, of all ages, and of the same sentiment: to whom the authority of *Epiphanius* is

Redarguuntur enim pleræque a Domino gravium vitiorum et criminum, quæ tractu longioris temporis ecclesias illas obrepserant. Ephesina jam reliquerat primam suam charitatem. Sardicenis dicebatur, nomine vivere, sed vere mortua esse. Laodice nam magnus occupaverat tepor, eratque ærumnosa et miserabilis. Hæc vero quam belle conveniunt temporibus Domitii! Ex ecclesiis enim septem, quæ hic memorantur, in Actibus Apostolorum, aliarum mentio non est, quam Ephesinæ et Laodice næ. Ephesina autem a Paulo Apostolo demum fundata est, secundum Annales Cestriensis, anno Claudii Imperatoris extremo, . . . Liquet ex iisdem epistolis Joannis, illo tempore, quo edita est Apocalypsis, Gnosticorum hæreses, quæ dicuntur, in florentissimis Asiæ ecclesiis altas jam egisse radices. Ad illas enim carnalium hominum doctrinas sub mysticis nominibus Bileamitarum et Nicolaitarum in variis locis alluditur. Illam hæresim prævidebat Petrus in Ecclesia brevi exorituram, quando epistolam suam scribebat posteriorem, non longe ante Hierosolymorum excidium. Judas, qui epistolam suam edidit, ut probabilis ratio suadet, post Hierosolymorum illud excidium, hoc semen in prima vidit herba. Sed quo tempore scripta est Apocalypsis non nata tantum, sed confirmata erat hæc hæresis, et præcipuas Asiæ ecclesias inquinaverat. Quare si Judas Apostolus epistolam suam scripsit sub Vespasiano: quis neget, Apocalypsin editam esse sub Domitiano? In ipsis illis Epistolis passim supponuntur afflictiones graviores, quas Ecclesia Christi religionis suæ causa jam sustinebat, et sustinuerat: et inter illas supplicium capitale, quo confessores veritatis afficiebantur. Sic Dominus ad Angelum ecclesiæ Ephesinæ: *Novi laborem tuum, καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου*, et tolerantiam in afflictionibus. Ad Angelum Smyrnenis: *Novi opera tua, et τὴν ὀλῶν, afflictionem, et paupertatem*. Ad Angelum Pergamenæ: *Nec abnegasti fidem meam, ne quidem in diebus, quibus Antipas, testis meus fidelis, ἀπεκτάνθη, occisus est*. Supponunt hæc manifeste, tempore editæ Apocalypsis Gentiles jam cœpisse in Christianos sævire, et ipsam etiam mortem poenæ loco illis quandoque solennibus judiciis irrogasse. Id vero hæcenus non liquet factum esse imperante Claudio. Nero, postquam humanitatem exuisset, sanguinem Christianum primus bibit: Romæ tamen, magis quam in provinciis. Post Neronem Domitianus, ultimis imperii sui, idem tentavit. Ad quas postremas Domitiani persecutiones in his locis haud dubie alluditur. Neronis enim illam persecutionem in provinciis Romani Imperii æque ac Romæ arsisse, nec liquet, nec probabile est. Ad Domitiani itaque persecutionem hic manifeste alluditur. Quod argumento est, Apocalypsin hanc sub ipso editam esse. Ejusdem hujus Domitiani temporis manifestum habemus characterem in Joanne. Dicit enim exerte, se accepisse hanc revelationem a Domino Jesu, cum ob confessionem veritatis evangelicæ ageret in insula Patmo. Vocatque se Christianorum, illo tempore afflictorum, socium in afflictione, regno, et patiente expectatione Jesu Christi. Fuit igitur Joannes in exilio, causâ veritatis relegatus in insulam Patmon. Id vero quo modo acciderit sub Claudio? Illum enim in Christianos in provinciis aut exilio aut cæde sævisse, nullibi legitur. . . . Domitiani igitur hic, et nullius alius Imperatoris character est. Nero enim Christianos capitali supplicio Romæ affecit: sed Domitianus plures exilio, paucos morte punivit, ut certi testes sunt Dio et Eusebius, et pluribus persecutus est Dodwellus. *Diff. xi. De Pauc. Mart. § xvii.* Quid cessamus itaque tam evidentibus probationibus convicti fidem adhibere traditioni Veterum apud Irenæum? *Vitring. in Apoc. Cap. i. ver. 2. p. 9. . . . 11.*

is by no means comparable." And then they go on: "We must add to so constant a tradition other reasons, which farther shew, that the Revelation was not writ, till after *Claudius*, and *Nero*. It appears from the book itself, that there had been already churches for a considerable space of time in *Asia*: forasmuch as St. *John* in the name of Christ reproves faults, that happen not but after a while. The church of *Ephesus* had left her first love. That of *Sardis* had a name to live, but was dead. The church of *Laodicea* was fallen into lukewarmness and indifference. But the church of *Ephesus*, for instance, was not founded by St. *Paul*, before the last years of *Claudius*. When in 61. or 62. St. *Paul* wrote to them from *Rome*, instead of reproving their want of love, he commends their love and faith. ch. i. 15. 2. It appears from the Revelation, that the *Nicolaitans* made a sect, when this book was writ, since they are expressly named: whereas they were only foretold, and described in general terms by St. *Peter* in his second epistle, writ after the year sixty, and in St. *Jude's* about the time of the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Vespasian*. 3. It is evident from divers places of the Revelation, that there had been an open persecution in the provinces. St. *John* himself had been banished into *Patmos* for the testimonie of Jesus. The church of *Ephesus*, or it's Bishop, is commended for their labour and patience, which seems to imply persecution. This is still more manifest in the words directed to the church of *Smyrna*. ch. ii. 9. *I know thy works, and tribulation.* For the original word always denotes persecution, in the scriptures of the New Testament: as it is also explained in the following verse. In the thirteenth verse of the same chapter is mention made of a Martyr, named *Antipas*, put to death at *Pergamus*. Though ancient ecclesiastical historie gives us no information concerning this *Antipas*, it is nevertheless certain, that according to all the rules of language, what is here said, ought to be understood literally. . . . All that has been now observed concerning the persecution, of which mention is made in the first chapters of the Revelation, cannot relate to the time of *Claudius*, who did not persecute the Christians, nor to the time of *Nero*, whose persecution did not reach the provinces. And therefore it must relate to *Domitian*, according to ecclesiastical tradition."

The visions therefore here recorded, and the publication of them in this book, must be assigned, so far as I can see, to the years of Christ 95. and 96. or 97.

C H A P. XXIII.

The Order of the Books of the New Testament.

- I. *Their Order in ancient Authors.* II. *General Observations upon their Order.* III. *The Order of the several Parts of the N. T.* 1. *the Gospels.* 2. *the Acts.* 3. *St. Paul's Epistles in general.* 4. *their Order severally.* 5. *Of placing them in the Order of Time.* 6. *The Order of the Catholic Epistles.* 7. *The Revelation.*

*Their Order in
ancient Authors.*

I. IN shewing the order of the books of the New Testament, I begin with a passage of *Eusebius*, in a chapter, which is entitled “Concerning the (a) divine Scriptures, which are universally received, and those which are not such.” “But, says he, it will be proper to enumerate here in a summarie way the (b) books of the New Testament, which have been already mentioned. And in the first place are to be ranked the sacred four Gospels. Then the book of the Acts of the Apostles. After that are to be reckoned the epistles of *Paul*. In the next place, that called the first epistle of *John*, and the [first] Epistle of *Peter*, are to be esteemed authentic. After these is to be placed, if it be thought fit, the Revelation of *John*, about which we shall observe the different opinions at a proper season. Of the controverted, but yet well known, [or approved by the most, or many:] are that called the Epistle of *James*, and that of *Jude*, and the second of *Peter*, and the second and third of *John*: whether they are writ by the Evangelist, or by another of that name.”

This passage, as my readers may well remember, was transcribed by us (c) formerly. And here the order is very observable: the four Gospels, the Acts, St. *Paul*'s Epistles, the two Catholic Epistles of St. *John*, and St. *Peter*, which were universally received, and then the books that were controverted, that is, not received, by all, though by many.

The same order seems to have been followed by that ancient writer *Irenæus*. For in the third book of his works against heretics, where he is confuting the *Valentinians*, he (d) in several chapters argues from the Gospels of *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*. Then, in the twelfth chapter of that book, he largely quotes the book of the Acts. After which he considers the authority of the Apostle *Paul*, and quotes both him, and *Peter*.

In the Festal Epistle of *Athanasius* the books of the New Testament are enumerated in this order. “The (e) four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Epistles, the fourteen Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*,

(a) Περὶ τῶν ὁμολογούμενων θείων γραφῶν, καὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων. *H. E.* l. 3. cap. 25.

(b) — τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης γραφαί.

(d) *Iren.* l. 3. cap. ix. x. xi.

(c) *Vol.* viii. p. 96. *Ed.* L.

(e) See *Vol.* viii. p. 227. *Lard.*

Paul, and the *Revelation*." They stand exactly in the same order, in (f) the Synopsis ascribed to him, though not composed till more than a hundred years after his time. The same is the order (g) of our *Alexandrian* manuscript. So likewise in (h) *Cyril of Jerusalem*: "the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, seven Catholic Epistles, and the fourteen Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*." He omits the *Revelation*. The same is the order of (i) the catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, omitting also the *Revelation*. So likewise in the (k) catalogue of *John Damascen*: "the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles, fourteen Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*, and the *Revelation*." The same is the order of (l) *Leontius*. And in the *Syrian* catalogues as given by (m) *Ebedjesu*: "the four Gospels, the Acts, three Catholic Epistles, and the fourteen Epistles of *Paul*."

Rufin's order is "the (n) Gospels, the Acts, *Paul*'s Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, and the *Revelation*." The same order is in (o) the catalogue of the third Council of *Carthage*. In *Gregorie Nazianzen* (p) also "the four Gospels, the Acts, the fourteen Epistles of *Paul*, the Catholic Epistles." The *Revelation* is wanting. The same order is in the catalogue of (q) *Amphilochius*, with the *Revelation* at the end, mentioned as doubtful. In the *Stichometrie* (r) also of *Nicephorus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, about the year 806. "the four Gospels, the Acts, *Paul*'s fourteen Epistles, and the seven Catholic Epistles."

That is the order of *Eusebius*, and, probably, of *Irenæus*, likewise, as before shewn, consequently, the most ancient. It is also the order, which is now generally received. And to me it appears to be the best.

In *Epiphanius* (s) the books of the New Testament are enumerated in this order: "the four sacred Gospels, the fourteen Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*, the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Epistles, and the *Revelation*."

I imagine, that this must have been the order of *Euthalius*. For (t) he is supposed to have first published an edition of *Paul*'s Epistles, and afterwards an edition of the Acts, and the Catholic Epistles, about the year 490. In his prologue to the Acts of the Apostles, addressed to *Athanasius* then Bishop of *Alexandria*, he says: "Having (u) formerly divided the Epistles of *Paul* into sections, I have now done the like in the book of the Acts, and the seven Catholic Epistles." Hence I am led to argue, that this was his order: *Paul*'s Epistles, the Acts, and the Catholic Epistles.

Jerome's

-(f) *The same*, p. 245. 246.

(g) *Vol. viii.* p. 270. 271.

(h) *Vol. xi.* p. 393.

(m) *Vol. ix.* p. 216—218.

(o) *Ib.* p. 193. 194.

(q) *Vol. ix.* p. 147. 148.

(s) *Her.* 76. p. 941. cited *Vol. viii.* p. 303. 304.

(t) See *Vol. xi.* p. 206. See *Lardner's Edit.* for the above.

(u) "Εναγχος τόνων, ὡς ἔφην, τὴν πᾶντα βιβλίον ἀνεγνασκῶς, αὐτίκα δὲτα, καὶ τήδε τὴν τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων, ἅμα τῇ τῶν καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπὶδοῦν, ποιήσας, ἀξίως σοι ὑπομῆνα. *Euthal. ap. Zacagni. Monum. Vet.* p. 405.

(g) *Vol. xi.* p. 239. 240.

(i) *Vol. viii.* p. 292. 293.

(l) *Ib.* p. 381.

(n) *Vol. x.* p. 186. 187.

(p) *Vol. ix.* p. 133.

(r) *Vol. xi.* p. 249.

Jerome's order, in his letter to *Paulinus*, is (x) "the four Gospels, St. *Paul's* Epistles, the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation." Which is very agreeable to the order of *Epiphanius*, and also of *Euthalius*, if I understand him aright. But in *Jerome's* work of the interpretation of Hebrew Names the order is thus: "The (y) Gospels of the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Epistles, the fourteen Epistles of *Paul*, and the Revelation." In the letter to *Læta* the order is, "the (z) Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles of the Apostles."

Augustin varies. In his work of the Christian Doctrine the scriptures of the New Testament are rehearsed in this manner: "The (a) four books of the Gospels, fourteen Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*, the seven Catholic Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles in one book, and the Revelation of *John* in one book." In another work: "The (b) Gospels, the Epistles of the Apostles, [meaning *Paul's* Epistles, and the Catholic Epistles,] the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation of *John*." In one of his works he quotes texts from the books of the New Testament in this order: first (c) from the Gospels, next from several of the Catholic Epistles, then from almost all the Epistles of *Paul*, after that from the Revelation, and lastly from the Acts of the Apostles.

In the catalogue of *Innocent* the first, Bishop of *Rome*, this order is observable: "the (d) four Gospels, St. *Paul's* fourteen Epistles, seven Catholic Epistles, the Acts, and the Revelation." *Isidore* of *Seville*, in his several works, has three or four catalogues of the books of the New Testament. In (e) all of them we see this order: "first the Gospels, then the Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*, then the Catholic Epistles, after them the Acts, and then the Revelation." There were according to him, two parts or divisions of the New Testament, one called the Gospels or the Evangelists, the other the Apostles or the Epistles. And in this last part the book of the Acts was placed. The same is the order in the Complexions or short Commentaries of *Cassiodorus*: they (f) are upon St. *Paul's* Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation.

The three writers, alleged in this last paragraph, agree very much with *Augustin* in the two passages first cited from him in the preceding paragraph.

Chrysostom's order, in the Synopsis ascribed to him, as formerly observed, is very singular: the (g) fourteen Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*, the four Gospels, the book of the Acts, and three Catholic Epistles."

The catalogue of *Gelasius* also is particular for the place of the Revelation. For he enumerates the books in this order: "the (h) four Gospels, the Acts, St. *Paul's* fourteen Epistles, the Revelation, and the Catholic Epistles."

I suppose, I ought not to omit the order of the books in the 85. Apostolical Canon, as it is called, which is this. "The (i) four Gospels,

(x) Cited Vol. x. p. 76. 77.

(z) *Ib.* p. 159.

(b) *P.* 253.

(d) Vol. xi. p. 39. 40.

(f) See Vol. xi. p. 311.

(h) Vol. xi. p. 225.

(y) *Ib.* p. 80.

(a) Vol. x. p. 211.

(c) *P.* 257. 258.

(e) Vol. xi. p. 373. 374.

(g) Vol. x. p. 312. 313.

(i) Vol. viii. p. 402.

pels, *Paul's* fourteen Epistles, seven Catholic Epistles, two Epistles of *Clement*, the Constitution, the Acts of the Apostles."

I shall transcribe nothing more of this kind. They who are desirous to see more examples, may consult the alphabetical table at the end of the twelfth volume, in that article, *The New Testament*. Here is enough to be a foundation for such remarks, as are proper to be made, relating to this point.

II. It is obvious to remark upon what we have now seen, that in the several ages of Christianity, and in several parts of the world, there has been some variety in the disposition of the books of the New Testament, in two particulars especially. For in some catalogues *St. Paul's* Epistles precede the Catholic Epistles, in others they follow them. And the book of the Acts is sometimes placed next after the Gospels, in other catalogues it follows all the Epistles.

General observations upon their Order.

Dr. Mill, who, in his *Prolegomena*, has an article concerning the order of the Books of the New Testament, with regard to the first particular, the placing in divers catalogues the Catholic Epistles before *St. Paul's*, says: "that (*k*) possibly the Christians of those times supposed them to deserve precedence, because they were not directed to one church, or person only, as *St. Paul's* are, but to Christians in general, and many churches scattered over the world. Some might also think the Catholic Epistles entitled to precedence, because they were writ by those, who were Apostles before *Paul*, and had accompanied our Lord in his personal ministrie here on earth."

Mill likewise argues, that this was the most ancient order, because it is that of the *Alexandrian*, and some other ancient manuscripts. But I do not think that to be full proof. For *Eusebius* is older, and his order is the same as ours. The same order is in the catalogues of *Rufin*, the Council of *Carthage*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, and divers others, very probably older than any manuscripts now in being. And in many other writers, likewise of great antiquity, *St. Paul's* Epistles precede the Catholic Epistles. Whereby I am induced to think, this must have been the most ancient order.

The reason, why the book of the Acts was sometimes placed after all the Epistles, some may think, was, because it was not so generally received as the Gospels, the thirteen Epistles of *Paul*, and some of the Catholic Epistles. *Mr. Wetstein* (*l*) hints at that reason. But I rather think,

(*k*) In epistolarum quidem dispositione variatum est. In antiquissimis quos habemus manuscriptis, etiam Alexandrino nostro Paulinis præmissæ sunt Catholicæ: eo quod hæc Judæis, per orbem quaquaversum dispersis, adeoque pluribus ecclesiis inscriptæ sint: illæ vero singulis sive ecclesiis, sive etiam hominibus. Ne dicam, quod in isthac dispositione rationem forsitan habuerint dignitatis Apostolorum, a quibus scriptæ sunt: ut nempe Apostoli Judæorum, iique jam ab initio electi a Domino, ac cum eo per omne ministerii ipsius tempus versati, præponerentur Paulo, Apostolo Gentium, ac cui novissime omnium visus erat. Postea autem Paulinæ positæ sunt ante Catholicas. *Mill. Proleg. num. 236.*

See Lardner's Edit. for the above.

(*l*) Apud orthodoxos vero hic Actuum liber non videtur eodem loco fuisse habitus, quo reliqui N. T. libri. *Wetstein. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 455.*

think, that by some it was judged proper, that the Epistles of Apostles should immediately follow the Gospels, containing the historie of our Lord himself: and that the historie of the Apostles, and of their preaching, writ by an apostolical man, should not precede, but rather follow their writings. For by *Eusebius*, as we have seen, the Book of the Acts of the Apostles is reckoned among scriptures universally acknowledged by Catholic Christians. It is so considered likewise by (m) *Origen*. And indeed, that this has been all along an universally acknowledged sacred book of the New Testament, appears from our collections from every age of christianity from the beginning. See *Acts of the Apostles* in the alphabetical table of matters at the end of the twelfth volume.

Mr. *Wetstein* (n) argues from the 85. Apostolical Canon, where the Acts of the Apostles are mentioned last. To which I answer, *first*, that the age, when those Canons were composed, is uncertain. And *secondly*, that order may have been there chosen out of a regard to the common rules of modestie. For it is thus: “the (o) Gospels, *Paul’s* Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, two Epistles of *Clement*, the Constitutions, and (p) the Acts of us the Apostles.” When a man took upon himself the character of the Apostles, and expressed himself in that manner, it was natural enough to reckon the book, which contained the historie of their own actions, last of all. Surely, it is trifling to form an argument from that position in this canon. And Mr. *Wetstein* might have observed, that in many catalogues, undoubtedly ancient, the Acts immediately follow the Gospels: and that, not only in those catalogues, where St. *Paul’s* Epistles have the precedence before the Catholic Epistles, but in divers others likewise, where the Catholic Epistles precede.

III. Having made these general observations, I now propose to consider distinctly the order of the several parts of the New Testament: the Gospels, the Acts, St. *Paul’s* Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation.

1. *The Gospels.* 1. The order of the four Gospels has generally been this, *Matthew, Mark, Luke, John*. This is their order in (g) *Irenæus*, (r) *Origen*, (s) *Eusebius*, in his Ecclesiastical Historie, and in his ten Canons, as represented in his letter to *Carpian*, (t) *Athanasius*, (u) the Council of *Laodicea*, (x) *Epiphanius*, (y) the 85. Apostolical Canon, (z) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, (a) *Amphilochius*, (b) the Syrian catalogue, (c) *Jerome*, (d) *Rufin*, (e) *Augustin*, (f) the *Alexandrian* manuscript,

(m) See ch. 38. num. viii. Vol. 3. p. 245. 246. *Lardner’s Edit.*

(n) In Can. Ap. 85. ordo librorum iste reperitur: iv. Evangelia, Epistolæ Pauli xiv. Petri, Joannis, Jacobi, Judæ, Clementis duæ, Constitutiones, Acta. *Wetst. ubi supr. p. 455.*

(o) See Vol. viii. p. 402.

(g) Vol. i. p. 353. 354.

(s) Vol. viii. p. 92.

(u) Vol. viii. p. 292.

(y) Ib. p. 402.

(a) Ib. p. 147.

(c) Vol. x. p. 76. 80. 83. 84.

(e) Ib. p. 211.

(p) Καὶ πρῶταις ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων.

(r) Vol. iii. p. 235. and 244.

(t) Ib. p. 227. and see p. 246.

(x) Ib. p. 305. 306.

(z) Vol. ix. p. 133.

(b) Ib. 216. 217.

(d) Ib. p. 186.

(f) Vol. xi. p. 239. 240.

script, (g) the *Stichometrie* of *Nicephorus*, (h) *Cosmas* of *Alexandria*, (i) *Junilius*, an African Bishop, (k) *Isidore* of *Seville*, (l) *Leontius* of *Constantinople*. And in like manner in all authors and catalogues in general, distinctly taken notice of in the several volumes of this work.

Nevertheless in considering the testimonie of *Tertullian* we thought we saw reason to apprehend, that (m) in his time, in the *African* churches at least, the Gospels were disposed according to the quality of the writers: in the first place those two, which were writ by Apostles, then the other two, writ by Apostolical men. This was inferred from some expression in his (n) works. But perhaps the argument is not conclusive. However the four Gospels are in the same order in (o) some *Latin* manuscripts, still in being, and also in (p) the *Cambridge* manuscript, which is *Greek* and *Latin*: *Matthew*, *John*, *Luke*, *Mark*. But by Mr. *Wetstein* we are assured, that (q) it is the only *Greek* manuscript, in which the Evangelists are so disposed. For certain the other order must have generally prevailed.

2. Concerning the Acts the question is, in which part of *The Acts*. the New Testament it was generally placed by the ancients: whether in the Evangelicon, or the Apostolicon. And undoubtedly, by those who mention it after *St. Paul's* Epistles, or after all the Epistles of the Apostles, it was placed in the later part. But, as we have seen, it is often mentioned by ancient writers next after the four Gospels. Was it then reckoned a part of the Evangelicon, or of the Apostolicon? From some passages of *Tertullian* it was formerly argued by us, that (r) the book of the Acts was placed in the second part of the New Testament, and at the begining of it. I would now add, that I think, the same may be argued from *Irenæus*, who (s) having alleged passages from the four Gospels, proceeds to the Acts, and considers what he allegeth thence as the doctrine, particularly, of the Apostles. And *Mill* supposeth, that (t) in the most ancient times the Acts were placed with the Epistles, but before them, as the first book of that part. However, it is observable, that the *Cambridge* manuscript has the Acts of the Apostles, though it has not the Epistles. But then *Mill* says, that (u) volume
once

(g) *Ib.* p. 249.

(h) *Ib.* p. 266. 267.

(i) *Ib.* p. 297.

(k) *Ib.* p. 370.

(l) *Ib.* p. 381.

(m) See *Vol. ii.* p. 633. 634.

See *Lardner's Edit.* for the above.

(n) Denique nobis fidem ex Apostolis Joannes et Matthæus insinuant: ex apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant, iisdem regulis exorti. *Adv. Marcion.* l. 4. cap. 2. p. 503. A. *Vid. et ibid.* cap. 5. p. 505. C. D.

(o) *Vid. Joseph. Blanchini Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latine Versionis Antiquæ.*

(p) *Vid. Mill. Prolegom. num.* 1269.

(q) Vidit tamen, nisi admodum fallor, hunc ipsam Codicem Cantabrigiensem, qui unus et solus omnium Codicum Græce Scriptorum hunc ordinem servat. *Wetstein. Prolegom. p.* 28.

(r) *Vol. ii.* p. 631. 632. *Ed. Lard.*

(s) *Vid. Iren. contr. Hær. l. 3. cap. xi. fin. et cap. xii. in.*

(t) Primo loco posita sunt Acta Apostolorum. . . Subsecutæ sunt Epistolæ indubitato Apostolicæ, quas corrogare undique liceret. *Proleg. num.* 195.

(u) Marci Evangelio suffixa est etiam notula, significans, post illud proxime poni librum Actuum. Verum hæc est scribæ recentioris. Sequens enim solum, quod prima facie duodecim postremos versus epistolæ tertix D. Jo-

once had the Epistles, as well as the Gospels. And therefore, probably, the book of the Acts stood at the head of that part, which contained the Epistles. And for certain, I think, it best that the historical books of the New Testament should appear together. Accordingly, as we have seen, the Acts do in many ancient catalogues immediately follow the Gospels. And I wish, that Mr. *Wetstein* had followed that order, which now prevails, and that he had not placed the Acts of the Apostles, as he has done, at the head of the Catholic Epistles, and after the Epistles of *St. Paul*.

St. Paul's Epistles in general. 3. In the catalogues lately alleged, we have seen *St. Paul's Epistles* sometimes preceding the catholic Epistles, at other times following them. Here the order, as seems to me, is of little consequence. But I rather prefer our present order, which places *St. Paul's Epistles* first: because, excepting only the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, all of them have been all along universally acknowledged: whereas among the seven Catholic Epistles there are but two, which have not been at some times contradicted books. Moreover *St. Paul's Epistles* immediately follow the historical books in *Eusebius*. Whence I am willing to infer, that it is the most ancient order.

Their Order severally. 4. I must say something about the order of *St. Paul's Epistles* severally: our order is that of his thirteen Epistles, which have been universally acknowledged, and then the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, about which there had been doubts in the minds of many for a good while.

Among the ancients there is some variety. To the *Romans*, the *Corinthians*, the *Galatians*, the *Ephesians*, the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, the *Thessalonians*, *Hebrews*, *Timothie*, *Titus*, *Philemon*. So (x) in the Festal Epistle of *Athanasius*, and (y) in the Synopsis ascribed to him, and (z) in the catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, and (a) in the *Alexandrian* manuscript. In others may be found our present order, as (b) in the iambic poem of *Amphilochius*, the (c) Syrian catalogue in *Ebedjesu*, (d) *Jerome*, in his article of *St. Paul*, (e) *Augustin* in his work of the Christian Doctrine, (f) *Occumenius*, and many others.

Epiphanius, observing how *Marcion* had disturbed the order of *St. Paul's Epistles*, says, that (g) in some editions of the New Testament, the epistle to the *Hebrews* was the fourteenth, in others the tenth, being placed before the two epistles to *Timothie*, and the epistles to *Titus*, and *Philemon*: and that (b) in all good copies the epistle to the *Romans* was the first, not that to the *Galatians*, as *Marcion* had disposed them.

Theodoret

annis exhibet, alterâ primam partem capitis primi Actorum, clare indicat Exemplar hoc jam olim, præter Evangelia et Acta, complexum fuisse Catholicas saltem Epistolas. *Mill. Proleg. num. 1270.*

(x) See Vol. viii. p. 227.

(y) P. 245.

(z) P. 292. 293.

(a) Vol. xi. p. 240.

(b) Vol. ix. p. 147.

(c) Vol. ix. p. 217. 218.

(d) Vol. x. p. 112.

(e) Vol. x. p. 211.

(f) Vol. xi. p. 411.

(g) Her. 42. p. 373. C.

See *Lardner's Edit.* for the above.

(b) Πάτα δὲ τὰ ἀντίγραφα τὰ σῶα καὶ ἀληθῆ τὴν πρὸς ῥωμαίους ἔχουσιν πρῶτην, οὐχ' ὡς σὺ μαρτυρεῖς τὴν πρὸς γαλάτας ἑταῖαν πρῶτην. H. 42. p. 373. D.

Theodoret (*i*) and Chrysostom (*k*) have particularly taken notice, that the epistle to the Romans was placed first, though it was not the first in the order of time.

Concerning the reason of that disposition of the epistle to the Romans, Theodoret observes, “that it (*l*) had been placed first, as containing the “most full and exact representation of the Christian doctrine in all it’s “branches. But some say, it had been so placed out of respect to the “city, to which it had been sent, as presiding over the whole world.”

I have sometimes thought, the first observation might have been applied to all St. Paul’s Epistles, as the ground and reason of their situation. For the first five Epistles, that to the Romans, the two to the Corinthians, and the Epistles to the Galatians, and the Ephesians, are the largest of St. Paul’s epistles. And all that follow are shorter, excepting the Epistle to the Hebrews, which has been placed after those sent to churches, or last of all, after those likewise, which were sent to particular persons, because it’s genuineness was not universally allowed of.

But the other, the dignity of the cities and people, to whom the epistles were sent, has been more generally supposed to be the ground and reason of the order, in which they are placed. How this is represented by Mill, may appear in his own words, which (*m*) I place below.

I also shall shew this, as well as I can. Epistles to churches are placed first. Afterwards those to particular persons. The epistles to churches are placed very much according to the rank of the cities, or places to which they were sent. The epistle to the Romans is placed first, because Rome was the chief city of the Roman Empire. The two epistles to the Corinthians come next, because Corinth was a large, and polite, and renowned city. Galatia was a countrey, in which were several churches, and therefore the epistle to them might be placed before others, writ to one church only. Nevertheless the epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians have been preferred, as is supposed, upon account of the great eminence of those two cities. The epistle to the Ephesians follows next, because Ephesus was the chief city of Asia, strictly so called. Afterwards follow the epistles to the Philippians, the Colossians, and the Thessalonians. But how to account for this order, according to the method we here observe, I do not well know. Colosse indeed might be reckoned a city of inferior rank, and Philippi was a Roman colonie. But Thessalonica was the chief city of Macedonia, in which

(*i*) Vol. x. p. 85. 86. Edit. Lard.

(*k*) Vol. x. p. 331. the same.

(*l*) Προτετάχασιν δὲ τὴν πρὸς ῥωμαίους, ὡς παντοδαπὴν ἔχουσαν διδασκαλίαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν δογματικῶν ἀκρίβειαν διὰ πλείονων διδασκῶσαν. Τινὲς δὲ φασιν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τιμῶντες, &c. λ. Theod. Pr. in Ep. S. P. T. 3. p. 6.

(*m*) In iis vero disponendis (excepta una ad Hebræos, de qua mox,) spectata est omnino dignitas ecclesiarum et hominum, quibus missæ sunt. Epistola ad ecclesias Galatiæ, quæ erat integra provincia, merito præcedebat illas, quæ ad unam datæ erant civitatem, Laodiceam, Philippos, Colossenses, Thessalonicam. His tamen præponere visum est epistolas ad Romanos et Corinthios, ob eminentem harum urbium dignitatem, qua provinciam istam superare videbantur. Epistolas integris ecclesiis inscriptas sequuntur, quæ ad singulos homines datæ sunt. Proleg. num. 237.

which Philippi stood. And if the epistles were disposed according to the dignity of places, it is not easie to conceive, why the two epistles to the Thessalonians were placed after those to the Philippians and the Colossians. So that in this method, as seems to me, the order of the epistles is made out in but a lame and imperfect manner. And there may be reason to apprehend, that the brevity of the two epistles to the Thessalonians, especially of the second, procured them this situation: though they are the first written epistles of our Apostle, and indeed the first writ of all the sacred scriptures of the New Testament.

Among the epistles to particular persons, those to Timothie have the precedence, as he was a favourite disciple of St. Paul, and those epistles are the largest and fullest. The epistle to Titus comes next, as he was an Evangelist. And that to Philemon is last, as he was supposed by many to be only a private Christian. Undoubtedly Titus was a person of greater eminence, and in a higher station than Philemon. Moreover by many the design of that epistle was thought to be of no great importance.

The epistle to the Hebrews is fitly enough placed after the rest, because for a while it was doubted of, as before said. I likewise think it to be the last written of all St. Paul's Epistles.

Of placing his Epistles in the Order of Time. 5. Some learned men, who have examined the chronologie of St. Paul's Epistles, have proposed, that they should be placed in our Bibles, according to the order of time. Dr. Wall, at the end of the preface to his Critical Notes upon the New Testament, has an argument to this purpose.

But *first*, it will be difficult to alter the order, which has been so long established in all editions of the original Greek, and in all versions. *Secondly*, the order of their times has not been yet settled. Many, I suppose, are of opinion, that Dr. Wall's order is not right. Must the order be altered again and again, to suit every one's phansie? That would create a very troublesome and disagreeable confusion.

I think, that the knowledge of the order, in which St. Paul's Epistles were writ, must be very entertaining, and usefull. And I have done what is in my power to find it out. But I am far from desiring, that they should be placed, and bound up together, according to my calculations. Before an attempt of that kind is made, the order of time should be settled, and determined to the general satisfaction of all learned and inquisitive men. And judicious Christians, who have studied the chronological order of the writings of the New Testament, may have an advantage by it, though the books are continued in their present order.

The Catholic Epistles. 6. I say nothing here concerning the order of the seven Catholic Epistles, because I have spoken to it sufficiently in a (n) preceding chapter.

The Revelation. 7. Finally, the book of the Revelation is now placed the last of all, and has been generally so placed in former times, and very fitly, as (o) Mill says in his observations upon the order:

(n) See p. 365.

(o) Agmen vero Novi Fœderis librorum claudit Apocalypsis. Quæ cum circa diversum plane a reliquis versetur argumentum, atque minus apte inter

order of the books of the New Testament, "it being prophetic of things to be hereafter fulfilled, and therefore of a different kind from the rest: and having also near the end that remarkable clause, ch. xxii. 18. 19. containing a caution against adding to, or taking from it. Which may be applied to all the books of Scripture." To which might be added, that there are not wanting divers reasons to think, it is the last written of all the books of the New Testament.

C H A P. XXIV.

That the Books of the New Testament, consisting of a Collection of sacred Writings, in two Parts, one called Gospel, or Gospels, or Evangelicon, the other Epistles, or Apostle, or Apostles, or Apostolicon, were early known, read, and made use of by Christians.

THAT the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles of the New Testament, or divers of those Epistles, were soon well known, much read, and collected together, may be argued from internal marks and characters, and from testimonie.

1. Internal marks and characters are such as these.

1. It is obvious from the nature of the thing. Who composes and publishes any works, without desiring to have them perused? It is very likely therefore, that the authors of the books of the New Testament, who were at the pains of writing histories, or epistles, would take care, that they should be known. The same zeal that prompted any man to write, would induce him to provide for the publication. The importance of the subject would justify a concern to spread the work. All must allow, that there never were, and that there cannot be, any writings, containing more important facts and principles. To suppose, that any of these writers were indifferent about the success and acceptance of what they had composed, is very absurd and unreasonable.

2. All the writings, of which the New Testament consists, were addressed to some, who would set a great value on them, and would willingly recommend them to others. All the Epistles, and the Revelation; as is manifest, are sent to Christian societies, or particular persons. St. Luke's Gospel, and the Acts, were sent to the *most excellent*, or most noble Theophilus. St. John intended his Gospel for some, whom he had in his eye. As appears from ch. xx. 30. 31. and from xxi. 24. 25. And it is very likely, that St. Matthew, and St. Mark also wrote for some, who

inter Evangelia et Epistolas mediâ fuisset interposita, commodissime in fine omnium collocata fuit: quoniam tanquam liber propheticus futura respicit adhuc implenda: ac denique insignem illam habet in calce clausulam de non addendo quidpiam isti prophetiæ, vel ab ea detrahendo: quâ etiam ad omnes N. T. libros accommodatâ, canonem universum veluti obsignare, convenientissimum videbatur. *Mill. Proleg. num. 239.*

who would gladly receive, and highly value their books, and get them copied for the use and satisfaction of others.

3. In several of the books of the New Testament directions are given, which would tend to make them well known. St. Paul at the end of his first epistle to the Thessalonians, one of his first written epistles, enjoins, *that it should be read to all the holie brethren.* 1 Thess. v. 27. The same method, undoubtedly, was observed with regard to the second epistle, sent to the same Thessalonians, and writ not long after. Probably, the same practice obtained in all the christian churches, to which St. Paul afterwards sent any epistle. And the Christian people of other churches, beside those who had letters sent to them, would be desirous to see the epistles of their great Apostle, by whom they had been converted, and would therefore get them transcribed for their own use. At the end of the epistle to the Colossians, iv. 16. he directs: *And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye read the epistle from Laodicea:* meaning, probably, the epistle to the Ephesians, which was to come round to Colosse from Ephesus, by the way of Laodicea. The Apostle therefore was willing, and even desirous, that his epistles should be read by others, beside those to whom they were sent, for the sake of general edification. And can it be questioned, whether other Gentil churches in these parts, all which were of his own planting, would not thankfully embrace the encouragement hereby given them to look into his epistles, and get them transcribed, and read in their assemblies also?

4. St. Peter writes to this purpose in his second epistle, which we may suppose to have been writ in the year 64. *And account, that the long suffering of the Lord is salvation, even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given to him, has written unto you. As also in all his epistles, speaking of these things, in which there are some things hard to be understood. Which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do the other scriptures, unto their own destruction.* 2 Pet. iii. 15. 16.

Here are several things to be observed. *First*, Peter speaks of epistles of Paul sent to the same Christians, to whom himself was writing. *Secondly*, he speaks of other epistles of Paul: *As also in all his epistles.* *Thirdly*, Peter therefore had a knowledge of several epistles of Paul, sent to the Christians of those countreys, and likewise of divers others, which he intends in the phrase, *all his epistles.* *Fourthly*, the Christians, to whom Peter writes, were well acquainted with the epistles, which Paul had writ to them, and with the rest of his epistles, or divers of them. *Fifthly*, it is supposed, and implied, that all, or at least many of Paul's epistles, were well known, and much read. For Peter speaks of some, whom he calls, *unlearned, and unstable*, who wrested Paul's epistles, or some things in them, *to their own destruction.* And very probably there were other readers of the same epistles, who improved them to their edification, and salvation.

It seems to me, that what Peter says here, affords reason to think, that at the time of writing this epistle, Paul's epistles, (most, or all of them,) were well known among Christians, and that Peter had good evidence of it.

When Peter says: *as our beloved brother Paul has writ unto you:* some learned

learned men, Mill (*a*) in particular, have supposed, that thereby Peter intended the epistle to the Hebrews. But I think without reason, as Mr. Hallet (*b*) has largely shewn. St. Peter's epistles are addressed to the *strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia*. It is not unlikely therefore, that St. Peter intends Paul's epistles to the Galatians, and the Ephesians, and the Colossians, all situated in those countreys: and likewise the two epistles to Timothie, who resided much at Ephesus, and must have received the epistles writ to him, when in that city, and the epistle to Philemon, who was of Colosse. And in the expression, *all his epistles*, some others must be intended, and included: Such as the epistles to the Thessalonians, the Corinthians, Romans, Philippians, Titus: so many, however, as the Apostle Peter was then acquainted with. Mill has observed passages in (*c*) the first epistle to the Thessalonians, and in (*d*) the epistle to the Romans, and in (*e*) that to the Philippians: in which are *some of those things hard to be understood*, to which St. Peter may be supposed to have an eye.

These marks and characters there are in the books of the New Testament, which may induce us to believe, that they were soon dispersed among Christians, and well known to them.

II. This is also manifest from testimonie.

I. The accounts, which we find in the ancients, concerning the occasions of the several gospels, lead us to think, that they were soon spread abroad after they were writ. Matthew is said to have writ his Gospel at the request of the believers in Judea: and Mark his, at the desire of the Christians at Rome, for the assistance of their memories. When therefore those Gospels had been written, divers copies would be soon taken, that the ends, for which they had been writ, might be answered. The several defective and imperfect accounts, which had been published of our Lord's words and works, induced St. Luke to write. And when his fuller and exacter account was published, it must have been attended to, and would be transcribed and communicated to many. Before St. John wrote, he had seen the other three Gospels. And the Christians in Asia, where he resided, were acquainted with them. Therefore they were well known and joyned together. And when his Gospel was writ, undoubtedly it was added to them, and they were all joyned together in one volume for general use.

That the first three gospels were well known in the world, before St. John wrote, is supposed by Eusebius of Cesarea, who was well acquainted with the writings of Christians before his time. These are the words of that eminent man. Having spoken of St. Matthew's Gospel, he goes on: "And (*f*) when Mark and Luke had published the Gospels according to them, it is said, that John, who all this while had preached by word of mouth, was induced to write for this reason. The three first written Gospels being now delivered to all men, and to John himself,"

"it

(*a*) *Prolegom. num. 86.*

(*b*) *See his Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews. p. 21. &c.*

(*c*) *Proleg. num. 5.*

(*d*) *Ib. num. 28.*

(*e*) *Ib. num. 70.*

(*f*) *See Vol. viii. p. 92. Lard. Edit.*

“it is said, that he approved them.” And what follows. Before this last Evangelist wrote, the *other three Gospels had been delivered unto all men, and to John*. He therefore had seen them before, and they were in the hands of many people.

What has been now said of the Gospels, is applicable, in a great measure, to the Acts, and the Epistles of the *New Testament*: as may be perceived by all, without my enlarging any farther.

2. Ignatius, who was honoured with the crown of martyrdom about the year 107. does, in his epistles, use expressions, denoting (g) two codes, or collections, one of Gospels, the other of Epistles of Apostles. Such volumes there were then, and may have been some good while before.

I shall here remind my readers of a few other like instances. In the epistle to Diognetus, certainly very ancient, and by some ascribed to Justin Martyr, are these expressions: “The (h) fear of the Lord is celebrated, and the grace of the Prophets is known, the faith of the Gospel is established, and the tradition of the Apostles is kept.” By these last expressions denoting, as is reasonable to think, a volume of the Gospels, and another of epistles of Apostles. Irenæus speaks of the *Evangelic and Apostolic writings* in a passage, which will be alleged presently. Tertullian speaks (i) of “the sayings of the Prophets, the Gospels, and the Apostles.” And in another place says: “This (k) I perceive both in the Gospels, and the Apostles.” I go no lower, my intention at present being only to allege a few writers of the earliest times.

3. As before shewn (l) from Eusebius, they who in the reign of Trajan, about the year 112. travelled abroad to teach the Christian Religion in remote countreys, “took with them the scriptures of the divine Gospels.” Nor can there be any reason to doubt, that our Ecclesiastical Historian here speaks of the four Gospels, so well known in his own time.

4. By Justin Martyr, about the year 140. in his account of the Christian worship, which is in his Apologie to the Emperour and Senate of Rome, the whole world was assured, that (m) the Gospels, which he calls *Memoirs of the Apostles, and their Companions*, were publicly read in the assemblies of Christians every Lord’s day.

Certainly, the Gospels were then well known, and had been so for some while before.

5. Tatian, who flourished some time before and after the year 170. composed

(g) See Vol. i. 177. . . . 180. and 183. and likewise vol. xii. p. 26. . . . 28. and p. 33. Lard. Edit.

(h) See Vol. i. p. 294. or 296. The same.

(i) Compendiis paucorum verborum, quot attinguntur edicta Prophetarum, Evangeliorum, Apostolorum? De Oratione cap. 9. p. 152. C. quoted Vol. ii. p. 629. Lardner’s Edit.

(k) See Vol. ii. p. 630. 631. Lardner’s Edit.

(l) See Vol. i. p. 232. and Vol. xii. p. 33. 34. Lardner’s Edit.

(m) See Vol. i. p. 268. 269. and Vol. xii. p. 35. 36. Lardner’s Edit.

composed a Harmonie of the four Gospels. We (*n*) have full assurance of it. Is not this sufficient evidence, that the Gospels were then, and had been for a good while, generally known, and in common use? And does it not also afford reason to believe, that it was then, and had been for some while, an established, or generally received opinion among Christians, that there were four, and no more than four authentic memoirs or histories of Jesus Christ?

6. I forbear to allege any thing from Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, or Tertullian, for shewing the notoriety of the books of the New Testament in early times, because I now insist only upon writers of the highest antiquity. But I shall take notice of some things, which we have in the accounts of the heresies of the second centurie.

However, that this argument may not be too prolix, I entirely pass by Basilides.

7. Valentin is placed by Cave (*o*) as flourishing about the year 120. By Bafnage (*p*) he is placed at the year 124. By Mill (*q*) between 123. and 127. And by Irenæus we are assured, "that (*r*) the Valentinians endeavored to support their opinions from texts of the Evangelic and Apostolic scriptures," or of the Gospels and Apostles, that is, both parts of the New Testament: "and that (*s*) they argued especially from the Gospel according to John."

And Tertullian allows, that (*t*) Valentin used the books of the New Testament entire, without altering them, as Marcion did.

Mr. Wetsstein says, the (*u*) Valentinians rejected the Acts of the Apostles. And he thinks, this appears from Irenæus. But to me it appears manifest from Irenæus, that they received the Acts. For in his confutation of them, in his third book against Heresies, he (*x*) argues against them largely, first from the Gospels, then from the book of the Acts, and lastly from the epistles of Apostles. And Massuet, the learned Benedictin editor of Irenæus, allows, that (*y*) according to that ancient

(*n*) See Vol. i. p. 306. . . 308. and ch. 36. Vol. iii. p. 114. &c. and Vol. xii. p. 37. Lardner's Edit.

(*o*) Hist. Lit. p. 50.

(*p*) Ann. 124. num. vii.

(*q*) Proleg. num. 265.

(*r*) Καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν ἐναγγελικῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πειρᾶνται τὰς ἀποδείξεις ποιῆσθαι. Iren. l. i. c. 3. n. 6. p. 17.

(*s*) Hi autem qui a Valentino sunt, eo quod est secundum Joannem plenissime utentes, ad ostensionem conjugationum suarum, ex ipso deteguntur, nihil recte dicentes. Id. l. 3. cap. xi. n. 7. p. 190.

(*t*) Alius manu scripturas, alius sensus expositione intervertit. Neque enim si Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur, non callidiore ingenio, quam Marcion manus intulit veritati. Marcion enim exerte et palam machæra, non filo usus est: quoniam ad materiam suam cædem scripturarum confecit. Valentinus autem percipit: quoniam non ad materiam scripturas, sed materiam ad scripturas, excogitavit. De Præsc. Her. cap. 38. p. 246.

(*u*) Acta Apostolorum rejecerunt Valentiniani. Quod constat ex Irenæo. Hæc. iii. 2. Wetssten. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 455.

(*x*) Vid. Iren. contr. Her. l. 3. cap. xi. iii.

(*y*) At ipsi Valentino nihil simile usquam adscribit Irenæus. Immo tum loco

cient writer, the Valentinians did not reject any books of the New Testament.

Irenæus, as we have just seen, says, that the Valentinians endeavored to support their opinions by the *Evangelic and Apostolic Scriptures*. The Acts were included in this second volume of the New Testament, according to the method of the ancient Christians.

8. Heracleon, a learned Valentinian, is supposed by (z) Grabe to have been contemporarie with his master, Valentin, and to have appeared about the year 123. However, he might continue a good while after that. Basnage (a) speaks of him at the year 125. And Cave (b) placeth him at 126. They who are so pleased, may recollect what was said of his age (c) formerly.

Heracleon seems to have writ commentaries upon several parts of the New Testament. Clement of Alexandria having quoted the words of Matth. x. 32. or Luke xii. 8. and of Luke xii. 11. 12. says: "Heracleon (d) explaining this place has these very words." Which I need not transcribe at present, though it be a valuable passage. There is in Clement (e) another short passage of Heracleon's commentarie upon St. Luke.

Origen, in his commentarie upon St. John's Gospel, often quotes Heracleon. The passages of Heracleon's commentarie upon that Gospel, with Origen's remarks, are collected by (f) Grabe. And from him they have been placed by Maffuet in his Appendix to Irenæus. The passages of Heracleon, quoted by Origen, are above forty in number, and some of them long.

Heracleon's commentaries upon the Gospels of St. Luke, and St. John, are an early proof of the respect shewn to the books of the New Testament. And it may be reasonable to think, that others beside Heracleon, both catholics and heretics, published about the same time commentaries upon some of the books of the New Testament.

Origen (g) has at once given us Heracleon's observations upon Matt. viii. 12. and Is. i. 2.

Heracleon likewise received St. Paul and his writings. For (h) he quotes,

loco mox citato, tum lib. I. cap. viii. et ix. et alibi passim, satis significat, Valentinianos sibi coævus sic canonem scripturarum novo Evangelio auxisse, ut nihil quidquam, nullum librum integrum, nullam ejusdem partem, (quod Marcioni non semel exprobat,) ab eo abjecissent: sed *vel parabolas Dominicas, vel dictiones Propheticas, aut sermones Apostolicos*, ad hypothefim suam aptare conatos, calumniam intulisse Scripturis. *Maffuet. Diss. i. num. ix. p. xvii.*

(z) *Spicil. T. i. p. 62. T. 2. p. 69, et 80,*

(a) *Ann. 125. num. iii,*

(b) *H. L. p. 53.*

(c) *Vol. ii. p. 539, note (F). Lardner's Edit.*

(d) Τὸτον ἐξηγούμενος τὸν τόπον ἡρακλείων, . . κατὰ λέξιν φησίν. . . *Strom. ep. 4, p. 502. A. . . D.*

(e) *Vid. Eclog. Proph. ap. Cl. Al. p. 804. D. et Grabe Spic. T. 2. p. 85.*

(f) *Spic. T. 2. p. 85. . . 117.*

(g) *Origen. Comm. in Joan. T. 2. p. 256, C. Huet.*

(h) . . . καθ' ὃ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει, λέγων, λογικὴν λατρείαν τῇ τοιαύτῃ θεοσεβείᾳ. *Ap. Orig. ib. p. 217. E. et Grabe Spic. p. 101,*

quotes, as his, the begining of the twelfth chapter of the epistle to the Romans. Moreover Origen (*i*) has given us Heracleon's interpretation of 1 Cor. xv. 53. 54.

I might add here some other things. But this is sufficient to shew, that in the very early days of Christianity the books of the New Testament were well known, much used, and greatly respected.

9. Marcion about (*k*) the year 138. placed by some (*l*) sooner, in 127. or 130. had, and probably, in imitation of other Christians, a (*m*) Gospel, and an Apostle, or an Evangelicon, and Apostolicon.

In the former, as is generally said, was (*n*) St. Luke's Gospel only, and that curtailed. But Mr. Lampe says, that (*o*) Marcion did not reject the other Gospels, though he preferred St. Luke's. This he infers from a passage in Tertullian, which seems to shew, that Marcion did not reject St. Matthew's Gospel.

I shall add another from Isidore of Pelusium, where he says: "Take (*p*) the Gospel [or the Evangelicon] of Marcion, and you will presently see at the very begining a proof of their impudence. For they have left out our Lord's genealogie, from David and Abraham. And
"if

(*i*) *Ap. Orig. ib. p. 255. D. et Grabe. p. 110.*

(*k*) *Vid. Pagi Ann. 144. n. iii. et Affman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 389. not. (4.)*

(*l*) *Vid. Cav. H. L. p. 54. &c. S. Basnag. ann. 131. iii. . . v. 133. ix. Mill. Prol. num. 306. 307.*

(*m*) *Adamant. Από πρίων γραφῶν δεῖξαι ταῦτα ἰσαγγέλλη; Marc. Από τῆ Ευαγγελίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀποστόλῃ. Dial. contr. Marcion. Sect. 2. p. 54. Basil. 1674. p. 821. D. T. i. Bened. Vid. et Epiph. H. 42. n. ix.*

(*n*) *Et super hæc, id quod est secundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens. Iren. l. 1. cap. 27. 2. al. cap. 29.*

Nam ex iis Commentatoribus, quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse, quem cæderet. *Tertull. adv. Marc. l. 4. cap. 2. p. 503. Vid. et Epiph. Her. 42. n. ix.*

(*o*) Verum hinc quoque plus elicitur, quam voluit Marcion. Non enim asserere Marcion ausus est, Evangelia, quæ extra Lucam habemus, esse conficta et falso Evangelistis supposita. Nemo Patrum antiquiorum hujus criminis Marcionem accusavit. Id tantum voluit, Lucæ Evangelium, ductu Pauli conscriptum, reliquis Evangeliiis præferendum esse. . . . Clarissima hæc esse puto. Et quod prætensionem interpolationis attinet, hujus insigne statim cap. 7. [libr. 4. contr. Marc.] exemplum affertur: *Ceterum et loco et illuminationis opere secundum prædicationem occurrentibus Christo, jam eum Prophetiam incipimus agnoscere, ostendentem in primo ingressu venisse se, non ut Legem et Prophetas dissolveret, sed ut potens adimpleret. Hoc enim Marcion, ut additum erasit. Cum enim hæc verba Matthæi v. 17. inveniantur, hinc inferimus, Marcionem Evangelium Matthæi non simpliciter negasse, sed quæcunque erroribus ejus non patrocinebantur, pro lubitu erasisse. Atque ita proculdubio etiam cum reliquis Evangelistis egit. Lampe Proleg. ad Joan. Evang. l. 2. cap. 1. n. iv. p. 136. 137.*

(*p*) *Εἰ ποιοῦσθεται ὁ τῆς μαρκιωνίως συνήγορος βλασφημίας, τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις ὀνομαζόμενον εὐαγγέλιον λαβὼν ἀναγνῶθι, καὶ ἐνέησεις ἐνθὺς ἐν προνομίᾳ τὴν ἀποτίαν. Αὐτὴν γὰρ τὴν κατὰ γουσαν ἐπὶ χριστὸν ἀπὸ δαβὶδ καὶ ἀδραὰμ γενεαλογίαν ἀπέτεμεν. Καὶ μικρὸν ὑστέρῳ προὐὼν ἄλλην ὕψι κακόνιοιαν. Ἀμείψαντες γὰρ τὴν τῷ κυρίῳ φωνὴν, οὐκ ἔλθοι, λέγοντος, καταλῦσαι, τὸν νόμον, ἢ τὰς προφῆτας, ἰσοποίησαν. Δοκεῖτε ὅτι ἔλθοι πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον, ἢ τὰς προφῆτας; Ἐλθοι καταλῦσαι, ἀλλ' οὐ ληρῶσαι. Isid. Pel. l. i. ep. 371,*

"if you proceed a little farther, you will see another instance of their wickedness, in altering our Lord's words. *I came not*, says he, *to destroy the Law, or the Prophets.* But they have made it thus: *Think ye, that I came to fulfill the Law, or the Prophets? I am come to destroy, nor to fulfil.*" Matt. v. 17.

It might be also argued from the Dialogue against the Marcionites, that they used St. Matthew's Gospel. But I forbear to allege any places in particular.

So that it may be reckoned probable, that Marcion did not reject any of the four Gospels. But undoubtedly he made alterations in them, agreeable to his own particular opinions, under a pretense, that (*q*) they had been corrupted by some before his time.

Perhaps (*r*) Marcion filled up St. Luke's Gospel out of the rest, taking from them such things as suited his purpose. Tertullian says, that (*s*) his Gospel, or Evangelicon, had no title. That may have been the reason of it. And we can hence conclude, that in very ancient times, among the Catholics, the four Gospels were entitled, and inscribed with the names of the several Evangelists. Which (*t*) has been denied, or doubted of by some.

Marcion had also an Apostolicon. In this were ten Epistles only of St. Paul, and those diminished, at least some of them. Their order according to him, as we are informed by (*u*) Epiphanius, was this: the epistle to the Galatians, the first and second to the Corinthians, to the Romans, the first and second to the Thessalonians, to the Ephesians, the Colossians, Philemon, the Philippians.

He received not any other epistles of St. Paul. It is supposed likewise, that he rejected the Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation. Whether he received the Acts of the Apostles, I cannot say certainly: though (*x*) some learned men think, he did not receive them. But then it should be observed by us, that (*y*) the Marcionite Apostolicon was reckoned very defective by the catholic Christians.

And

(*q*) *Vid. Tertull. adv. Marcion. l. 4. cap. 4.*

(*r*) Occurrit primo loco Marcion et Marcionitæ, qui corruperunt libros N. T. reſectis omnibus iis, quæ Judaicæ religioni favere putabant, et contracto toto N. T. in duos codices, quorum priorem vocabant Evangelium, ex Lucâ maximam partem conſtatum, et ſubinde ex reliquis Evangelistis integratum. *Weſſ. Proleg. N. T. Tom. i. p. 79.*

(*s*) Contra Marcion Evangelio, ſcilicet ſuo, nullum aſcribit auctorem: quaſi non licuerit illi titulum quoque adſingere, cui neſas non fuit ipſum corpus evertere. Et poſſem hic jam gradum ſigere, non agnoſcendum contendens opus, quod non erigat frontem, quod nullam conſtantiam præferat, nullam fidem reſmittat de plenitudine tituli, et profeſſione debita auctoris. *Contr. Marc. l. 4. cap. 2.*

(*t*) *Vid. Mill. Prolog. num. 347.*

(*u*) *Her. 42. num. ix. et alibi.*

(*v*) Acta Apoſtolorum reſecerunt Marcionitæ. . . . Tertullianus adv. Marcionem lib. v. cap. 2. *Si ex hoc congruunt Paulo Apoſtolorum Acta, cur ea reſpuatis, jam apparet.* *Weſſ. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 455.*

(*y*) Προέγραψε τὸ ἀποστολικὸν οὐ, εἰ καὶ τὰ πάντα περιεχομένον ἐστὶ. *Dialog. adv. Marcion. ſect. i. p. 8. Baſil. p. 806. T. i. Bened.*

And it may be inferred from the accounts, which we have in the best writers of the most early ages, that Marcion was the most arbitrarie, and most licentious of all the ancient heretics, in his judgement concerning the Scriptures that should be received, and in his manner of treating such as were received by him. So that his opinion can be no prejudice to the genuinenesse, or the notoriety of any of those books of the New Testament, which were received by the catholics, and indeed by most heretics likewise.

I shall place below (z) a remarkable passage of Irenæus, where he says: "Marcion and his followers curtail the Scriptures with great assurance, rejecting some entirely, and diminishing the Gospel according to Luke, and the Epistles of Paul, affirming those parts of them alone to be genuine, which they have preserved. . . All others, who are puffed up with the science falsely so called, receive the Scriptures, whilst they pervert them by wrong interpretations."

In another place he says, "that (a) Marcion alone had openly dared to curtail the Scriptures." And my readers can easily recollect, how (b) severely Tertullian censures Marcion (c) for altering the text of the Scriptures, *openly employing a knife*, as he says, *not a stile*, to render them agreeable to his erroneous opinions.

However, I think, here is full proof, that the books of the New Testament were well known in Marcion's time, and before him: and that they were collected together in two parts, or volumes, an Evangelicon and Apostolicon. He and other Christians had a Gospel and an Apostle. But theirs were fuller than his.

10. We might, perhaps, not unprofitably recollect here those (d) passages of Eusebius of Cæsarea, where he speaks of the scriptures of the New Testament: some of which were universally received, others were contradicted: divers of which last, nevertheless, were received by many. The universally received by the founder part of Christians were the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen epistles of Paul, one of Peter, one of John. It may be reckoned not unlikely, that all these had been from ancient time inserted by most Christians in their two volumes of the Gospel and Apostle. And, probably, divers of the other books, called controverted, or contradicted, were joyned with the rest in the volumes of a good number of Christians.

III. There

(z) Unde et Marcion, et qui ab eo sunt, ad intercidendas conversi sunt Scripturas, quasdam quidem in totum non cognoscentes, secundum Lucam autem Evangelium, et Epistolas Pauli decurtantes, hæc sola legitima esse dicunt, quæ ipsi minoraverunt. . . Reliqui vero omnes falso scientiæ nomine inflati Scripturas quidem consentunt, interpretationes vero convertunt. *Iren. adv. Hæ. l. 3. cap. xii. n. 12. p. 198. b. Massuet.*

(a) Sed huic quidem, quoniam et solus manifeste ausus est circumcidere Scripturas, &c. *Iren. l. i. cap. 27. n. 4. p. 106. al. cap. 29. Vid. ib. num. 2.*

(b) See Vol. ii. p. 625. *Lard. Edit.*

(c) Marcion enim exerte et palam machæra, non stilo usus est: quoniam ad materiam suam cædem Scripturarum consecit. *De Præfer. Hæ. cap. 38. p. 46. C.*

(d) See Vol. viii. p. 90. . . 105. *Lardner's Ed.*

III. There are some observations of Mr. Henry Dodwell concerning the late forming of the canon of the New Testament, which cannot be easily overlooked, and seem to require some notice in this place.

1. He says, "that (e) the canon of the sacred books was not determined, nor what number of them should be of authority in points of faith, before the time of the Emperour Trajan, who began his reign in the year of Christ 98."

Ans. If hereby be meant all the books of our present canon, this may be true. But then it is a trifling proposition. For some of them were not writ, or have been supposed by many not to have been writ, till near the end of the first centurie. How then could they be sooner made a part of sacred scripture? or how could they be placed in the number of books, esteemed to be the rule of faith? But the first three Gospels, of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, and possibly the fourth likewise, St. John's, and many of the Epistles of the New Testament, were well known before the reign of Trajan, even as soon as they were writ. And wherever they were known, and by whomsoever they were received, they were reckoned a part of the rule of faith.

2. The same learned man says likewise: "the (f) canonical scriptures of the New Testament lay hid in the cabinets of particular churches, and private persons, till the reign of Trajan, and perhaps till the reign of Adrian."

But I presume, we have just now sufficiently shewn the falshood of this, and that the Gospels, and other books of the New Testament, were writ and published with a design to be read, and made use of, and that they were soon divulged abroad, and not purposely hid by any.

3. Farther, says Mr. *Dodwell*: "The (g) epistles of Paul were well known soon after they were writ. His many travels, and the mark of his hand at the end of them occasioned this."

We readily acknowledge it. It is very true. We think also, that the Gospels, the Acts, and other books of the New Testament, were well known soon after they were writ: and that in a short space of time many copies were taken of them, and thus they were divulged abroad. The first three Gospels were well known to St. John, and to many others, before he wrote his Gospel. Which must have been writ before the
end

(e) Atqui certe ante illam epocham, quam dixi, Trajani, nondum constitutus est librorum sacrorum canon, nec receptus aliquis in ecclesia catholica librorum certus numerus, quos deinde adhibere oportuerit in sacris fidei causis dijudicandis, nec rejecti hæreticorum pseudepigraphi, monitive fideles, ut ab eorum usu deinde caverent. *Dodw. Diff. Iren. i. num. 39. in. p. 67.*

(f) Latitabant enim usque ad recentiora illa seu Trajani, seu etiam fortasse Hadriani tempora, in privatarum ecclesiarum, seu etiam hominum scriptis, scripta illa canonica, ne ad ecclesiæ catholicæ notitiam pervenirent. *Ibid. num. 38. p. 66.*

(g) Sequuntur Epistolæ Paulinæ, quas a prima usque scriptione celeberrimas fecere ipsius Apostoli tam crebræ peregrinationes, et nota ejus in omni epistola manus. . . Proinde meminit eorum et Petrus, meminit S. Clemens, meminit Ignatius, et Polycarpus. *Ibid. num. 41. p. 73.*

end of the first centurie, and, probably, a good while before the end of it.

4. The same learned writer, speaking of the apostolical fathers, Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, says, they (*b*) several times quote apocryphal books. And he so expresseth himself, as if he intended to affirm this of all of them.

To which I must answer, that so far as I am able to perceive, after a careful examination, there are not any quotations of apocryphal books in any of the apostolical fathers. They who are desirous of farther satisfaction therein, are referred to their several chapters in the first volume of this work, and to (*i*) some additional observations in the Recapitulation, which is in the twelfth volume.

5. Once more. The same learned writer says, “that (*k*) before the reign of Trajan the pseudepigraphal books of heretics had not been rejected. Nor had the faithfull been cautioned, not to make use of them.”

Which appears to me an observation of little, or no importance. If those pseudepigraphal books were not in being before the reign of Trajan, how should they be rejected before that time? That they were not sooner in being, has been (*l*) sufficiently shewn. They are the productions of heretics, who arose in the second centurie: who asserted two principles, had a disadvantageous opinion of marriage, and denied the real humanity of our Saviour. In that second centurie many pseudepigraphal Gospels, Acts, Travels, or Circuits of Apostles were composed. Which were afterwards made use of by the Manicheans, the Priscillianists, and some others.

But those pseudepigraphal books of heretics never were joyned with the genuine writings of the Apostles and Evangelists. They were always distinguished from them, and were esteemed by all catholic Christians in general to be of little value, and no authority. As appears from our collections out of ancient authors, and particularly from the accounts given of those books by (*m*) the learned Bishop of Cefarea, at the beginning of the fourth centurie.

(*b*) *Habemus hodieque horum temporum scriptores ecclesiasticos luculentissimos, Clementem Romanum, Barnabam, Hermam, Ignatium, Polycarpum...* Sed et apocrypha adhibent iidem aliquoties, quæ certum est in hodiernis non haberi Evangeliiis. *Ib. n. 39. p. 67.*

(*i*) See *Vol. xii. p. 33. and 158. &c. Lardner's Edit.*

(*k*) See *before. p. 428, note (e). The same.*

(*l*) *Vol. xii. p. 164. . . 167. The same.*

(*m*) See *Vol. viii. p. 98. . . 100. and Vol. xii. p. 158. . . 160. The same.*

C H A P. XXV.

The Question considered, whether any sacred Books of the New Testament have been lost.

THERE is a question, which has been proposed by some learned men: *Whether any sacred books of the New Testament, or any epistles of Apostles and Evangelists, writ by divine inspiration, have been lost?* And some have taken the affirmative, particularly, (a) Mr. John Ens, and (b) Mr. C. M. Pfaff, in a work, published by him in the early part of his life. Herman Witfius likewise (c) has argued on the same side in several of his works.

I. Here, in the first place, I observe, that some suppositions have been made, and propositions laid down by learned men, which may form a prejudice in favour of the affirmative side of the question, but afford no proof. Such things should not be advanced by fair disputants.

As *first*, that (d) the Apostles of Christ were ever readie to serve all the exigences of the Church. Which is very true. And yet it does not follow, that any epistles, or other writings, were composed by them for the general use of Christians, beside those which we have. And, *secondly*, that (e) it is unlikely, that all the apostles of Christ should have writ

(a) Et certe, pace et incolumi amicitia dissentientium id dictum sit, affirmativa nobis eligi debere videtur sententia, et concedi, quod multi divini libri perierint. *Joh. Ens Bibliotheca Sacra. cap. 4. §. iv. p. 19. Amst. 1710.*

Itaque hoc misso, inspiciamus et rite perpendamus, quin probationi inferuiat, ad evincendum, quod Apostoli plura exararint scripta vere *θεόπνευστα* et divina, quam nunc exstant. *Id. ib. §. vi. p. 22.*

(b) *Chr. Matth. Pfaffi Dissertatio Critica de genuinis Librorum N. T. Lectionibus. p. 46. . . 48. Amst. 1709.*

(c) Coccejus asseveranter dicit, Judam præter hanc epistolam non scripsisse, neque necesse habuisse scribere, neque a Spiritu Sancto impulsus fuisse ut scriberet. Id mihi non videtur certum, imo nec probabile. Apostoli enim quum universalis Ecclesiæ doctores et directores essent, et corpore ubique præfentes esse non possent, et frequenter sine dubio ab ecclesiis confulerentur, necesse habuerunt frequenter scribere. . . . Non autem magis opus fuit omnes Apostolorum epistolas superstites manere, quam omnes sermones Christi. Sufficiunt quos habemus, ad perfectum canonem. *Witf. Comment. in Ep. S. Jud. §. xii. p. 463. Vid. Id. De Vita Pauli Apostoli. sect. 7. n. xi. sect. 8. n. xxi. et sect. 12. n. xvi.*

(d) Prima observatio est, quod alacres et paratissimi fuerint Apostoli ad omnia conferenda, quæ usui et utilitati Ecclesiæ inservire poterant. *Ens ubi supra §. xx. p. 35.*

(e) Porro attendamus, secundo, quod quatuordecim habeamus epistolas a solo Paulo conscriptas, et judicet unusquisque, an sibi probabile videatur, Bartholomæum, Thomam, Jacobum Alphæi, Andream, Philippum, et Simonem Zelotem, quorum nulla habemus scripta, ne unicam quidem ad Ecclesiæ ædificationem epistolam scripsisse, atque Jacobum et Judam unicam tantum, Petrum duas, et Johannem tres exarasse: quum Paulus toties scripserit. *Ens ib. §. xxiii. p. 38.*

writ no more letters, than now remain: as it is also, that (*f*) Paul should have writ no more than fourteen epistles. These, and such like observations, though adopted by (*g*) Witlius, as well as some others, I choose to dismiss without a particular discussion, as they contain not any real argument.

A man, who thinks of our Lord's great character, and the unparalleled excellence of his discourses, and the great number of his miraculous works, and that he had twelve Apostles, and seventy other disciples, employed by him, all zealous for the honour of their Master, and the good of his people, might be disposed to say: Certainly, there were many Gospels, or authentic histories of his life, writ before the destruction of Jerusalem. And yet, if there is any credit to be given to ecclesiastical historie, when John was desired to write his Gospel, about the time of that event, or after it; there were brought to him no more than three Gospels, to be confirmed by him, or to have some additions made to them. One of which only had been writ by an Apostle, even Matthew's. And it is the concurrent testimonie of all Christian Antiquity, that there were but four Gospels, writ by Apostles, and Apostolical men. And yet we have no reason to say, that the true interest of mankind has not been duly consulted.

II. I observe, *secondly*: It is generally allowed by learned men, and by (*h*) Mr. Ens, and (*i*) Witlius, that the epistles to the Thessalonians are among the first of St. Paul's epistles, that remain, or were written by him. And I think, that the conclusion of the first epistle to the Thessalonians suggests a very probable argument, that it is the first epistle, which was writ by him with divine and apostolical authority for the edification of Christians. The words intended by me, are those of 1 Thess. v. 27. *I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the holie brethren.* This, as (*k*) was formerly observed, I take to be the first instance of enjoying the reading of a Christian writing in their religious assemblies, as a part of their worship. Christian people had before now, very probably, read in that manner the books of the Old Testament. St. Paul, who knew the fulnesse of the apostolical inspiration, asserts his authority, and requires, that the same respect should be now shewn to his epistle, and

(*f*) Immo nec illud veritatis speciem habet, ipsum Paulum non plures quam quatuordecim epistolas scripsisse. Quod tertio observari velim. *Id.* §. xxv. p. 41.

(*g*) Nullus equidem dubito, quin Apostoli omnes pro singulari sua diligentia frequentissimas literas ad ecclesias curæ suæ commissas dederint: quibus præsentibus semper adesse non licebat, et quibus multa tamen identidem habebant inculcanda. *Witf. De Vita Pauli. sect. 7. num. xi. p. 98.*

Laudanda profecto Dei benignitas est, quod ex tot Paulinis epistolis, quæ perierunt, hanc tamen, [*ad Philem.*] mole exiguam, et de re domestica agentem, superare voluerit. *Id. ib. sect. 12. num. xvi.*

(*h*) Ens ubi supra. §. xxviii. p. 45.

(*i*) At nobis de Paulinis Epistolis nunc est agendum: quarum quæ supersunt primas esse constat utramque ad Thessalonicenses, Corinthi, ut initio dixi, scriptas. *Ubi supra sect. 7. num. xii. p. 99.*

(*k*) See before p. 236.

and that it should be publicly read among them for their general edification. If any such thing had been done before, there would not have been occasion for so much earnestness, as is expressed in this direction. This epistle is supposed to have been writ in the year 52. consequently, not till near twenty years after our Lord's ascension. If this be the first epistle of Paul, writ with apostolical authority; there were no sacred writings of his of a more ancient date to be lost. And his other remaining epistles are as many, as could be reasonably expected.

III. There are many considerations, tending to satisfy us, that no sacred writings of the Apostles of Christ are lost.

1. The four Gospels, which we have, were writ (1) for the sake of those, who certainly would receive them with respect, keep them with care, and recommend them to others. And if any other such authentic histories of Jesus Christ had been writ by Apostles, or Apostolical Men, they would have been received, and preserved in the like manner, and would not have been lost.

2. We can perceive from the testimonie of divers ancient Christian writers, that (m) the book of the Acts, which we still have, was the only authentic historie of the preaching of the Apostles after our Lord's ascension, which they had in their hands, or had heard of. Consequently, there was no other such historie to be lost.

3. The epistles of Paul, James, Peter, John, Jude, were sent to churches, people, or particular persons, who would shew them great regard, when received, and would carefully preserve them, and readily communicate them to others, that they might take copies of them, and make use of them, for their establishment in religion and virtue. If those Apostles had writ other epistles, and if other Apostles had sent epistles to churches planted by them, or to particular persons, their disciples, or Christian friends, the case would have been much the same. Those epistles would have been esteemed, preserved, and frequently copied, and could not easily have been lost.

4. Moreover, the Apostles and Evangelists, who drew up any writings for the instruction, or confirmation of Christian people, must have been carefull of them. The same principle of Zeal for the doctrine taught by them, and for the welfare of Christian people, which induced them, amidst their many labours, fatigues, and difficulties, to compose any writings, would lead them to take due care, that they should answer the ends, for which they were composed. Proofs of such care we evidently discern in divers of the epistles of Apostles, which we have. A like care, probably, was taken of the rest, and would be taken of epistles writ by any other Apostles. They would be sent by fit messengers, and be faithfully delivered. And they might be accompanied with some proper directions, such as we find in several of St. Paul's epistles: as that in the first epistle to the Thessalonians, requiring it to be read to all the brethren: and that in the epistle to the Colossians iv. 16. that it should be read

(1) See Vol. viii. p. 124. 125. Lardner's Edit.

(m) See, particularly, Vol. i. p. 363. 364. Vol. ii. p. 589. Vol. x. p. 238. 239. 323. 326. Vol. xi. p. 382. Lardner's Edit.

read first among themselves, and then sent to the church of the *Laodiceans*: and that they likewise should read the epistle that would be brought to them from *Laodicea*.

All which considerations must induce us to think, that no sacred writings of Apostles, composed for the instruction and edification of Christian people, their friends, and converts, could be easily lost.

IV. There are no sufficient reasons to believe, that any sacred writings of the New Testament have been lost. Let us however see what they are. For divers difficulties have been thought of.

1. St. Paul says (*n*) 2 Thess. ii. 1. 2. *Now we beseech you, brethren, . . . that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.*

These words, as I apprehend, afford not any proof, that St. Paul wrote more epistles to the *Thessalonians* than those which we have. For a person who had never writ one letter before, might use such expressions, if he had any ground to suspect, that some men were disposed to forge letters in his name.

2. 2 Thess. iii. 17. (*o*) *The salutation of Paul with my own hand. Which is the token in every epistle. So I write.*

But I think, he might say this, though it were the very first epistle writ by him: provided he thought, that he should have occasion to write more, and had reason to suspect, that there were some men, who might be disposed to falsify his name. Nor does it follow, that he afterwards wrote any more epistles to the *Thessalonians*. However, he could not be certain, that he should not have occasion to write to them again. And he might judge it to be very likely that he should write more letters, either to them, or to others. This declaration, then, was a proper mark, which might be of use to the *Thessalonians*, and to others, and a security against all impositions of that kind.

3. 2 Cor. x. 9. 10. 11. *That I may not seem, as if I would terrify you by letters. For his letters, say they, are weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible. Let such an one think this, that such as we are in word by letters, when we are absent, such will we be also in deed, when we are present.*

Hence it is argued, that (*p*) the Apostle had before now writ more than one, even several letters, to the *Corinthians*.

(*n*) Atqui hujus rei nullum fuisset periculum, nulla monendi necessitas, nisi varias acceperunt *Thessalonicenses* epistolas a Paulo missas. Qui enim unam ac alteram solummodo ad ecclesias scribebat epistolas, illius nomen falsæ epistolæ ad ecclesias datæ non facile mentiri poterat. *J. Eus. ubi supr. § xxix. p. 46.*

(*o*) Illud idem iterum agnoscit Apostolus statim allegato cap. iii. 17. dato signo epistolis suis peculiari, quo nullæ epistolæ a se missæ carent. . . . Se dicit *γράφειν*, scribere. Quod paucis admodum epistolis vix congruum videtur: præsertim quando dicit, se *ἑαυτοῦ γράφειν*, ut salutatio propria manu sit signum *ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ, in quacumque epistola*. . . . Quid erat periculi, quod datis epistolis committeretur fallacia, si nullas præter et post hæc duas ad illos daret epistolas? *Id. ib. § xxx. p. 46. 47.*

(*p*) Cum duobus illis ex epist. ad *Thessalonicenses* locis conferam Pauli dictum ad *Corinthios*. 2. x. 9. 10. 11. . . . Quibus verbis Apostolus statuit, quod non unam epistolam, sed plures ad *Corinthios* scripserit. *Id. ibid. § xxxiii. p. 49.*

To which I answer. It is very common to speak of one epistle in the plural number, as all know. And St. Paul might well write, as he here does, though he had as yet sent but one letter to those to whom he is writing. And from so long a letter, as is the first to the *Corinthians*, men might form a good judgment concerning his manner of writing letters, though they had seen no other.

4. 1 Cor. v. 9. *I wrote unto you in an epistle, not to company with fornicators.*

Hence it is argued that (q) St. Paul had writ an epistle to the *Corinthians*, before he wrote the first of those two which we have. Consequently, here is proof of the loss of a sacred writing, which would have been canonical, if extant.

And it must be acknowledged, that several (r) learned men have concluded as much from this text. Others however see not here any such proof. And on this side have argued (s) *Whitby*, and (t) others. And I think, it is of no small weight, that several ancient writers understood the Apostle to say : *I have writ to you in this epistle.* So (u) *Theodoret*, (x) *Theophylact*, and (y) *Photius* in *Oecumenius*. They suppose that the Apostle here refers to somewhat before said by him in this same epistle, and in this very chapter, ver. 2. or 6. 7.

And that hereby is meant this epistle, seems to me very evident. That interpretation suits the words. And there are divers other places, where the same phrase is, and must be so rendered. Rom. xvi. 22. *I, Tertius, who wrote this epistle.* Ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. 1 Thess. v. 27. *I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren,* ἀναγνώσθηναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις. And 1 Thess. iv. 6. *That no man go beyond, and defraud his brother in any matter : or in this matter.* μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονέκτειν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ (A).

Fabricius

(q) Inter illas est epistola quædam . . . ad Corinthios scripta ante illam quæ nobis prima est, de qua Apostolus : Ἐγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, *scripsi vobis in epistola.* 1 Cor. v. 9. *Ens, ib. § xxxiii. p. 51.*

(r) Ex quibus verbis hoc concludo, ante hanc ad Corinthios epistolam aliam extitisse, ubi Paulus a conversatione cum fornicatoribus eos dehortatus fuerit. *C. M. Pfaff. ubi supr. p. 46.*

Hinc autem apparet, aliam ante hanc a Paulo scriptam fuisse epistolam ad Corinthios, quæ post interciderit. *Estius in loc. II. Wüsf. de Vit. Paul. Ap. sect. 8, n. xxi. Mill. Prelgom. n. 8.*

(s) See him upon the place.

(t) *Wolf. Curæ in loc. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p. 918. &c.*

(u) Ὁὐκ ἐν ἄλλῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃ. Πρὸ βραχέων γὰρ ἔφη· Ὁὐκ ὕδατε, ὅτι μικρὰ ζήτησιν ὅλον τὸ φέρεμα ζυμοῖ; *Theod. in loc.*

(x) Ἐν ποίᾳ ἐ. σολῇ; Ἐν αὐτῇ ταύτῃ. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶπεν ἀνωτέρω, ὅτι ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, τὸν πορευόμενον, ὡς διδιδυται, ἀμειψόμενος, δι' ἧς ἐδηλώθη τὸ μὴ συναμίγνυσθαι πόροις· ἵσως ὑπενόησαν ἂν ὅτι πάντων τῶν πόρων, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑλλήσι χωρίζεσθαι δεῖ. Ἐξηγῶνται ταύτων περὶ πόρων παρήγγειλε. *Theoph. in loc.*

(y) Πῶς ἔγραψεν; Ἐν οἷ; λέγει, καὶ εἴχι μᾶλλον ὑπενόησατε, κ. λ. . . . Καὶ πάλιν ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην. κ. λ. . . . Τοῖς πόροις τῷ κόσμῳ τότε.] ἵνα μὴ νομίσωσιν, ὑφείλειν καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἐλλήνων πόροις μὴ συναμίγνυσθαι, ὅπερ ἦν ἀδύνατον τοῖς πολλοῖς οἰκῆσι, διαβῆναι αὐτό. *Apud. Oecum. in loc.*

(A) I might refer to many other texts of Scripture, and to passages of other writers.

Fabricius says, the (*z*) words, *I have writ unto you*, may be understood as equivalent to, *I do write*. And it may be remembered, that (*a*) some while ago I quoted an ancient writer, who gives this interpretation. "*I (b) have writ unto you*, that is, *I write*." And intending, I think, somewhat to be afterwards said by the Apostle in this epistle. Which appears to me to be right. Many like instances might be alleged. I shall put in the margin some passages (*c*) from *A. Gellius*, where it is said: "*I have subjoined the words of Varro*; that is, *I shall subjoin them*. In another place: "*I have transcribed the words of Plutarch*." And in like manner often, when the words of an author had not yet been transcribed, but were to be transcribed soon after.

In *John* iv. 38. our Lord says to the disciples: *I sent you to reap that whereon ye have bestowed no labour*. Nevertheless the disciples had not yet been sent forth by him. But knowing what he designed to do, and also knowing beforehand what would be the circumstances of their mission, he says to them: "*When I shall send you to preach the gospel, you will find the case to be as I now represent it*."

In like manner *St. Paul* having in his mind the whole plan of the epistle which he was writing, and considering some directions which he should give in the remaining part of the epistle, says: *I have writ unto you*. If it be asked, where are those directions? I answer: I think they are in the tenth chapter of this epistle, where the Apostle cautions against idolatry, and dangerous temptations to it, and against doing what might be understood to be religious communion with idols and idolaters. These things, I apprehend, the Apostle then had in his mind.

What he says therefore here in ch. v. 9. 10. 11. is to this purpose: "*I shall in this epistle deliver some cautions against a dangerous and offensive intimacy with idolaters*. But when I do so, it is not my inten-

writers. *Matth.* xxvi. 8. ἕως τῆς σήμερον. xxviii. 15. . . . μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. . . . *Apoc.* i. 3. καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τὰς λόγους τῆς προφητείας, id est, τῶν προφητειῶν, quomodo accepit Latinus. *Grot. in loc.* So *Liban.* ep. 1174. p. 558. "Ἐμελλε μὲν καὶ μὴ δόντος μὲ τὴν ἐπιστολήν. κ. λ. Etiam si ego has literas non scripsissem. . . . ep. 1177. p. 559. Καὶ μὴν κρείων δῆλον, ὅτι μέζονος ἀπολάσσει τῆς παρὰ σὺ πρὸνοιᾶς, μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστολήν. post traditas has literas.

(*z*) Possunt etiam verba, ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, reddi, *scribo vobis*, &c. *Bib. Gr.* l. 4. cap. v. tom. 3. p. 154.

(*a*) See vol. xi. p. 182. See there likewise, p. 51. See *Lardner's* edit.

(*b*) *Scripsi vobis*.] Pro scribo. Vel ideo præteritum dicit, quia cum legeretur, tempus scribendi præteritum esset. *Sedul. Com. in loc. Ap. P. P. Lugd.* t. 6. p. 540. C.

(*c*) Verba Varronis subjeci. *A. Gell. Noct. Att.* l. 2. cap. 20.

Propterea verba *Atteii Capitonis* ex quinto *Librorum*, quos de Pontificio Jure composuit, scripsi. *Ib.* l. 4. cap. 6.

Verba ipsa *Plutarchi*, quoniam res inopinata est, subscripsi. *Ib.* cap. 12.

Ex quo libro plura verba adscripsimus, ut simul ibidem quid ipse inter res gestas et annales esse dixerit, ostenderimus. *Ib.* l. 5. cap. 18.

Ipsa autem verba *Chryssippi*, quantum valui, memoriâ adscripsi. . . . In libro enim *περί πρηνείας* quarto dicit, . . . *Ib.* l. 6. cap. 2.

tion to prohibit all civil commerce with Gentile people, *who are fornicators, or covetous, or extortioners, or idolaters*. For at that rate you could not live in the world. But here I am speaking of such as are professed Christians. *And I have now written unto you, that is, I now charge you, and require it of you: If any man, called a brother, a professed Christian, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or an extortioner, with such an one, no not to eat: that is, not to have any conversation with him.*" Compare 2 Thess. iii. 14. 15.

That appears to me the most probable account of this text. But if any hesitate about the reference to a place, that follows in the remaining part of the epistle; I still hope, I may insist upon it, that ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, which we have rendered *in an epistle*, does and must signify, *in this epistle*.

5. 2 Pet. iii. 15. 16. *And account, that the long suffering of God is salvation: even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, has written unto you.*

Hence it is argued, that (d) St. Paul wrote several letters to the dispersed Jews, which are now lost. I answer that this argument depends upon the supposition, that the epistles of St. Peter were sent to believing Jews. Which is far from being certain. It is more probable, as was (e) formerly shewn, that St. Peter's epistles were sent to believing Gentiles in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, or to all Christians in general in those countries. To which Christians Paul had indeed sent several letters. To them were sent his epistle to the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Colossians. To which might be added his two epistles to Timothy, then residing at Ephesus, the chief city of Asia. To these, and other epistles of the Apostle Paul, St. Peter might refer. Nor can I see any reason at all to doubt, whether the epistles of Paul, intended by St. Peter, are not still in being.

6. 3 John, ver. 9. *I wrote unto the church*. Hence (f) some have argued, that St. John wrote an epistle to the church, where Diotrophes affected to have pre-eminence, which is now lost.

Indeed this text has exercised the thoughts of many critics, as may be seen in Wolfii Curæ. However the words may be translated thus: *I had writ, or I would have writ to the church*. This version has been approved by (g) some. And to me it appears very right. If this interpretation be admitted, there is no reason to conclude, that (h) any writing of St. John has been lost.

7. It

(d) S. Petrus 2. ep. iii. 15. 16. plures literas ad dispersos Hebræos allegat, quæ jam dudum perire. Neque enim, uti Millius putavit, f. x. col. 2. heic citatur epistola ad Hebræos, quæ existat, &c. Pfaff. ubi supra. p. 47. Conf. Ent, ubi supra, § xxxvi. xxxvii. p. 53. 54.

(e) See before, p. 448, &c.

(f) Eodem modo et literæ S. Joannis ad Ecclesiam in quâ Diotrophes ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου erat, scriptæ, et 3. Joh. ver. 9. memoratæ, perire. Pfaff. ib. p. 47.

(g) See Whitby upon the place, and Dr. Benson. And see before, p. 475, note (x).

(h) "Some would from hence gather, that St. John wrote an epistle which is now lost. But the primitive Christians were not so careless about preserving the apostolic writings. There is not the least hint among the ancients,

7. It is argued, that (i) *Polycarp*, writing to the *Philippians*, expresseth himself as if he thought *St. Paul* had writ to them more epistles than one.

To which it is easy to answer, that though the word be in the plural number, one epistle only might be meant. Secondly, it is not in probable, that *Polycarp* intended the epistle to the *Philippians*, and also the two epistles of *Paul* to the *Thessalonians*, who were in the same province of *Macedonia*, as was shewn (k) formerly. Indeed this objection is so obviated by what was said, when we largely considered the testimony of *Polycarp* to the New Testament, that I think nothing more needs to be added here.

V. In treating this subject Mr. *Ens* could not help thinking of those passages of *Origen*, and *Eusebius*, where they speak of the Apostles not being solicitous to write many volumes. Which passages were taken notice of by us (l) long ago. He endeavours to evade the proper conclusion to be thence drawn. But he owns that (m) the ancients had no knowledge of those writings of the Apostles, which he and some others have imagined to be lost. And he thinks it almost miraculous, or however a very wonderful dispensation of Providence, that they should so soon perish, as to be unknown to the ancients, as well as to us.

But does not that shew, that this whole argument is frivolous and insignificant? For plausible speculations cannot be valid against fact and evidence. If the primitive Christians knew not of any apostolical writings, beside those which have been transmitted to us; it is very probable, there were none.

cients, that there ever was such an epistle. And the Apostle's words in this place are fairly capable of another interpretation." . . . *Dr. Benson upon the place, p. 703.*

(i) Memorat quoque Polycarpus in literis ad Philippenfes, S. Paulum non unam sed plures ad eos ἐπιστολάς; absentem scripsisse. *Pfaff. ib. p. 47. Conf. Ens, p. 51. . . . 56.*

(k) See Vol. i. p. 201. . . . 203. or p. 204. 205. See *Lardner's edit.*

(l) See Vol. iii. p. 235, 236. and Vol. vii. p. 91, 92. *ibid.*

(m) Fateor ingenuè, vix concipi potest, unde tam citò tanta fuerit inter veteres ignorantia de eo, quod Apostoli multo plura scripserint quam quidem illorum et nostras pervenit ad manus. Fateor, vix concipi potest, ubi tam profundè latere potuerint scripta illa apostolica, ut omnium fugerint oculos. Ast divina hic mihi admiranda ac adoranda videtur providentia, quæ ad tempus data scripta, dum aliorum quæ permanerent in vitæ canonem perpetuum nondum esset in ecclesiis copia, deinde protinus e medio tolli voluerit. *Ens, ibid. § li. p. 68.*



A Plan of the Times and Places of writing the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles.

GOSPELS, &c.	PLACE.	A. D.
St. Matthew's.	{ Judea, or near it. }	about 64.
St. Mark's.	Rome.	. . . 64.
St. Luke's.	Greece.	{ . . . 63. or . . . 64.
St. John's.	Ephesus.	. . . 68.
The Acts of the Apostles. }	Greece.	{ . . . 63. or . . . 64.

A Scheme of the Times, Places, and Occasions of writing the Gospels, according to Dr. OWEN's Account.

GOSPELS:	PLACE.	A. D.
St. Matthew's.	Jerusalem.	about 38.
St. Luke's.	For the use of the Jewish Converts. Corinth.	about 53.
St. Mark's.	For the use of the Gentile Converts. Rome.	about 63.
St. John's.	For the use of Christians at large. Ephesus.	about 69.
To confute the Cerinthian and other Heresies.		

A Table of St. Paul's Epistles, in the common Order, with the Places where, and the Times when, they were writ.

EPISTLES.	PLACE.	A. D.
Romans.	Corinth.	about February 58.
1 Corinthians.	Ephesus.	beginning of 56.
2 Corinthians.	Macedonia.	about October 57.
Galatians.	{ Corinth, or Ephesus. }	near the end of 52. or the beginning of 53.
Ephesians.	Rome.	about April 61.
Philippians.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
Colossians.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
1 Thessalonians. }	Corinth.	52.
2 Thessalonians. }		
1 Timothy.	Macedonia.	56.
2 Timothy.	Rome.	about May 61.
Titus.	{ Macedonia, or near it. }	before the end of 56.
Philemon.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
Hebrews.	{ Rome, or Italy. }	in the spring of 63.

A Table of St. Paul's Epistles, in the Order of Time, with the Places where, and the Times when, they were writ.

EPISTLES.	PLACES.	A. D.
1 Thessalonians. } 2 Thessalonians. }	Corinth.	52.
Galatians.	{ Corinth, } or { Ephesus. }	near the end of 52. or the beginning of 53.
1 Corinthians.	Ephesus.	the beginning of 56.
2 Timothy.	Macedonia.	56.
Titus.	{ Macedonia, } or near it. }	before the end of 56.
2 Corinthians.	Macedonia.	about October 57.
Romans.	Corinth.	about February 58.
Ephesians.	Rome.	about April 61.
2 Timothy.	Rome.	about May 61.
Philippians.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
Colossians	Rome.	before the end of 62.
Philemon.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
Hebrews.	{ Rome, } or { Italy. }	In the spring of 63.

A Table of the seven Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation, with the Places where, and the Times when, they were writ.

EPISTLES, &c.	PLACES.	A. D.
The Epistle of St. James.	Judea.	61.
The two Epistles of St. Peter.	Rome.	{ or the beginning of 62. 64.
St. John's first Epistle.	Ephesus.	about 80.
His second and third Epistles.	Ephesus.	between 80. and 90.
The Epistle of St. Jude.	Unknown.	64. or 65.
The Revelation of St. John.	{ Patmos, } or { Ephesus. }	95. or 96.

Tabula Chronologica Librorum N. T. juxta J. MILLIUM, ab

J. ALBERTO FABRICIO concinnata ; jam verò correctior.

A. D. 52.	1 & 2 Ep. ad Thessalonicenses, Corinthi, Act. xviii. 5.
Claud. 12.	cum Timotheus & Silas illuc reversi essent, 1 Thess. iii. 6. Has respicit Petrus 2 Ep. iii. 16.
A. D. 57.	1 Ep. ad Cor. ante festum Paschale, 1 Cor. v. 8. Act.
Neronis 3.	xix. 21. cum Ephesum cogitaret antequam Hierosolymam ascendisset, et ante iter in Macedoniam, 1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4, 5.
	2 Ep. ad Cor. sub extremum anni, c. xii. 2. Act. xix. 23. Philippis, per Titum & Lucan, uti habet subscriptio.
A. D. 58.	Initio Martii, Ep. ad Romanos, Act. xx. 2, 3. scripta
Neronis 4.	Corinthi, cum mox Hierosolymam petiturus esset, Rom. xv. 25.
	Ep. ad Galatas, c. ii. 10. in itinere Hierosolymam versus, fortassis Troade.

A. D. 60.
Neronis 6.

Jacobi Minoris epistola encyclica, scripta Hierosolymis ante urbis excidium c. v. 1. tempore persecutionis c. ii. 6. uno vel altero anno ante Jacobi martyrium, quod circa A. C. 62. pertulit.

A. D. 61.
Neronis 7.

1 *Petri*, ex Babylone, scil. Roma, scripta, c. v. 13. Quidni vero ex regione Babylonica, seu Mesopotamia? quo fit ut viciniore recto ordine salutet, ut Col. iv. 13. Apoc. i. 11. *Wetstein*.

Evang. Matthæi, cum Paulus prima vice Romam venisset.

A. D. 62.
Neronis 8.

Ep. ad Philippenses, Act. xx. 3. Romæ sub finem primæ captivitatis Pauli, missa per Epaphroditum, qui subsidium pecuniarium Paulo a Philippensibus attulerat, & qui, Phil. iv. 3. videtur denotari per *socium germanum*.

A. D. 62.
Neronis 8.

{ *Ep. ad Ephesios*, [*Laodicenses*,] Romæ per Tychicum.
ad Colossenses, per Tychicum & Onesimum, statim post priorem obsignatam.
ad Philemonem, Romæ per Onesimum.

A. D. 63.
Neronis 9.

Ep. ad Hebræos Christianos Romæ degentes, c. xiii. 19. post Jacobum martyrio affectum, A. C. 62. Ex Italia per Timotheum cum Paulus Romæ e carcere dimissus esset. Unde, c. xiii. 23, 24. Itali Romanos, non ignoti ignotos, salutant; & brevi se redituum sperat. *Wetstein*.

Marci Evang. Romæ, post Petri & Pauli ex ea urbe discessum.

A. D. 64.
Neronis 10.

Lucæ Evang. & Acta Apost. quæ sub finem Pauli priorum vinculorum Romæ desinunt.

Ep. ad Titum, ante hyemem, scripta Colossis post iter per Italicæ oras susceptum.

A. D. 65.
Neronis 11.

1 *Ep. ad Tim.* Philippis, ut videtur.

A. D. 67.
Neronis 13.

2 *Ep. ad Tim.* ante hyemem, Romæ, in posterioribus vinculis, post apologiam primam, c. iv. 16. cum jam tempus mortis instaret, c. iv. 6.

2 *Ep. Petri*, paulo ante martyrium, c. i. 14. quod accidit Romæ A. C. 68.

A. D. 90.
Domit. 9.

Ep. Judæ, [A. D. 71. vel 72. ut visum Dodwello, p. 25. ad Irenæum:] Certè post secundam Petri, quam respicit.

A. D. 91. vel
92. Domit.
10. vel 11.

} *Tres Ep. Joannis*, Ephesi scriptæ.

A. D. 96.
Domit. 15.

Joannis Apocalypsis, in Patmo.

A. D. 97.
Nervæ 1.

Joannis Evang. Ephesi, cum a Nerva ab exilio revertendi copia facta esset. Vide Irenæum, iii. 1.



